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1567—1700.

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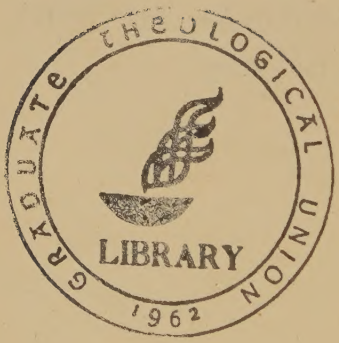
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CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY,

1567—1700,

IN RELATION TO

CONTEMPORANEOUS EVENTS,

AND THE

Conflict for Freedom, Purity, and Independence.

BY

JOHN WADDINGTON, D.D.,

AUTHOR OF "CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY, 1200—1567."

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ADVERTISEMENT.

In preparing a Second Edition of the present volumes for the press, my immediate object is to enable the publisher to supply sets of four volumes of "Congregational History" that have often been inquired for of late. The first volume of this work, a long time out of print, it is not deemed to be so necessary to reproduce, not being essentially connected with the history of the Denomination.

It is a source of grateful satisfaction to me that the generous and faithful friends who, from the first, lent their co-operation, have continued true and earnest in their support to the present—their confidence undiminished, and their appreciation of the service rendered, heightened rather than changed. The assurances of fraternal sympathy in my personal affliction, and of growing interest in the history, that I have received from many private readers, is an earnest to me that, under

the Divine favour, it will live to instruct by its facts and examples, and tend to establish many in the faith of the Gospel, and to increase their attachment to the cause of Christ. This has been my main object throughout. Hence my desire neither to divert the attention of the reader by frivolous discussions, fanciful theories, or vain speculations. With the same motive, I have sought not to weary the attention by encumbering the story with matters either irrelevant or unattractive. Extracts from old manuscripts or pamphlets are modernized in orthography; and, when not necessary to adduce them in proof of some historical statement, the liberty is taken to omit what is prolix, and to condense a long and wearisome passage into a few concise words, for the sake of clearness and force.

This is now well understood to be the most judicious course. No historical writer is under any obligation to be dull, verbose, and unintelligible, in order to repeat verbatim the sayings of some monotonous writer of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries—still less to reproduce the low and offensive Marprelate Tracts. Rubbish of this kind ought long ago to have been swept into oblivion—except, perhaps, a trifling specimen of it, to indicate the spirit of the time.

I have sought literal exactness; but, absorbed in the thrilling narrative or impressive speeches of the noble-minded men, I have sometimes overlooked "commas," and even letters and words. But I hope in no instance has there been an incorrect statement of an important fact.

In the present edition it will be found that several typographical errors have been removed.

With all its inevitable imperfections, I desire to commit the work to Him for whose glory, in weakness, affliction, and bereavement, I have done what I could.

J. W.

9, Surrey Square, London,
1880.

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CONGREGATIONAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

The first Congregational Church in the reign of Elizabeth was formed in 1567, by a company of Christian people in the Bridewell of the City of London, by Mr. Richard Fitz.*

The privations they endured in prison, with the death of their pastor and deacon, made no change in their convictions, or in their purpose to maintain them under all conditions.† Immediately, therefore, on their liberation from bonds, they resumed their meetings in "Whitechappel Streate."

Greatly displeased by their persistence, Grindal, Bishop of London, said, "it was his intention to deal with more of them to the like effect; but *now* all the heads of this unhappy faction should be severely punished with all expedition, to the example of others

* State Papers, Domestic Addenda.

† Lansdowne MSS., 12, 28.

as fanatical and incurable." "Six of the most desperate of them should be sent to the common gaol of Cambridge, six likewise to Oxford, and some to the gaols hereabouts." *

Rise of the Puritan Party.

Cambridge soon after became the centre of a movement within the National Church for a more complete reformation. The party formed for this purpose was stigmatized by Sanders (a polemic on the side of the Papacy) as PURITANS.† The question of ecclesiastical reform had been agitated in a desultory way for some time by Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Fulke, of St. John's; but THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, of the same college, was recognized as the foremost champion in the cause. On the completion of his studies at the university he became chaplain to Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Armagh, and was strongly recommended by that prelate (on his removal to the see of Dublin) as his successor; but he returned to his Alma Mater, and in 1570 was chosen Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. He is spoken of as "a wonderful ornament of literature," "a pattern of purity and uprightness," and "a man of great sweetness of disposition." In the course of his public teaching he maintained "that the offices of the lawful ministers of the Church—namely bishops and deacons—ought to be reduced to their *apostolical constitution*, bishops to preach the Word of God, and deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor;" and "that ministers ought not to be created by the sole authority of the bishop, but to be openly and fairly chosen

* Historia Schismatis Anglicani, Lib. iii. 301.
† Lansdowne MSS. 12, 28.

by the people." The Chancellor of the University called on Cecil to check these sentiments as pestilential novelties.

JOHN WHITGIFT, though urgent for the intervention of the temporal power, offered in learned disputation to confute the errors of the divinity professor, and stoutly maintained "that no form of Church government is by the Scripture prescribed to us, or commanded by the Word of God." "I do not deny," he said, "but in the *Apostles' time* and after, even to Cyprian's time, the people's consent was in many places required in the appointment of ministers; but I say there is no commandment that it should be —and I add, that however, in the *Apostles' time*, that kind of electing and calling ministers was convenient and profitable; *now*, in *this state* of *the Church* it were pernicious and hurtful." "In the *Apostles' time* all, or most that were Christians were virtuous and godly, and such as did sincerely profess the word, and therefore the election might be safely committed to them; *now*, the Church is full of hypocrites, dissemblers, drunkards, whoremongers, so that if any election were committed to them, they would be sure to take one like to themselves." "*Now* the Church is full of Papists and Atheists."* To attempt to bring a mongrel church of this order to a condition of apostolical purity, in the judgment of Whitgift, was utterly out of the question, and the pretence of such a renovation mere hypocrisy. "This name Puritan," he says, "is very aptly given to these men, not because they be pure, no more than were the heretics *Cathari*, but because they think them-

* Answer to a Certain Libel, etc., p. 42.

selves to be more pure than others, as Cathari did, and separate themselves."

Cartwright, in his reply, disclaimed all sanctimonious pretension. "If you mean," he said to Whitgift, "they are Puritans or Catherans, which set forth a true and perfect church, then the mark of that heresy reacheth unto them that make the 'Book of Common Prayer,' which, you say, is a perfect and absolute rule to govern the Church, wherein nothing is wanting or too little, nor running over or too much." In a long and conclusive argument the Puritan reformer substantiated his positions; but this availed nothing with his opponent. Authority supplied the defect of proof, and Cartwright was reduced to silence. As a powerful preacher, an able disputant, and a consistent Protestant, his loss at the university was deeply felt. He had no equal in the Romish controversy, and with the tendency of many of the Anglican clergy to relapse into their former errors, the restraint imposed upon him was regarded with considerable apprehension. The "Lower House" of Parliament said, "the Protestant religion is in imminent danger," and from this time a struggle was commenced for constitutional rights and carried on with that of the Puritans for church reformation. When the legislative sanction was asked, in 1571, to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, the House of Commons declined to adopt the Thirty-sixth, and other Articles relating to the hierarchy and ritual of the Church. Archbishop Parker demanded the reason of this exception. "Surely, sir," replied Sir Peter Wentworth, "because we were so occupied in other mat-

Movement in Parliament.

ters that we had no time to examine how they agreed with the Word of God." "What!" said the Primate; "surely you mistake in the matter. You will refer yourselves wholly to us therein!" "No; by the faith I bear to God," Wentworth rejoined, "we will pass nothing before we understand what it is, for that were to make you popes; make popes who list, we shall make none."

Finding the Parliament not so pliant as needful for the completion of their ecclesiastical code, the clergy assumed in Convocation the power to frame laws in accordance with their views. Canons were adopted to settle the rule of faith and to bring the people into strict obedience. It was settled that, "The doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and *what the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have collected out of Holy Writ*," should henceforth be the standard of appeal. This decree struck at the root of the Protestant principle that the Bible only should determine matters of doctrine and discipline. Conscientious clergymen, who could not accept the new regime, were deprived of their livings, with no prospect of redress. The Queen resolutely supported her bishops. "Let no one," she said (Aug. 25, 1571), "be suffered to decline on the left hand or to the right hand. Proceed herein as you have begun."

Rule of Faith settled in Convocation.

The Puritans were driven in their extremity to look for help to the legislature, and, not satisfied with simple protection, they made a bold demand for a searching inquiry and radical reform. "You may not," they said in their "Admonition," "do as heretofore you have

Appeal of the Puritans to the Legislature.

done, patch and piece; nay, rather go backward, and never labour or contend to perfection; but altogether remove whole Antichrist, both head and tail perfectly. Plant the purity of the Word, that simplicity of the sacraments, and that severity of discipline which Christ hath commended to His Church. Displace those ignorant and unable ministers, appoint such as both can and will, by God's assistance, feed the flock. Let every congregation have a diligent and learned preacher."

John Field and Thomas Wilcocks* (parochial clergymen in the City of London) presented the manifesto; but it would seem that they subsequently failed in courage and resolution. The practical aim of their party was to change the constitution of the Anglican Church and to assimilate it to that of the Kirk of Scotland. They met (Nov. 20, 1572) a few of their ministerial brethren of kindred views at Wandsworth† to frame (or "erect") a presbytery (on paper) to elucidate their object. Cautious as they were in these secret proceedings they did not escape detection. The confidential correspondence of the managers of the affair was intercepted. Walter Travers, the most influential of their leaders, next to Cartwright, hid himself, and Field and Wilcocks were sent to Newgate. After an explanation of their design to the chaplain of the archbishop who visited them in prison they said, "We are not for an unspotted church on earth, and

Meeting at Wandsworth.

* In Honeywell Lane.

† Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 43: "These meetings of ministers in private houses in London, as, namely, of Field, Wilcox, etc., were called conferences."

therefore, though the Church of England has many faults *we would not willingly leave it.*"* Their sole anxiety, with that of their families and parishioners, was that they might be liberated and re-instated in their livings.† Field, through the influence of the Earl of Leicester, was restored to his parochial cure of Aldermary in the City.‡

The pusillanimity of the Wandsworth leaders, however, did not involve the abandonment of the cause. Cartwright, after his banishment from Cambridge, had not been idle. To the surprise and consternation of the bishops, a defence of the "Admonition" appeared from his masterly pen, in which he maintained that the "subscription required had no foundation in law, but was an act of sovereignty fraught with the utmost peril." This was followed by other publications. A proclamation was issued in the name of the Queen, denouncing them as tending to no other end but to make divisions and dissentions in the opinions of men, and to breed talks and disputes against the common order. "All persons having in custody any of the 'said books,' were commanded to bring them to the bishop of the diocese or to one of the Privy Council within twenty days, on pain of imprisonment." An order was also issued (Dec. 11, 1573) to all the "Queen's Majesty's officers to seize the body of Cartwright for his unlawful demeanours in matters touching religion and the estate of the realm." In the midst of this extraordinary flurry, Cartwright

Denunciation of Cartwright.

* MS. register, p. 118.

† "We make no separation from the Church of England."—Letter of Wilcocks and Field. *Part of a register.*

‡ Cotton Titus, B. vii. p. 22.

prudently withdrew, and a second time left England as an exile. His books, nevertheless, were devoured in secret by readers whose curiosity was only whetted by the royal prohibition. The coercive genius of Whitgift was at fault; and, mortified by his failure, he felt vexed and uneasy. "The Church," he said, "is sorely assaulted. On the platform set down by these new builders, we evidently see the spoilation of the patrimony of Christ. The end will be ruin to religion and confusion to the country." The Bishop of London, equally alarmed, said, "The City will never be quiet until these authors of sedition are removed, the people resort to them as in Popery they were wont to run on pilgrimage. Her Majesty's proclamation took none effect, not one book brought in. Our estimation is little—our authority is less—so that we are become contemptible in the eyes of the people." *

Panic of the Bishops.

The Episcopal panic spread into the provinces. The Bishop of Peterborough was paralyzed by the state of things in Northamptonshire. "I stand in great need of direction from you," he writes to Lord Burghley, "seeing the Puritan preachers are increased and wax bold—very bold and stout-like men, that seem to be not without friends."†

Matthew Hutton (at that time Dean of York), a little more self-possessed than his ecclesiastical superiors, respectfully advised conciliatory measures. "Let the learned and grave fathers of the church talk with the authors of the 'Admonition' and 'Platform,' let them answer and satisfy them, if it be possible by reason of God's Word, and if there be

* Lansdowne MSS., 17, 43. † Lansdowne MSS., xvii. 27.

either defect in the laws, or disorder for want of execution of the laws, let it be reformed by public authority; only let us not through bitter and uncharitable contention hinder the course of the gospel, give occasion to the enemy to rejoice, and gratify them that gape for the spoil of the clergy."* Dudley Carleton suggested that those who did not "like the Queen's form of religion, should be encouraged to go to Ireland."† These pacific proposals found no acceptance. The bishops desired that Lord Burghley would "lay to his hand," and that a "sharp letter should be sent from the Queen."

Accordingly (Oct. 20, 156—) a proclamation was issued, requiring, on the part of the clergy, instant subscription, and directing the sheriffs "to commit to the county gaols those who were obstinate in refusing to come to church in time of sermons and common prayer." The bishops were enjoined "to take a more vigilant eye," and not to use their office "only to get money." Smarting under this rebuke, the Bishop of Norwich wrote immediately to "Maister Chancellor" to command the archdeacons and commissioners to "use their best diligence," and bring up all who were negligent and obstinate before the justices the first week in Lent.‡

Orders from the Queen to put down Nonconformity.

Commissioners appointed to execute the laws against ecclesiastical offenders in the several counties were assembled beneath the spangled roof of the Star Chamber to receive a special address from the Lord Treasurer. "As you are

* Murdin, 265. † Domestic Addenda, 1566—1579.
‡ Norwich Chapter, MSS.

now to repair to your several counties," he said to them, "the Queen reiterates her earnest intent to reform the disorders which are brought out by malpractice and by unsound doctrine. She cannot be quiet in her conscience without earnestly prosecuting the reformation hereof, nor can she think of any of her subjects, especially her ecclesiastical officers, worthy to live under her protection, or anywise to enjoy her favour, who shall directly or indirectly maintain any person to alter by example or doctrine the established orders of the church."

The bishops were now satisfied and jubilant. "The Puritans," one of them said, "are now silenced, and are become of no importance; the Queen will allow no change." Wilcocks and his brethren naturally were as much cast down. "The Commissioners," he wrote, "go forward in their haughty proceedings. God, if it be his will, stay their rule. Three of them that they have imprisoned are dead. What shall become of the rest, the Lord knoweth. We here persuade ourselves of nothing but the greatest extremity."*

Antwerp, in their time of distress, became the Pella of the Puritan refugees.† A church was formed in that city by the English and Scottish merchant adventurers, of which (Secretary) Davison,‡ was an elder; and to this asylum from persecution, secured by the liberal policy of William of Orange, Travers, Field, and others were brought over in the guise of servants to the English ambassador. The parishes

Antwerp the asylum of the Puritans.

* Baker's MSS., xxxii. 439.

† Antwerpe's Unitye, 1579.

‡ Additional 6394 MSS., 113, 142. Antwerp Church Book.

vacated by the Nonconformist preachers, were left in great spiritual destitution; yet in the comparative quiet that followed in the southern parts of England, Thomas Nichols, a passive Puritan, tells us "considerable prosperity was enjoyed," but it was only the lull before the storm.

The Queen in her "progress" through "the sundry shires," observed with much displeasure that "divers gentlemen of good quality and livelihood, as well as others, absented themselves from church." The Privy Council, under the royal direction, ordered "strict inquisition to be made in every parish for the delinquents, and that their names should be sent up with 'as much expedition' as possible, that they might 'be severely dealt with.'"*

Searched out in their own homes by the parish officials, none were left unmolested. The Puritan reformers awoke at length to the conviction that their object would not be gained by simply waiting for a change, and the question was forced upon them, "May the ministers proceed to the work of church reformation without the assistance of or tarrying for a magistrate?" Increased pressure.

The subject was cautiously mooted by them in correspondence with their friends in Antwerp and the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland. As on former occasions, Bancroft detected the first spring of the movement, seized their letters, and reported their most secret proceedings to the Privy Council. Whitgift, raised to the See of Canterbury (Sept. 23, 1583), and invested with new powers of repression, was apprized of their plans. Informed that in a

* Norwich MSS.

short time they might arrange to meet in private dwellings for Christian conference or social prayer, he resolved to thwart their design, and sent out a peremptory order that "all preaching, catechizing, and *praying in any private family be utterly extinguished*," and in his primary visitation suspended two hundred and thirty ministers for refusing subscription.

Memorials addressed to the Privy Council on the behalf of the people "hungering after the Word," Whitgift treated with disdain; and to cut off all hope of relief or compromise, he called into existence the High Commission Court, and clothed it with powers to examine, convict, and imprison without regard to the ordinary forms of law.

Some of the more experienced and judicious of the statesmen in the court of Elizabeth began to feel that the high-handed procedure of His Grace would not tend to the stability of her throne.

Sympathy at Court with the Puritans.

Sir Francis Knollys declared his conviction that the course adopted by him had no sanction in law or in equity; and if persisted in, would be fatal to the best interests of the community. Burghley urged by various appeals addressed to him from the most influential quarters, was compelled to remonstrate with the archbishop. The Privy Council added their earnest expostulation, and a new Parliament summoned at this period also protested against his violence; but Whitgift remained inexorable. "I have taken upon me," he replied, "the defence of religion, the execution of the laws concerning the same, the appeasing

Determination of Whitgift.

of the sects and schisms therein, the reducing of the ministers thereof to uniformity and due obedience. Herein I intend to be constant." Justification for the severest measures he found in the zeal of the Puritans. "This disordered flocking together of these people," he said, "from divers places and gadding from one to another, argueth a conspiracy among them, and some hope of encouragement and of prevailing, which I am persuaded is not meant, nor shall be ever by me willingly consented to." As for Parliament, her Highness, the Queen, at the suggestion of her ecclesiastical vicegerent charged the Lower House not to meddle with questions "beyond their capacity."

The Papists watched the strife of parties with undisguised satisfaction, and reported the state of affairs to their confederates in Rome. Leicester they describe as a thorough time-server, and full of duplicity. "He emboldens the Puritans against the bishops, and being greased in the hand by the bishops, tells them that the Puritans are a seditious kind of people, and not to be suffered in a Christian commonwealth, animating the one against the other; suffering the bishops to commit them to prison. Straight of his own authority releasing them again; telling the Puritans he will be a means to bring reformation and discipline into the church, for being himself of no religion but that which brings him in gain and commodity."* Gratification of the Papists.

Cardinal Allen took occasion to call the attention of the Queen to the superior conduct of her Romish

* S. P. Addenda, 28, 113.

subjects. "Look," he said, "what manner of people and what conditioned men follow the other sects, and compare their life, their lightness, their inconstancy, their promptness to disorder, disobedience, licentiousness, novelty, mutability and love of the world; compare them (I say) to the constancy, gravity, patience, peaceable, civil and sweet behaviour of such as be inclined to the Catholic religion."*

Counsel of Cardinal Allen.

With this beautiful example of gentleness and order presented to her attention, his Eminence felt constrained to counsel Her Majesty at length to yield to the Papal yoke, and to commit herself and the interests of the nation into the hands of the priests, under whose fostering care these peaceable fruits had been produced. To add solemnity to his impassioned address, the Cardinal continued: "Your days, Madam, are drawing nearer and nearer unto death, judgment, and account, which be necessary cogitations for princes, no less but for poor men. Consider deeply how to reduce yourself and your realm to the Catholic society of so many nobles, prelates, and princes."

"Your Highness's noble father (as of worthy and wise men we have had) was fully determined to give over the title of supremacy and unite himself and his realm to the see and church apostolic again; but being prevented by death, could not accomplish his most necessary and honourable designment, and therefore may be both an example and a warning to your Majesty, the last of all his dearest children, to accomplish that thing, which to his great wisdom,

* An Apologie, p. 94.

at the very going out of his life, was thought to be necessary for his soul, his people, and his posterity. Incline your heart for Christ's love, gracious lady, to our humble suit, made for your own soul, and be not offended with your poor subjects for moving your Majesty in so plain terms, in God's and the church's cause."* The Puritan exiles returned at this juncture to England.

Return of Puritan exiles.

Walter Travers, who enjoyed the protection and favour of Lord Burghley as his domestic chaplain,† greatly to the annoyance of Whitgift, was chosen lecturer at the Temple, and held the appointment with much acceptance until a keen controversy arose between himself and Richard Hooker.

Cartwright also being in straitened circumstances, asked permission to return. His request was refused; but driven by want he ventured to cross the Channel. Within forty-eight hours, Aylmer arrested him, but indiscreetly opened the warrant in the Queen's name, when he should have been content to act under her secret authority. His proceedings were in consequence disavowed by Her Majesty, and this prepared the way for a temporary respite in this particular case. In answer to an appeal of Leicester on the behalf of Cartwright, Whitgift said: "I am ready to be at peace with him so long as he liveth peaceably, yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity." He was appointed by Leicester, master of Warwick Hospital,

Retreat of Cartwright.

* An Apologie, etc., 1581, 50. † Harleian MSS., 4888, 7—8.

and in that delightful retreat gave himself with great assiduity to biblical studies, the visitation of the sick, and, when free from ecclesiastical inhibition, to the "ministry of the Word."

Remonstrance of his party.

This quiet withdrawal of Cartwright from the contest was not approved by the more zealous members of his party. "We will not betray the trust," they said to him, "which it hath pleased God in his great goodness to make known to us. You well know that we do nothing contentiously therein. We are clear before God and men. But we wish you to understand that the iniquitous times in which we live, and the great trials which we as well as you have to endure in the cause of God, and a thousand such afflictions, shall not, the Lord helping us, make us shrink from the maintenance of his truth."

Robert Browne.

Robert Browne, of Tolethorpe, in Rutlandshire, now came into prominence. He lacked the patience, self-command and self-sacrifice, essential to a judicious leader, and his opinions on many points under discussion were exceedingly crude; but he enunciated principles that many were fully prepared to accept. "It was forbidden the Apostles," he said, "to preach to the unworthy; or to force in planting or government of the church. *The Lord's kingdom is not by force.* They do cry 'discipline,' 'discipline,' that is force. Civil force to imprison the people or otherwise by violence, handle and beat them. The Lord's people is of the willing sort. They shall come unto Zion, and inquire the way unto Jerusalem, not by force, nor by compulsion, but with their faces thitherward.

Because the church is in a Commonwealth, it is of the magistrate's charge; that is, concerning the outward provision and outward justice they are to look for, but to compel religion to plant churches by power, and to force submission by ecclesiastical government and penalties, belongeth not to them neither to the church."*

"*The church planted or gathered is a company or number of Christians or believers, which by a willing covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep his laws in our holy communion;* because Christ hath redeemed them unto holiness and happiness for ever, from which they were fallen by the sin of Adam. *The church government is the Lordship of Christ in the communion of his officers; whereby his people obey to his will and have mutual use of their graces and callings, to further their godliness and welfare.*"

His views on Church policy.

"A Pastor is a person having office and message of God, for exhorting and moving especially, and guiding accordingly, for the which he is bound to be meet and thereto is *duly chosen by the church* which calleth him, or received by obedience where he planteth the church."

The learned divines who had so long occupied themselves with schemes of ecclesiastical government, and who had prepared "platforms," "admonitions," "orders," and an elaborate "Book of Discipline," discouraged this simple and primitive mode of action. Cartwright, silent in the controversy with the Anglican prelates, felt himself at liberty to appear openly as the antagonist of Browne. Much

* Life and Manners of all Christians, p. 8–11.

as he had personally suffered from the temporal power, he still clung to the idea of "force," and longed for the day when the Puritan ministers should be reinstated in the establishment by Act of Parliament.

Discussion between Browne and Cartwright.

"The Spirit of God," he said, "hath put in the mouths of the assemblies (parochial congregations) in England the love of his covenant, and set up amongst them burning lamps. It seemeth that the Church of England should receive injury if it should not be accounted among the golden candlesticks."

"We do not deny," Browne replied, "that there are sundry churches of God; but we must not leave out one part of the covenant mentioned by the prophet (Isa. lix. 20), that 'the Lord will come to Sion and *to those that turn from iniquity in Jacob, and with them will make his covenant.*' The Word is not to establish a church except it reign and rule in the church to subdue it in obedience to the Lord, as it is written, Gen. xvii. 10, 'Walk before me and be thou upright, and I will make my covenant between me and thee.' So likewise in Jer. xi. 3, 4; Exod. xix. 'Come out from amongst them,' says the apostle (2 Cor. vi. 17); and 'Be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty.' So also, Isa. liii. 11, *We know that the Word is no covenant where the practice is rejected and trodden under foot.*' Rom. viii. 14; Ezek. xi. 19, 20. Let not Master Cartwright account so much of the word in their mouths except (as it is written in Deut. xxx. 14) it be in their hearts to do it. The preaching of the Word and the ministration of sacraments are nothing without amendment of life."

Cartwright still retained the opinion that it was not right to separate from the assemblies of the Church recognized by the "Churches of Europe." Though "deformed," he said the Church of England is still the "body of Christ," without walls it may be—nevertheless it is a "city," and a "vineyard" though without a "fence."

To the Christian people so long harassed by the officers of the ecclesiastical courts, it was difficult to recognize in the Anglican Establishment the "burning lamps" or the "golden candlesticks." Perplexed by the fierce contentions for power and precedence by prelates and presbyters, they hailed with delight the assurance that as Christian believers they might meet as two or three under the rule of Christ. Of their earnestness of purpose we have an interesting example in Mrs. Stubbs, the sister-in-law of Cartwright. Whilst staying at her house in Buxton, Cartwright found that she could not be induced to attend public worship at the parish church. This led to a discussion of which the following is an outline.*

"All churches of God," said Cartwright, "say we are a church of God."

Mrs. STUBBS. "This is the praise of men, and not of God. There is no separation in your churches. A great number of both ministers and people have no knowledge in the true faith, and you do not come out from among them. This is the separation I mean. You have not the power of Christ to excommunicate any by the lords, your bishops; and thence cometh even the power of Antichrist. I know it is not Christ by his Word."

Cartwright and his sister-in-law.

CARTWRIGHT. "Remember your frailty as a woman, and the small ordinary means of discerning exactly the truth. You have not the truth, because it is not taught you by some pastor under Christ."

Mrs. STUBBS. "It is taught by our Saviour and his apostles and believed of us, and the Lord will comfortably teach us one of another if He see good, and that it will be most for his glory. I humbly beseech him that He will in mercy bring us together, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, according to that sweet course of the gospel. I pray

* Bodleian MSS.

God that we may ever love the truth and increase in the knowledge and obedience thereof; however we be separated. Yea, although we were counted as sheep for the slaughter."

CARTWRIGHT. "You are not the church because none of you have the knowledge of the tongues wherein the Scriptures are written, so you cannot refute the adversaries."

Mrs. STUBBS. "The Scriptures of God are not like men's words, for no man knoweth the mind of a man but himself; we see our hearts in the Word of God, and I think some of the churches of God have the knowledge of the interpretation of the tongues. But consider your own ministers. Truly, my heart mourneth to see the general hardness of heart when we speak to any that standeth with you. The Word of God can take no place, you have so strengthened them in their sins, saying, 'Peace,' 'Peace.' You can do no way so much as to call them the church of God when you are 'without' by the Word of God. Truly a woeful peace, to whom the wrath of God is pronounced."

Cartwright requested his sister-in-law to furnish him with her recollections of their conversation. In closing her statement she says, "You asked me another time how I thought of your words? I said they came to my mind whether I would or not; and, that the more I considered them, the faster I stood in the truth that I had showed you at your going. You said that the Lord knocked at my door that I might open unto Him, and that you marvelled what a veil of ignorance I had on my heart, and I said, I could say nothing to your words. Truly, I thank the Lord, to whom be all glory. I do not pass for man's judgment. I open unto the Lord in obeying of his truth, so far as I know, with all my heart, and I marvel you could say, "I answered nothing to your words." Thus have I my love, as one that would gladly rejoice to see you profess the truth in upright heart, fulfilled your request in jotting down these reasons."

In his reply Cartwright says, "Notwithstanding my business presses me much and the day of my trouble approaching, I know not whether, if I now let it pass, I shall afterward find the opportunity to answer your letter. I would have rejoiced in the Lord's gift of memory towards you which retains so faithfully many of the speeches which passed between us; yet my rejoicing herein is somewhat abated, fearing lest you should not bow to the truth." After enlarging on the several points before discussed, Cartwright justly censures the habit of the Brownists of pronouncing the sentence of divine wrath on those who did not agree with them in opinion.

"You say we are fallen from the truth, whom have we had to convince us of our apostacy and departure from God? You have, indeed, enough of those who speak against us, and denounce fearful judgments upon us; but they are not ministers sent unto us, and, if they were, yet having no reproofs in their mouths, nor arguments to confute us. Their thundering by those judgments and condemnations are like headless arrows, not taken out of the Lord's quiver, but from their own sides, prick from the weak hand of their own conceit rather than from the mighty peril of the Lord. Either your passions or partial affections did overcome you, and cause you to forget the truth on this point, as I willingly think your own heart gave a check to your pen." *

"Thus, sister," Cartwright says, in conclusion, "have I, in aim and desire to do you good, written some answer to your letter, which I protest is in persuasion from the Word of God, and according to that measure of kindness which it hath pleased the Lord to impart unto me. As I desire you would receive nothing but by the sealed measure and weight of the sanctuary; so I desire that you would not reject anything before you have met it by the standard of the word. I care not who of your friends and favourers may examine my answer; yet would I crave this of you, that you have the first reading in your chamber by yourself, lest the cause of your patience and judg-

* Brook's Memoirs of Thomas Cartwright, p. 21.

ment should, by some temptation, be broken off. If you remember the frailty of all mankind subject to error, then the weakness of yourself, and the small ordinary means you have had of discerning exactly the truth, it will be a good help to you of striving according to the measure of faith the Lord hath bestowed upon you. So desiring that the Lord may, indeed, open the eyes of your understanding, and bless unto you any good means to bring you into the kingdom of his dear Son, over all the hills and mountains that either the woman's frailty or the malice of Satan may cast in your way." *

Browne at Bury St. Edmunds.

In the course of his restless and almost ubiquitous peregrinations, Browne visited Bury St. Edmunds. For several years the congregation of the parish of St. James in that ancient town had enjoyed the acceptable ministrations of John Handson and Richard Gayton; and at this time (August 8, 1582) "the townsmen" expressed, in a petition to the Privy Council, their "unspeakable grief" at the efforts made to drive them away. This, however, was not the only case of grievance. For two years, Elias Copping, a parishioner, committed to prison by the commissary of the bishop, so persisted in his Nonconformity, that the whole gaol suffered from the contagion of his example. "The best and most learned preachers" who had conference with him desired that he might be "removed out of the said prison for doing of more hurt."

Elias Copping.

The bishop gave instructions that he should be closely watched, and that any seditious words that might escape his lips should be reported. Witnesses came with eagerness to sign their depositions. "John Gyll" stated, that in one of his visits to

* Harleian MSS. 7581, art. 3.

"Coppin" he had called him a "dumme dogge." "John Carew, gent.," "walking on in the gallery, came down and hard Coppying say y^t^ the Quene's Ma^tie^ was pariured." Thomas Niter, "under keeper of the gayll," also "hard John Copen spake theis wordes, that the Quene's Ma^tie^ is puregid to man and God."

The report of his case, and of the spread of his opinions in the country "thereabout," determined the Ecclesiastical Commission to visit the place. They found great excitement caused by the preaching of Browne. The bishop informed Lord Burghley * that it was needful to arrest him. By conference, correspondence, and mild restraint, the reforming agitator was reduced to conformity, and subsided into a parochial clergyman at a church in Northamptonshire, under the observation of his neighbour, Thomas Fuller, the ecclesiastical historian. The people who had adopted the principles he now relinquished were not so easily subdued. "Let us," said his former colleague, Robert Harrison, "in the midst of our straits and impossibilities, take in hand our enterprise in the Lord with humbleness, wisdom, and simple-heartedness, not only in those things which we can foresee and hope for, but also in many things unlooked for." Robert Harrison.

The excitement at Bury St. Edmunds continued.†

* Robert Browne was schoolmaster of St. Olave's Grammar School for two and a half years, from Lady Day, 1589, to Michaelmas, 1591. His salary was £20 per annum. He was first cousin of Lord Burghley, being a son of Edmond Browne, who married Joan Cypele, daughter of David Cypele, Esq., of Stamford, and half-sister to Lord Burghley's father, Richard Cypele of Burghley.

† Egerton MSS., 1693, 91. Lansdowne, 37, 28. Ibid., 64, 34.

"Wodde," a very "simple" young man, who had been chosen on trial to drive out the ministers, according to agreement, was removed by one of the justices of the peace. Dr. Day was sent by the bishop to maintain order, but his conduct was so preposterous that the local authorities treated him with contempt. Day, telling his own story, says: "27 June, 1581. Mr. Gayton forgetteth himself more and more in the pulpit. He concluded by the first of the Acts of the Apostles that no *one* might appoint ministers but the disciples in every parish; neither ought anything in government to be urged than God in his Word commandeth. Mr. Barbour hath called me 'Tosspot.' Oh that your lordship would but send for him, and bind him over to his good behaviour, you would greatly encourage me to go 'forwart.' At least I must make friends to be in commission for the peace, otherwise I fear there will be no dwelling here for me."

Troubles of the Bishop's Commissary.

The bishop, to support his zealous officials, framed "articles"* against the justices, which they were summoned to answer. Their "worships" explained, that with respect to the restraint imposed on Dr. Day, his appointment of officers was illegal, and that his object in making "questmen" was on purpose to gall and annoy the preachers and ministers, "the honestest sort of the town." Contrary to his promise to desist in these irregular acts, he

* Articles exhibited by the Bishop of Norwich against Sir Robert Jermyn. "Art. 3. Whereas some of the preachers in Bury, in their sermons and otherwise, have published and stiffly maintained that none may be tolerated in the ministry but such as be preachers, some of the justices do countenance the preachers of that doctrine."—Egerton MSS., 1693, 89—91 pp.

instituted some most unsuitable persons, and, when summoned to meet the bench of magistrates at the "Angel," he treated them with contempt. One of them was provoked by his conduct to call him "Jack," and bound him to his good behaviour. "Phillip," brother of the commissary, was, if possible, still more insolent. In his sermon he defamed the godly preachers of the town and country, comparing them to "unbridled colts, rushing through the whole hedge—and, not so contented, called them vipers and insatiable beasts."

Elias Thacker and John Copping.

The High Commissioners resolved to check this inclination to favour the Puritan ministers, and by a single stroke to effect a clearance of the Separatists. Elias Thacker and John Copping were convicted, July, 1583, for "dispersing the books written by Robert Brown and Robert Harrison." Though they professed allegiance to the Queen, they were executed during the assizes, and were allowed no time for an appeal to the Privy Council or a petition to the Queen. Other offenders against ecclesiastical law were dealt with as summarily. One minister was convicted for saying that if it had been known when Elias Thacker was to have suffered, "there would have been five hundred followers more than was at his execution." Sir Christopher Wray concludes his report by stating that "There be very many young ministers of small learning and discretion that will not keep the order of the Book of Common Prayer. Many were persons that will not come to the church to service unless there be a sermon, and so there are divers presumptions that there remain of Copping and Elias' Opinions." At

Thetford, the capital of East Anglia, it was deemed necessary to make an example. William Dennis, a Separatist, was put to death for his opinions. Minor irregularities were punished by fine. We find in the "Minutes of the Assembly, Guildhall," the following entry:—

William Dennis.

"Yesterdaye being the 4th of this instant, Mr. Mayor and Recorder caused divers slowfull persons to paye to the poores use vi d. a pece for their not cominge to the churche, whereupon John Hillage this present daye openlye reported in the hearinge of divers persons, to the discredit of the Mayor and Recorder, and the annymatinge of the inferyor people, that if he had been as they he woulde not have paid y^{t}, and that they did more than they might doe in taking money of St. Mary's parishe, etc., and dealing with the poore, but not with the ryche, telling Mr. Mayor that y^{t} had been well done to have gyven y^{t} them agayne beinge so takinge. To make them beware for which, and many other inconvenient words here confessed by him, the said John was committed."*

To complete his plans for the entire suppression of Nonconformity, Whitgift obtained a decree from the Star Chamber that no printing-press should be allowed unless certified to the Stationers' Company, and that none should be kept in any other place than London, except one in each of the universities. No book, indeed, should be printed anywhere but with the approval of the Archbishop or the Bishop of London. Forbidden to hear the preaching of the Puritan preachers, to read their books, or to express sympathy with them when called to suffer the penalties of the law, the people, it was supposed, would be kept within the limits of episcopal sway. But the yoke was too grievous to

Further Restraint.

* Thetford's Corporation Records.

be borne. The silenced ministers, wearied "with forbearing," felt the "word to be as fire in their bones," and that they "must speak." Many of them who had graduated in the universities found occupation in "visitation" families, and availed themselves of every opportunity to preach without "subscription." Robert Wright, who had for seven years occupied a pulpit at Cambridge, conscientiously objecting to several parts of the Service Book, retired to Antwerp, and for some time officiated as assistant to Cartwright, and as preacher to a Scotch regiment in the garrison. On his return to England, he became chaplain to Lord Rich at Rochford in Essex, and with the sanction of Mr. Berriman, the parish clergyman, formed a church is his own house. John Greenwood, who had been deprived of his benefice in Norfolk, was associated with him in the pastoral care.* The Bishop of London was greatly incensed against Lord Rich for permitting this "conventicle," and peremptorily demanded the surrender to his pursuivant of the offending chaplain. After prolonged resistance the bishop prevailed, and Wright was thrown into prison. The inhabitants of the Hundred of Rochford, under a sense of privation and injury, petitioned the Privy Council for the restoration of "the godly and learned preachers" who had been "superseded" or "deprived," and complained that they were "encumbered with drones."

Robert Wright and John Greenwood.

* "It is already gone thus far, that many of both sorts (noblemen and gentlemen) will have their several ministers, and for coming to their parish churches, though they be laid by their doors, they account it a dishonourable matter. Their parlour service and private speaking (as they term it) pleaseth them best."—Bancroft's Survey, p. 98.

"It is not the want of bread" they said, "that we suffer, or scarcity of corn, but it is wrong done to our souls, and the want of spiritual food. The pastors now set over us are not only unable to teach, but also of an ungodly life. Such as have been *Popish priests, tailors, wheelwrights, fletchers, serving men, and many of them alehouse haunters, dicers, quarrellers, whoremongers, and full of gross sins.*"* These complaints were general. The ministers of Norfolk found it extremely difficult to prevent the people from attending the meetings of the Brownists. The younger Puritans looked for help in the case from Parliament. John Penry, a native of Brecknockshire, reiterated his impassioned appeals that the gospel might be preached in Wales. "Thousands of our people," he told them, "know Jesus Christ to be neither God nor man—priest nor prophet—almost never heard of him. Preaching itself in many parts is quite unknown. In some places a sermon is read once in three months."

John Penry.

These importunate entreaties were of no avail. Some of the ministers felt, therefore, that to continue silent under the circumstances, would be to incur "blood guiltiness." "*We begin to think,*" they said, in an address to Parliament, "*that it is our duty to preach to our people* as we have opportunity, *notwithstanding our suspension,* and to commit our lives and whole estates to Almighty God as to a faithful Creator, and under God to the gracious clemency of the Queen and of the Honourable House."

To fulfil this Christian purpose several ministers

* Memorials to the same effect were sent to the Privy Council from Cambridge, Cornwall, Kent, Lincoln, Oxford, Suffolk and other counties.

from the Eastern Counties removed to London, and were followed by their parishioners. Whitgift, apprized of their intention, warned his clerical subordinates to prevent their access to the metropolitan pulpits. John Greenwood, on leaving Rochford, came also to the City. Not concerned for patronage or episcopal sanction in any form, he gathered around him a small number of Christian people at the house of Henry Martin, at St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, within the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. Whilst occupied in reading the Scriptures at this humble gathering, Greenwood (with Evans, who had been ordained by Bishop Grindall, previously a student of law), were arrested. At the same time, warrants were issued for the apprehension of Nicolas Crane, Henry White, George Snell, Edward Boyce, Ann Jackson, George Collier, Katharine Waterer, Robert Lacey, Thomas Freeman, Edith Bury, Edward Pryce, Margaret Maynard, Alice Roe, Agnes Wyman, Robert English, John Chandler, Edward Thompson, Robert Redburne, Thomas Russell, Peter Allery, and Widow Barrowe. Seventeen of their number were brought up for examination before the Bishop of London (Oct. 8, 1586-7)*. Greenwood was committed to the Clink prison in Southwark. On the 19th of November he was visited by a faithful friend and fellow-labourer, Henry Barrowe, the third son of Thomas Barrowe, of Shipdam, in Norfolk, a graduate of Cambridge, and student of Gray's Inn,† who in a remarkable manner had been led to

Separatists in London.

Henry Barrowe.

* S. P. Dom.

† Gray's Inn Register. Harleian MSS., 1912, art. 3

relinquish his connections at Court, and to identify himself with the cause of the poor and despised Separatists. Barrowe had no sooner arrived at the Clink than the keeper locked him up, Sabbath morning as it was, and sent him by boat in the care of a pursuivant, to be examined by the Archbishop at Lambeth, assisted by the Archdeacon and Dr. Cosins.

At the opening of the proceedings, a colloquy arose on the subject of the prisoner's arrest :—

ARCHBISHOP. "Is your name Barrowe?"

BARROWE. "Yes."

ARCH. "It is told me that you refuse to obey our letter. Know you what you do? It is from the High Commissioners, and this man is a pursuivant."

BAR. "I refused to receive or obey that letter, at that time."

ARCH. "Why so?"

BAR. "Because I was under arrest, and imprisoned *without warrant*, and against *law*. It was, therefore, too late to bring the letter."

ARCH. "Why, may not a councillor commit to prison by his own commandment?"

BAR. "That is not the question, what a councillor may do; but whether this man (pointing to the keeper of the Clink) may do it, without warrant, by the law of the land."

The objections of the prisoner were soon overruled, and he was remanded to the Gatehouse without learning from the reverend judges the cause of his detention.

Colloquy with Lord Burghley.

At a subsequent hearing (July 18, 1587) before the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Buckhurst, the Bishop of London, Justice Young, Dr. Some, and others, Burghley (the Lord Treasurer) attended, and took part in the examination (*the prisoner kneeling*) :—

BURGHLEY. "Why are you in prison, Barrowe?"

BAR. "I am in prison, my lord, upon the statute made for recusants."

BURGH. "Why will you not come to church?"

BAR. "My whole desire is to come to the church of God."

BURGH. "I see thou art a fantastical fellow. But why not come to our churches?"

BAR. "My lord, the causes are great and many; as 1. Because all the wicked in the land are received unto the Communion; 2. You have a false and Antichristian ministry set over your church; 3. You do not worship God aright, but in an idolatrous and a superstitious manner; and 4. Your church is *not governed by the Testament of Christ, but by the Romish Courts and Canons.*"

BURGH. "Here is matter enough, indeed. I perceive thou takest delight to be an author of this new religion."

CHANCELLOR. "I never heard such stuff in all my life. *Do you hold tithes to be unlawful?*"

BAR. "My lord, *such laws are abrogated and unlawful.*"

BURGH. "Why, thou wouldst have the minister to live of somewhat, whereof should he live?"

BAR. "*Ex pura eleemosyna.* Of clear alms, as Christ in his Testament hath ordained, and as his apostles."

BURGH. "But how if the people will not give?"

BAR. "Such are not the people of God."

BURGH. "But what shall the ministers do in the meantime?"

BAR. "Not stand a minister to such, neither take the goods of the profane."

BURGH. "*Where canst thou show me from Scripture that ministers ought not to live by tithes?*"

BAR. "Heb. vii. 12; Gal. vi. 6. In the one place *tithes are abrogated;* in the other, *another kind of provision is made for ministries.* The words of the former text are these: 'For *the priesthood being changed*, there is made *of necessity a change also of the law.*' And you cannot deny that *tithes were a part of that law.* As Numbers xviii."

BURGH. "Wouldst thou have the minister to have all my goods?"

BAR. "No, my lord, but I would have you not *withhold your* goods in helping him—neither rich nor poor are exempted from this duty."

For six years Barrowe and Greenwood occupied themselves in writing piecemeal on scraps of paper, as they found opportunity, various tracts explanatory of their views, which were secretly conveyed to Holland to be printed, and then returned for circulation in England. In these prison documents they disclaimed all participation in the Puritan movement for remodelling the State Church. "Our purpose," they say emphatically, "*is not to meddle with the reformation of the State*, otherwise than by our prayers to God, and refraining from all things that are not according to God's law." They set forth in the most impressive terms personal responsibility in the search of Christian truth, and in obedience to its requirements, as in the sight of God. "We are not to follow the multitude," they said, "to do evil, but in all things to follow faith in the conservation of our souls, and to grow up into Him, whom, whiles we hold fast, and whose word, whiles we have for all things we do, or refuse to do, we need not fear the threats of any men." They maintained that it was the duty of all Christian believers to enter into church fellowship for the advancement of the truth, and in obedience to Christ. With admirable clearness they described the constitution and offices of the church, as set forth in Scripture. In a remarkable paper, preserved in the State records, endorsed by Jerome Studley,* one of the Separatist prisoners, it is stated: "The church, as it is seen in this present world, consisteth of a company and fellowship* of faithful and holy people, gathered in the

Prison writings.

Description of a visible church.

* S. P. Dom, Eliz., 235-57.

name of Christ Jesus, their only King, Priest, and Prophet, worshipping Him aright, being peaceably and quietly governed by his officers and laws, keeping the unity of the faith in the bond of peace and love unfeigned.

"To this society are the covenant and all the promises made—of peace, of love, and of salvation, of the presence of God, of his graces, of his power, and of his protection.

"And, surely, if this Church be considered in her parts, she shall appear most beautiful; yea, most wonderful, and even ravishing the senses to conceive much more to behold. What then, to enjoy so blessed a communion? for behold, her King and Lord is the King of Peace and Lord Himself of all glory. She enjoyeth most holy and heavenly laws, most faithful and vigilant pastors, most sincere and pure teachers, most careful and upright governors, most diligent and trusty deacons, most loving and sober reprovers, and a most humble, meek, obedient, faithful, and loving people; every stone living, elect, and precious; every stone hath his *beauty*, his *burden*, and his *order*—all bound to edify one another, exhort, reprove, and comfort one another lovingly as to their own members, faithfully as in the eyes of God.

"We seek to worship and obey Christ as our only King, Priest, and Prophet: and to our prince we are humble and obedient subjects in all things which are not repugnant to God's laws.

"There is no power given the prince to restrain any jot, or liberty, and power of the Church, or to withhold any one person from doing

the whole will of God in their calling, much less is there any power given the prince to draw or compel the Church, or any member thereof, to the least transgression or error; yea, when the prince shall in anything be found contrary to God, God is then to be obeyed rather than man. When the prince suffereth not the Word of God to have free passage, he sinneth and doth not his duty. But *this can be no excuse for us to cease to do the will of God or to intermit our duty.* If he draw the sword and smite us for well-doing, that but augmenteth his sin; and the blessing of God resteth upon us that suffer for righteousness' sake. We may not for fear of persecution or the indignation of princes leave the commandment of God undone.

"No prince, neither all the men of the world, *nor the Church itself, can make any laws for the Church other than Christ has left in his Word.*"

Aims of the Separatists.

Once for all the imprisoned Separatists stated distinctly their aims, immediate and ulterior, in the following particulars:—

I. We seek, above all things, the peace and protection of the Most High, and the kingdom of Christ Jesus our Lord.

II. We seek and fully purpose to worship God aright, according as He hath commanded in his most holy word.

III. We seek the fellowship of his faithful and obedient servants, and together with them to enter covenant with the Lord, and by the direction of the Holy Spirit, to proceed to a godly, free, and right choice of ministers and other officers by Him ordained to the service of his Church.

IV. We seek to establish and obey the ordinances and laws of our Saviour Christ, left by his last will and testament to the governing and guiding of his Church, without altering, changing, innovating, wresting, *or leaving out any of them that the Lord shall give us a sight of.*

V. We purpose by the assistance of the Holy Ghost in this faith and order to lead our lives, and for this faith and order to leave our lives, if such be the good will of our heavenly Father, to whom be honour and glory. Amen.

The advocates of Church Establishments have often condemned voluntary effort for the religious instruction of the people, on the ground that it was needless; and because the efficiency of the system that covered the entire country, left no room for other teachers. It may be asked, therefore, at this point how far the Anglican Church, according to its own authentic representation, possessed this complete and efficient organization. To learn this let us enter the Council Chamber at "Somerset Place" and listen to a passing conversation. It is a full meeting, for the bishops are here to present the subsidy of the clergy.

The Queen and her Bishops in the Council Chamber.

QUEEN. "I accept the offering, my lord bishops, thankfully, since it comes *voluntarily* and frankly, whereas the laity must be entreated and moved thereto."

LORD TREASURER. "Madam, these men come with mites, but we will come with pounds."

QUEEN. "I esteem more of their mites than of your pounds, for that they *come of themselves*, not moved; but you tarry till you be urged thereunto. My lord bishops, I thank the clergy for whatsoever you have bestowed upon me; I am to bestow it upon you again. God grant I may bestow it to his glory and to the benefit of the realm."

"My lord bishops, we understand that some of the Nether House have used divers reproachful speeches against you, tending greatly to your dishonour, which we will not suffer; and that they meddle with matters above their capacity, not appertaining unto them, for the which we will call some of them to account. We understand, also, that they be countenanced by some of our council, which we will redress or else uncouncil some of them. But we will not charge the whole House with this disorder, for although there be some intemperate and rash heads, yet there be many wise and discreet men who do find just cause of grievance against some of you: first, in that you have not greater care in making ministers, whereof some be of such lewd life and corrupt behaviour, whereof we know of some such that be *not worthy to come into any honest company.*

"Again, you suffer many ministers to preach what they list, and to minister the sacrament according to their own fancies—some one way, some another, to the breach of unity; and some of them so curious in searching matters above their capacity, as they preach they wot not what, that there is no hell, but a torment of conscience; nay, I have heard that there be six preachers in one diocese, the which do preach six sundry ways. I wish such men to be brought to conformity and unity, that they minister the sacraments according to this realm, and preach all one truth; and that such as be found not worthy to preach to be compelled to read homilies, such as were set forth in our brother, King Edward, his time, and since: for there is more learning in one of those than in twenty of some of their sermons; and we require you that you do not favour such men, being carried away with pity, hoping of their conformity and inclining to noblemen's letters, and gentlemen's letters, for they will be hanged before they be reformed.

"Further, I may tell you that I have received a letter from beyond the sea to inform me that the Papists hope to prevail, for that the Protestants mistake me; and indeed they do. For I have heard that some of them have said that I was of no religion, but such a one as one day would give God the vomit. I pray you look to such men. I doubt not but you will look unto the Papists, for they not only have spite at me (and that very nearly) but at the whole realm and the state of religion. There is an Italian proverb which saith, 'From mine enemies let me defend

myself, but from a pretended friend, good Lord deliver me.' Both these join together in one opinion against me for neither would have me to be Queen of England; and as for these canons and lusty fellows, their preaching tendeth only to popularity.

"I wish the bishops to look into private conventicles; and now I miss my Lord of London who looketh no better into the City, where every merchant must have his schoolmaster and nightly conventicles, expounding Scriptures and catechizing their servants and maids; insomuch that I have heard some of their maids have not sticked to control learned preachers, and say that 'such a man taught otherwise in our house.' Lastly, let me come to the High Commission. It is abused by the commissioners in that they deal with matters not incident to their commission, and with tithes, legacies, and debts. I will let them know that if they do not keep within proper bounds, I will call them to account and take it from them."

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. "Madam, for my own part, I will look into these things as well as I can; and I will take order with my brethren, as I trust they will look better into such things. But, madam, let me use the best means I can, some things will escape amiss; and when it is so, I would every man were charged with his own fault, and not the fault of one or two to be laid unto all."

LORD TREASURER. "Truly, my lord, her Majesty hath declared unto you a marvellous great fault in that you make in this time so many lewd and unlearned ministers."

ARCHBISHOP. "Well"—

QUEEN. "Draw articles, and burden them that have offended."

LORD TREASURER. "I do not burden them that be here; but it is the Bishop of Lichfield that I mean, *who made seventy ministers in one day for money: some tailors, some shoemakers, and other craftsmen.* I am sure the greatest part of them are not able to keep houses."

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER. "That may be so, for I know one that made seven in one day. I would every man might bear his own burden. Some of us have the greatest wrong that can be offered; for mine own part, I am sure I never made above three in one day. But, my lord, if you would have none but learned preachers admitted into the ministry you must provide livings for them."

My Lord of Canterbury. "To have learned ministers in every parish is, in my judgment, impossible. Being thirteen thousand parishes in England, I know not how this realm should yield so many learned preachers."

The Queen. "Jesus! thirteen thousand is not to be looked for. I think the time has been there hath not been four in a diocese. My meaning is, not you should make choice of learned preachers only, but of honest, sober, and wise men, and such as can read the homilies well unto the people."

CHAPTER II.

Bancroft thoroughly understood the difference between the Puritans and the Separatists. Keen, subtle, and ever on the alert, he watched the movements of both parties, and read with the closest attention their publications. "The Puritans," he says, "must have, forsooth, in every assembly, their pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, and *the church new-framed after their fashion.*" "Cartwright could have been contented to have erected his elderships in every parish, *taking them as they now are.*" The Barrowists say, "The parish assemblies are Popish and unlawful, and have their elderships set up amongst no people, but first they must enter into a new covenant. Barrowe *will have the people to join with the eldership.*" "These Reformists," says Barrowe (Discov. p. 195), "for fashion's sake give the people a little liberty to sweeten their mouths, and make them believe that they should choose their own ministers. Yet even in this pretended choice they do cozen and beguile them, leaving them nothing but the smoky wind of election only. They would exclude the Church from the censures, assuming them only into their own hands. Thus

Bancroft's account of Puritans and Separatists.

they subvert the liberty of the Church, and pervert the ordinances of Christ."

In the midst of the serious discussions conducted by Barrowe and Cartwright, a series of anonymous publications made their appearance, known as the Marprelate Tracts. The bishops complained bitterly of these publications. Bridges, to disprove the allegations contained in them, wrote a ponderous volume of fourteen hundred pages, and was answered in a bantering style by the pamphlet, "O Read over John Bridges." Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, wrote a defence called an "Admonition to the People of England." "It is the duty of all," his lordship maintains, "to conceal the faults of their superiors rather than to expose them, and not to envy their greatness or their wealth. If the Archbishop for recreation plays at bowls on Sunday, he does not leave the service for this pastime, and he attends prayers twice every day in the week."

Marprelate Tracts.

"Think of the bishops and preachers," he adds, "how basely and uncharitably soever it shall please you. They are not only the *surgeons of your souls*, but your spiritual fathers also. A natural child, though he suffer grief and injuries at his father's hand, will not be in a rage against him; but will take the hurts patiently and mildly, so long as any way they may be borne." Martin resumed the controversy with more audacity and scurrility than ever, selecting as a title for his reply one of the cries of London, "Hay any worke for Cooper?"

The "lawn" suffered in this rough contest. The

civil power was again invoked by the discomfited and unhappy prelates. Burghley, in the name of the Queen (Nov. 12th, 1588), wrote to condemn the Tracts, and a proclamation was issued (Feb. 13th, 1588-9) "to have such *enormous malefactors* discovered, and condignly punished." The most active search was made for Martin himself, but he eluded all pursuit. Secure as in an invisible cloak, he mocked his baffled foes :—

"Why, my clergy masters," he asks, "is it even so with your terribleness? May not a poor gentleman signify his goodwill unto you by a letter, but presently you must put yourselves to the pains and charges of calling four bishops together:—John Canterbury, John London, Thomas Winchester, William of Lincoln; and posting over city and country for poor Martin? Why, his meaning in writing unto you was not that you should take the pains to seek for him. Did you think that he did not know where he was himself? Or, did you think him to have been clean lost that you sought so diligently for him? I thank you, brethren, I can be well, though you do not send to know how I do. My mind toward you, you shall from time to time understand.

"It will be but folly for you to persecute the courtier, Martin, until you have cleared yourselves (which you can never do) of the crimes he hath laid to your charge. Alas! poor bishops, you would fain be hidden in a net, I perceive. Have but a free disputation with the Puritans, for the unlawfulness of your place, and if you be not overthrown, I will come in, and do unto you what you think good; for then I will say that you are no popes. There was the 'Demonstration of Discipline,' published together with mine 'Epistle,' which is a book wherein you are challenged by the Puritans to adventure your bishopries against their lives in disputation. You have gotten a good excuse to be deaf at that challenge, under colour of seeking for Martin."

A clue was at length supposed to be found for

the discovery of the audacious scribbler and his associates. The secret press was traced to Manchester; Whitgift who had been sorely troubled wrote immediately to the Lord Treasurer.*

Discovery of the secret press.

"I do understand that the printers of certain books of Martin Marp are sent up to your Lordships, being found printing northward, by the Earl of Derby. I assure myself that they shall be dealt with according to their deserts. The letters wherewith they were now taken printing, are the same whereby Martin junior and Martin senior, as they term themselves, were printed, and therefore, I doubt not but that the author of those unchristian libels may by them be detected. I know how greatly your Lordships doth detest such actions, being against all Christianity, and not to be tolerated among the heathen. If we were such men as they would make us, we were not worthy to live, much less to enjoy our places, and yet not to be used in that manner and sort. For my own part, in respect of myself (the greatest mote in their eye), I make small account of their malice, neither did I ever break sleep for the cause thereof; yet in respect of my calling and profession, and of the scandal that by such lewd libels be ministered, apt to believe anything, I could wish them dealt with according to their deserts and the quality of their offence; *and the rather by your Lordship than by ourselves*, that the world may know that we are not cast off as objects of the world; but that justice shall as well take place in our causes, as it doth in all other men; the rather because we sustain these injuries by Martinists for doing our duties in suppressing sects and wicked opinions, and in maintaining the State and Government by law established, yet wounded through our sides: and so with my hearty prayers to God for you, I commit you to his tuition. From Canterb. the 24th of August, 1589. Your L. most assured, Jo. Cantuar."

As a prelude to the decided course now to be adopted for the suppression of the Puritans, Bancroft preached a sermon at "Paule's Crosse,

* Lansdowne, 61, 3.

the first Sunday in the Parliament, anno 1588," as "Chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight and Chancellor of England." It contained a skilful indictment and an earnest call to the authorities to proceed without delay to bring the offenders to the tribunal of justice, and visit them with the punishment due to their offences.

Bancroft's sermon at "Paule's Crosse."

"Martin" was the grand culprit whose crimes were vehemently denounced. In the long succession of "false prophets, gone out into the world," he came in the rear, "the worst of them all." The preacher proved by an argument of his own invention, that he was "an heretic," like "Francis Ket, who was within these two months burnt at Norwich." He held the opinion that "when Christ used these words, *Dic Ecclesiæ*, He meant thereby to establish in the Church for ever the same platform of ecclesiastical government to be erected in every parish, which Moses, by Jethro's counsel, appointed in Mount Sinai, and which afterward the Jews did imitate in their particular synagogue." He poured contempt upon bishops, and Cyprian observed in his time that this was the beginning of heresy. In his "malice" and "ignorance" he affirmed that a "priest" was "equal in honour and dignity with a bishop."

Aerius for holding the same opinion was condemned for heresy. Moreover, Martin said that no "petty popes like the archbishops and bishops ought to be maintained or tolerated in any Christian Commonwealth." Upon his principles,

"Her Majesty is a petty pope," and so "not to be tolerated."

The rise of this dangerous party Bancroft traces to the followers of John Knox. After a recital of their "pranks" in Scotland, he points out expressions in their writings of seditious tendency. "Martin threateneth fists." The author of the second admonition speaks of "many thousand" that desire reformation. Another says, "Presbytery must prevail," and it may be by "means which will make your hearts to ache." "I assure you, my brethren," Bancroft gravely adds, "these are desperate points, and except good order be taken, and that in time, these things will grow to some extremities." In a strain that now reads like solemn burlesque, he concludes by an appeal to the magistrates promptly to "suppress such spirits."

"Touching Scotland," Penry in a pamphlet replied—"We desire not the eldership to be planted in the Church of England, because Scotland or Geneva enjoyeth the same; but inasmuch as Christ Jesus the Head and King of his Church, hath commanded it to be therein." "As for anything that is amiss (if there be aught) either in Geneva or Scotland, we labour no more than to have the great abuses that reigned in the church of Corinth or Galatia to be imitated."

Penry's reply.

At the request of Sir Francis Knollys, a most learned and effective reply to Bancroft was written by John Rainoldes, in which he proved in a review of the entire range of patristic literature, that he was completely in error, about "Aerius" and others. Sir Francis would have written a direct reply him-

self, but for the express command of the Queen, that he should not deal with the Puritans.

Armed with the power now given to him, Whitgift resolved to break up the Puritan party. He began with Cartwright, his old antagonist, who was at once suspended from preaching, and summoned to appear before the High Commission, at the consistory of St. Paul's. The great point with his accusers was to connect him with the authorship of the Marprelate Tracts. As no witnesses could be found to prove the offence against him, it was demanded that he should convict himself by the oath *ex officio;* to this procedure Cartwright demurred, but explained in a letter to Lord Burghley, that he was prepared to give full satisfaction on the point in any way that would not be prejudicial to others. "If," he said, "there were any articles that I refused to answer upon oath, I offer to give reason hereof, which, if it do not satisfy them, I will submit myself to the punishment they shall award."

Cartwright and the High Commission.

James Morrice, attorney of Ward's, wrote an able treatise to show the iniquity of the oath, *ex officio*,* as repugnant to the law of God, and injurious to the policy of the realm, and sent it to Lord Burghley; but the bishops were not to be repressed in the keen pursuit of their intended victims.

Tomkins and Symons, the printers, were subjected to the rack to compel them to tell all they knew concerning the Marprelate Tracts.† The leading Puritans were convened before the High Commission, and their studies broken open by force, and ransacked for pri-

* Lansdowne MSS., vol. 82 art. 69. † Yelverton MSS.

vate papers. Whitgift informed the Lord Treasurer, that at length the real culprits were discovered, and the evidence obtained for their conviction. From the notes of a speech of counsel, in support of the indictment against them, it is clear that the aim of their accusers was to bring them under the penalty of treason.

Speech of Counsel.

"There have been many," he said, "which, since her Majesty's reign, have sought by every kind of lewd and seditious books, libels, and pamphlets to slander the present estate of the Church of England, and to bring the same into hatred with all the world, as Hardinge, Dorman, Martiale, Heskins, Stapleton, Gregory, Martin, and Cardinal Allen:—all of them shooting particularly at this mark to seduce and allure unto them her Majesty's subjects, by persuading of them that we have no lawful church in England, no bishops. The chief drift and end of Cartwright and others is this; if they can bring it to pass, the overthrow of the present estate of the Church, to erect forsooth a new kind of government in the land, and by such ecclesiastical senates in every parish, as are termed by them parish consistories, a device never heard of in this realm since first it received the doctrine of Christ:—and is indeed nothing else but an idle conceit consisting of pride and falsehood and all manner of forgery tending to the most dangerous and confused tyranny greater than ever the Pope's was:—that is, that they themselves may sit at the helm to rule the Church as they list; that every one of them may be a bishop, nay, rather a pope, in his own parish; that they may teach us such forms of prayer in our churches as shall fall out every day to be agreeable to their humours; that they may make new laws and orders for the government of the Church, such as upon every occasion they shall think meet."*

Sir Francis Knollys watched the case with great concern, and suggested that in a question of this kind, the judges should have the assistance of a

* Lansdowne MSS., 68; Lansdowne, 13, 37.

doctor of divinity, and a doctor of civil law.* He was convinced that this contest for superiority on the part of the bishops was perilous to the State; but he was tongue-tied. In a letter to Lord Burghley, he says, "Your Lordship doth see what a strait I am driven into; please show this, my letter, unto her Majesty, that her Majesty may give me leave to speak my own conscience freely in this cause, or else make me a private man."

Cartwright and his friends had no proper trial; the proceedings before the High Commission and in the Star Chamber were extremely harassing, but though inquisitorial examinations in every variety of form were repeated, the evidence could not be elicited which would justify an indictment for a capital offence, and the prisoners were "left in bond."†

Puritan ministers in prison.

The Puritan ministers in great destitution wrote a joint letter from prison to Sir Francis Knollys,‡ soliciting his advice. "The extremity of weather" compelled them to seek some relief. In an affecting memorial to Lord Burghley, they state, "besides our so long and so close imprisonment, we have been deprived of our livings and degraded of our ministry, and yet are restrained of our liberty, without any limitation, as if we had committed things worthy perpetual imprisonment. Wherefore we have now at last been advised to present our lamentable distress unto the gracious consideration of our dread sovereign, the

* Harleian MSS., 6848, 14.

† Popham's Report of Cartwright's Case; Lansdowne, 68, 18.

‡ Lansdowne. 109, 9. Cart. to Burgh.; Lansdowne, 64, 21.

last refuge, under God, of afflicted subjects. Now, knowing that not only we and our cause are become offensive to her Highness, through hard reports made against us, but also seeing the issue of these, *our miseries proveth hurtful to the growth of religion, and dangerous to the whole State*, by animating the malicious enemies of both, we thought it our bounden duty to God, to her excellent Majesty and the State, behovefull also unto our private peace, to move your honour, and upon our knees in the presence of the living and glorious God; to beseech you in your accustomed wisdom and care, to weigh our case, and according to the equity and important consequences hereof, to become an honourable means for us unto our most gracious and sovereign prince; that her Highness' displeasure being appeased, she may in her accustomed clemency, understanding our case, vouchsafe us her gracious relief."

In a carefully prepared memorial to the Queen, the Puritan ministers defined their ecclesiastical position, declaring that in their judgment the Anglican Establishment was "a true visible church of Christ, from the holy communion of which it was not lawful to depart, and that it had never been their intention to separate themselves from it.* Sir Francis Knollys himself was extremely anxious that they should be retained in the service of the Church to counteract the aggressive designs of the Romanists.

The fears of the worthy knight were not, indeed, groundless. To prepare the way for the Armada freighted with its instruments of torture for heretics, Cardinal Allen wrote a book in Rome,

* Lansdowne MSS., 72, 49.

which was printed in the Low Countries, with the sanction of the Pope, and the King of Spain, to stir up the papal party in England and to lend their aid in Ireland in the subjugation of that country. The Pope had previously issued "a declaration of the sentence and deposition of Elizabeth,* the usurper, and pretended Queen of England," in which he said, "Be it known by these presents, that it shall not only be lawful for any person, public or private (over and besides those which have undertaken the enterprise) to arrest, put in hold, and deliver up unto the Catholic party the said usurper, or any of her accomplices; but also holden for very good service, and most highly rewarded, according to the quality and condition of the parties so delivered: and in like manner all others, which heretofore have assisted, or hereafter shall help and concur to the punishment of the offences," etc.

Cardinal Allen's book.

After the citation of this promise, Allen writes: "Our holy father, of his benignity and favour to this enterprise, out of the spiritual treasures of the church committed to his custody and dispensation; granteth most liberally to all such as assist, concur, or help anywise to the deposition and punishment of the above-named persons, and to the reformation of these two countries England and Ireland; plenary indulgence, and pardon of all their sins," etc. The Cardinal, in the name of the Pope, renewed these assurances of grace and favour to all who would lend their help. In "An Admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland, concerning

* Dodd's Church History. Tierney, vol. iii., Appendix.

the present warres made for the execution of his Holiness' sentence by the high and mightie Kinge Catholike of Spaine,"* he said, "His Holiness confirmeth, reneweth, and reviveth the sentence declaratory of Pius Quintus, of blessed memory; and the censures of all his predecessors; and every branch, clause, and article of them against the said Elizabeth; as well concerning her illegitimation and usurpation, and inability to the crown of England; as for her excommunication and deposition in respect of her heresy, sacrilege, and abominable life: and dischargeth all men from all oath, obedience, fealty and fidelity towards her; requiring and desiring in the bowels of Christ, and commanding, under pain of excommunication, and other penalties of the law; and as they look for the favour and protection to them and their's afore promised; and will avoid the Pope's, King's, and other prince's high indignation; and that no man, of what degree or condition soever obey, abetter, aid, defend or acknowledge her for their prince or superior; but that all and every one, according to their quality, calling, and ability, immediately upon intelligence of his Holiness will by these my letters or otherwise; or at the *arrival of his Catholic Majesty's forces, be ready to join to the said army*, with all the power and aids they can make of men, munition, and victuals; *to help towards restoring the Catholic faith, and actual deposing of the usurper* in such sort and places as by the chief managers of this affair, and the general of this holy war shall be appointed for the best advancement of the cause."

* An Admonition, etc. Grenville Library.

"If any of you seek to uphold (which God forbid) the usurper in her complices, being thus cursed by the Church, and forsaken of God and of all good men; you that do the chief spectacle of sin and abomination in this our age, and the only poison, calamity, and destruction of our noble Church; fight not for God's love in that quarrel in which if you die, you are sure to be damned.—From my lodging in the palace of St. Peter's, Rome, April 28, 1588."

Case of John Udall.

The case of John Udall,* under the careful management of Bancroft, appeared to promise more success than that of Cartwright.

Udall was a painstaking minister at Kingston-upon-Thames. He gave offence at the beginning of his career by holding private meetings for social worship, and was deprived of his living. Under the patronage of the Earl of Huntingdon, he removed to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

"I was received thither," he tells us, "in such sort as contented me, and joined in the ministry of the Word with two godly men—Mr. Houldsworth, the pastor, and Mr. Bamford, a teacher—through whose joint labours God vouchsafed to draw the people to the love of the Word, notwithstanding the plague was grievous in the time, all the time I was there; and consumed above two thousand of the inhabitants." From this ministering service to the ignorant, neglected, sick and dying, he was summoned before the High Commission (Dec. 29, 1589).

* Harleian MSS., 6849, 164; 7042, 31. "Old Pontifical Practices," State Trials.

In the "sorest weather" he took the journey in the charge of Christopher Appleby, and arrived in London on January 13, 1589-90. After an examination at the house of Lord Cobham "in the Blackfriars," he was sent to the Gatehouse half-a-year; and then removed to the White Lion in Southwark, the county gaol of Surrey. On July 24, 1590-1, he was taken to Croydon, and indicted upon the statute of 23 Eliz., cap. 3, before Baron Clarke and Serjeant Puckering, for writing "A Demonstration, etc., a scandalous and infamous libel against the Queen's Majesty, her crown and dignity."

The Attorney-General, after a long preamble on the plot of the Puritans, carried on for six years to overthrow the government, turning to the prisoner, said:

Speech of the Attorney-General.

"And now, unto you particularly, because you face out your discipline with the show of learning, I trust you will confess that the only precept you show for it is comprehended in these words of Christ, *Dic Ecclesiæ:* whereby you say, our Saviour Christ meant to establish that form of government to continue in the Church for ever, which was used among the Jews; which kind of interpretation if it were hid from all the ancient fathers, and from the Church generally afterwards by the space of a thousand and above five hundred years, I would know by what revelation you presume to deliver it unto us. Whereas, in this question, we do greatly depend upon the expositions and collections we find amongst the ancient fathers. You laugh us to scorn, and tell us they were but men; as though you, yourselves were exempted from among that number, and were become everyone as a

pope, that could not err; but I will not enter into any disputation."*

The trial, as usual in such cases, was a mockery of justice. Udall was not allowed the aid of Counsel, and the jury were charged to the effect that they were not required to give a verdict on the point of law; but simply as to the fact of the authorship of the book containing the libel. Udall submitted to the court a document, in which he said, "Supposing me to be the author of the book in question, the said book for substance of it containeth nothing but that which is taught and believed to be a part of the Gospel of Christ by all the best reformed churches of Europe: wherein nothing being diverse from them, I cannot be condemned for it without condemning all such nations and churches as hold the same doctrine."

Various messages passed from the bench to the jury, after they had retired to consider the verdict; and before it was prepared, the foreman came into court to consult the judges on the proper form in which it should be expressed. After this fashion Udall was found guilty, but the court directed that he should be left for judgment to the following assizes, at the suggestion "contained in a note from Bancroft" to this effect:—

Correspondence of Bancroft with the Judges.

"To the Right Worshipful Mr. Serjeant Puckering, Justice of Assize, in the County of Surrey.—Sir, My L(ord's) advice is that *if Mr. Udall's submission does not satisfy you*, you should proceed to judgment; but that you should stay his execution, and forthwith this day write to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain of his obstinacy, desiring him to inform her Majesty of it; and know her pleasure for his execution, whether it shall be further

* Harleian MSS., 6849, 235.

stayed; and so in haste I take my leave. At Ely House, this 20th day of February, 1590."*

The judges in accordance with these instructions made the best effort in their power to extract from Udall a form of submission, and reported the result to the Lord Chancellor.

"As we were directed, we sent upon Thursday, the afternoon (by Sir W. More, Mr. Dr. Forth, and Mr. Parker,) unto Mr. Udall *the submission prescribed for him* to consider of, and caused those sent in private, to deal with him in the same. We also caused the same submission to be left with him all night, further for him to consider of, and on Friday afternoon we sent Sir William More, and Mr. Boyes, Justices of Peace (Mr. Forth and Mr. Parker being absent), further to persuade him, and to bring his answer; but none of those prevailing with him, ourselves, on that Friday in the afternoon, sent for him, and conferred with him privately, by the space of one hour. Sir William More being only present, and not prevailing with him to the form of submission prescribed nor to like effect, we willed him to write what manner of submission he best liked to make; whereupon he hath wrote to us a manner of submission such as we not allowing of (the copy whereof here inclosed I send to your Lordship): so after on the Saturday, in the afternoon, when we came to call the prisoners to judgment, we called him amongst the rest, asking him what he should say why judgment should not be given. He spent an hour with us debating to and fro, but no matter yielded unto for any submission, such as we could like; albeit in that public place we moved him thereunto. We therefore proceeded and gave judgment against him, and commanding openly the execution of all that were adjudged, he being one; but this morning we commanded the respite of his execution, *as by Mr. Dr. Bancroft's letter I understood your Honour's pleasure was we should,* till her Majesty might understand of these our proceedings, and her Highness's further pleasure be known; to that end, we have, as was appointed, written all this to my Lord Chamberlain, and sent our required submission, and also his last offered submission,

* Harleian, 6995, 48, 34.

inclosed in that letter, that her Majesty may be informed of the same. And have sent the same by the leading Sheriff of Surrey. At the last, when we charged him that he had written in the petition to her Majesty, that he did submit himself to such orders as it should please Her Highness to appoint; and that, now by us, her Highness's Justices of Assize, that manner of submission which we prescribed him, was thought meet to be required of him, for her Highness; he answered, that these words in his said petition, he meant only as to abide her order for life or death, as her Majesty should appoint; and not otherwise to yield to anything that might concern them in conscience in that doctrine which he had taught; as by the words before and after that sentence, he said it might be understood, but offered in his last speech, that that submission which he had made to her Majesty, and that any other submission that he had made he would perform. Much he and we did differ as to what was the manner of the submission he made by words at Croydon. So as, my very good Lord, we are not able to get of him such a submission as was prescribed for him to make, nor like effect, we have proceeded as aforesaid, leaving him now at her Majesty's pleasure. It may please you to understand, that in the copy of that submission prescribed to him, the words interlined, and the last two lines thereof written in a kind of Roman hand were added by my Lords the Judges, *after it was passed by my Lord's Grace of Canterbury's hands.* This Sunday morning, the 21st of February, 1590—1."

Baron Clarke's letter to the Lord Chamberlain was to the same effect. The following is a copy of the submission required of Mr. Udall:—

Udall's form of Submission.

"I, John Udall, have been heretofore by *due course of law convicted of felony*, for penning, or setting forth a certain book called the 'Demonstration of Discipline,' wherein false, slanderous, and *seditious* matters are contained against her Majesty's prerogative royal, her crown and dignity, and against her laws and government, ecclesiastical and temporal, established by law under her Highness, and tending to the erection of a new form of government, contrary to the laws: all which points I do now, by the

grace of God perceive to be *very dangerous to the peace of this realm and Church; seditious in the Commonwealth*, and infinitely offensive to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty: so as thereby I now seeing the grievousness of this, mine offence, do most humbly on my knees before God and in his presence, submit myself to the mercy of her Highness, being most sorry that so deeply and worthily I have incurred her Majesty's indignation against me: promising if it shall please God to move her royal heart to have compassion on me, a most sorrowful convicted person; that I will for ever after forsake such undutiful and dangerous courses, and demean myself dutifully and peaceably to authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, established in this realm: for I do acknowledge them to be both lawful and godly, and to be obeyed by every faithful subject."*

"Mr. Udall's form of subscription sent to Mr. Baron Clarke and me." (Puckering), 18 Nov. 1590.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,—The present lamentable estate wherein I stand, having against me the verdict of twelve men, that have found me guilty in their own conscience of such matters as the law having its course, I am to die for it; I most humbly prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet, submitting myself in most humble manner, as becometh a dutiful subject, to such order as it shall please your Highness to appoint, to whom God hath given so high and sovereign a power, as is able to kill and to quicken, to bring to the gates of death, and to cause to return from thence to the comfort of life. Again before whom standing thus convicted, I am not now to plead my innocency, although I most humbly desire it; and may not offend your excellent Majesty, that I protest of the truth, whereof I call God to witness, who knoweth the secret of all hearts, and will judge both the quick and the dead; that *I have been always not only far from any malice to your Majesty's royal state and person; but so dutifully affected towards both in conscience of the ordinance of God, and in regard of many benefits (especially of the true knowledge of God, which I have attained unto), under your gracious and happy government; that I was always ready by all means, and with the loss of my life if it had been needful, to defend and maintain*

* Harleian MSS., 300, 76, 78.

the same; and from my heart have instructed all those to whom my ministry appertained in like dutiful love and obedience. But this defence being taken from me by the course of law, and such proceedings as have passed against me; I do now only fly to your Majesty's gracious mercy, most humbly desiring your Highness of your merciful compassion to grant me your gracious pardon, remitting both the offence and the punishment, which is laid upon me. Other hope than this I have none; but the trust I have in God according to his promise, that your Majesty by a special gift of God is gracious and merciful, and hath vouchsafed to show mercy even to such as were, not only by imputation of law, but indeed malicious and mortal enemies unto your Highness; and therefore, I hope that the same goodness of so princely a nature may be moved, and will show forth itself in like gracious compassion on my behalf: which gracious pardon on my knees, I humbly crave of your excellent Majesty to grant unto me, in all humble and dutiful obedience unto your Majesty. Praying continually for the preservation of your Highness's precious life and happy government, to the honour of Almighty God, and the comfort of all."

Udall made repeated attempts to amend his "submission" to satisfy the judges if possible; but beyond the point conscience would allow, nothing could induce him for a moment to pass. Sinking from want and sickness, and grieved for the condition of his wife and children, he wrote from the White Lion (Nov. 11), to Serjeant Puckering, entreating to be released. On the 18th he sent a "submission in as humble and dutiful manner" as he was "able to express it." Seven days after he prepares another form, and adds: "This is my last and furthest relenting. Esteem of me as one that hath a care, whatsoever become of my outward estate, to keep a good conscience unto death." Jan. 1, 1590—1, he petitioned for permission to hear sermons, and to go with his keeper to take the air in the

fields. Jan. 7, 1590—1, he wrote to ask "what would better satisfy."

Feb. 2, 1590—1. He made the following appeal to Lord Burghley :—

His appeal to Lord Burghley.

"Right honourable, my singular good lord :—Being persuaded of your honourable care for the advancement of religion and wisdom in managing the affairs of the land, and equity to all her Highness' subjects, I will be brief; which I humbly pray may not make my suit the less regarded. Her excellent Majesty hath vouchsafed, of her gracious clemency, hitherto to forbid the taking away of my life, which at these next assizes, beginning the 18th of February, is threatened by some in authority to be brought into more danger than heretofore. Wherefore I humbly pray your honour to prevent that purpose as you have done heretofore; and to be an honourable means to her Highness that I may be released: either that I may return to the labour of my calling in time past, or that I may live a private life to provide for my poor wife and children: or at least with her Majesty's favour I may go beyond the seas: the worst of which conditions would be more joyful unto me, especially that now *Papists are set at liberty, and the prisons filled with God's servants*, her Highness's most faithful subjects, than this miserable state wherein I stand; being irksome to myself, grievous to my poor friends, disagreeable unto many, and profitable unto none. So shall I yet be more bound (which I vow to do, howsoever it goeth with me) to pray heartily unto God for your honour's prosperous state long to endure to the glory of God, the comfort of his Church, the honour of her Highness, the increase of quiet in the land, and your own everlasting comfort.

"Your honour's poor orator to command, in the Lord Jesus Christ, Io. Udall, Prisoner."*

Udall would have satisfied the bench in part if he had given some information that might compromise his friend John Penry. He was closely questioned

* Lansdowne 49, art 43. This was followed by a similar application to the judges, Feb. 19, 1590—1.

on the subject of the Marprelate Tracts, with a view to elicit some information as to their authorship. When brought up to receive the sentence of death, Judge Puckering said, "Well, Mr. Udall, you were best to submit yourself to the Queen's mercy, and leave these courses. I tell you that your book is most seditious and slanderous against her Majesty and the State, and yet I assure you that your *book had been passed over, if there had not come forth, presently after, such a number of slanderous libels as* 'Martin-Marprelate,' 'Martin's Epitome,' 'Martin Senior,' 'Martin Junior,' and others, such like of which your book was judged to be the ringleader."

Udall, the Marprelate Tracts.

Udall replied, "My lords,—Those that are learned, and do maintain this cause, do judge this book to be written very indifferently (impartially), howsoever it be hardly construed; *but for 'Martin' and the rest of those books, they were not done by any ministers, and I think there is never a minister in this land that doth know who Martin is.* And I, for my part, have been inquisitive, but I could never learn who he is."

Udall was kept in prison as a condemned malefactor in the expectation of some further disclosures relative to "Martin," but nothing transpired.

A warrant, under the pretext of his connection with the obnoxious tracts was issued for the apprehension of Penry; but he escaped to Scotland.

The distressed condition of the Puritans in England called forth the sympathy of their Scottish brethren. In the minutes of the General Assembly a resolution was put on record (1590) to this effect:

"It is ordered that the Brethren recommend to God in their public and private supplications the afflicted brethren in England for the confession of the purity of religion."*

Letter of the Queen to King James.

The report of this recommendation roused the ire of Queen Elizabeth. In an autograph letter to James, King of Scotland, July 6. 1590—1, she writes:—

"Let me warne you that there is risen, both in your realme and myne a secte of perilous consequence, such as wold have no kings but a presbitrye, and take our place while the injoy our privileges with a shade of God's Word, wiche now is judged not to folow right without by their censure, the be so demed. Yea, looke we wel unto them; when the have made in our people's hartz a doubt of our religion, and that we erre if the say so, what perilous issue this may make, I rather thinke than mynd to write, *sapienti pauca*. I pray you stop the mouths or make shorter the toungs of such ministers as dare to make oracion in their pulpits for the persecuted in Ingland for the gospel. Suppose you, my dear brother, that I can tollerat such scandals of my sinceir government? No. I hope, howsoever, you be pleased to bear with that audacitie towards yourselfe; yet you will not suffer a strange king receave that indignities at such caterpilar's hand, that instede of fruite, I am afraid wil stuff your realme with venom. Of this I have particularized more to this bearer, together with other answers to his charge, beseeching you to hear them, and not to give more harbor rome to vacabond traitors and seditious inventors, but to returne them to me or banishe them youre land. And thus, with many thanks for your honourable entertainments of my late embassador, I commit you to God, who ever preserve you from all evil counsel and send you grace to follow the best.

"Your most assured loving sister and cousin,

"ELIZABETH.

"To my deare brother, the King of Scotland."†

Just at this critical time when it was so neces-

* Calderwood, p. 254, 1590 to 1678. † Camden Society, xlvi.

sary for the individual safety of the Puritan ministers and for the ultimate success of their cause that all should exercise the greatest discretion, a fanatical trio of wild enthusiasts rushed into a desperate enterprise of equal folly and extravagance with that of the prophets at Würtemberg at the commencement of the Lutheran Reformation.

Coppinger, apparently the first to yield to the influence of self-excited frenzy, conveyed the contagion of his delirious folly to Arthington and Hacket: they invited the "brethren" to meet them for deliberation. To make sure of his ground, Coppinger then submitted to the ministers in prison eight questions on the subject of "extraordinary calling," and urged them to pray "that if the Lord had called any to this work He would fit them for so weighty an action." As the excitement increased upon them, the two standard-bearers in the proposed assault urged the veterans of Nonconformity to hold a special conference on the subject. Happily for their own credit and safety the leaders of the party lent them no encouragement. Cartwright sent to Coppinger a message to attempt nothing without advice, and to be wise and circumspect. Others say they would leave him to himself, or rather to Satan. Job Throgmorton, when pressed to join them, replied: "I would wish you and all that bear good will to the holy cause in this perilous age of ours, to take both your eyes into your hands (as they say), and be sure of good ground and warrant before you strive to put in execution. A sanctified cause, you know, would always have a sanctified course. Our rule and square must be the

Coppinger, Arthington, and Hacket.

word of truth which so long as lay before us as our level, we shall not lightly swerve from the mark. The Lord therefore direct us in these fearful and miserable days, and let not our infirmities be a bar to his mercies."

Coppinger, impatient at the loss of time, proposed on the 17th of May, 1591, to liberate Udall and the rest of the prisoners. Superior to advice, he sent a message on the 21st of May, 1591, to Fenning, Travers, Egerton, Gardiner, Philips, and Cooper, that "he did not seek to have approbation from them, or any other living creature but from God Himself." The time for action, he said, was come, and sending for Hacket on the 4th of June, 1591, they began their mission by openly denouncing the Privy Council. The Puritan ministers alarmed at their conduct, rebuked all such madness from the pulpit on the following Sabbath.

This "censure" of their proceedings the infatuated visionaries treated with supreme contempt, and forthwith proclaimed openly their grand object. The following letter, dated July 19, 1591, written at the time, gives us a graphic sketch of their proceedings.

"There be three knaves, one called Coppinger, taking upon himself to be a 'prophet of mercy' sent from God, with an extraordinary calling, and to point out the dangerous judgments to come upon those who do not repent and submit themselves to his order. Those that hear him or be elect, he seals in the forehead with his ring, and those that refuse, or whom he dislikes, he puts over to his fellow, who is the 'prophet of vengeance,' which he as confidently denounces as if he were a Privy Councillor in heaven: his name is Arthington. The third, whose name is Hacket, states himself to be Jesus Christ, king of the

earth and Christendom, and may execute judgment upon those that refuse mercy. Last Friday the two prophets came into Cheapside, stepped up into a cart, and began to put in practice their communication from heaven: and amongst others, denounced their judgments against the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Canterbury, whom they called traitors to God and the realm: but being pulled down, they were shortly after apprehended and examined at the Lord Mayor's, before Mr. Wolley, Mr. Fortescue, and others. The prophets stood strictly to their commission, and they could get nothing out of the counterfeit Jesus Christ, but 'I am that I am,' 'that I have said I have said,' 'they shall bear witness of me,' and such like. It is thought that he will be whipped into his wits again, or into a right way of answering, and their practices be fully discovered. Men talk of it and resemble it to that matter of John of Leyden, who took upon himself the kingdom of the Anabaptists; and think this mad fool plotted some such kingdom as these prophets might have assembled. Others take them to be mere fanatics, which is very likely; but the *enemies of the Puritans take great advantage against them, as these prophets have been great followers of that sort of preachers*, and have solicited all those that they knew affected to their sect, with their books, letters, etc.:—viz., the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Essex, and *Countess of Warwick who attends upon the Queen again*, solicited by the preachers to do them good offices. Mr. Davison, who they say should be the greatest magistrate in England, and others who pitied their folly, which is like to cost them their lives, though they be but in the rank of madmen; it is thought the state must be satisfied, especially on the 'prophet of vengeance,' because he said the Queen is not to reign any longer for rejecting the petitions of the faithful; and neglecting the cause of God and his Church; for which she must be punished, though her soul should be saved: and the Chancellor and Bishop in the eye of some flattering fools, seem to bear a great burden for doing their duties to God and the Queen."*

Udall still in prison, was pressed continually to yield according to the terms proposed, and to admit that the "Demonstration of Discipline" "was

* State Papers, Domestic, art. 93. July 19, 1591.

very dangerous to the peace of this realm and Church, seditious in the Commonwealth, and justly offensive to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty." "Dr. Bond, one of the Queen's chaplains, came to me," Udall says, "as from the Queen herself." Once more the Puritan confessor took pen in hand, and wrote:—

Overture from the Queen to Udall.

"With these three protestations, I do submit myself in manner followeth:

1. "I hold the cause of discipline debated in that book to be an undoubted truth.

2. "I never imagined any evil against her Majesty's person or estate, but have sought to honour them both.

3. "I never proposed to do or persuade anything whereby the discipline might be advanced but by peaceable means; endeavouring to keep within the compass of the law. I, John Udall, have been by due course of law convicted and condemned for publishing a certain book called 'Demonstration of Discipline.' In the preface whereof some matters as also the manner of writing, I confess to be in some part so bitter and undutiful as deserveth justly to be censured and punished, and justly offensive to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty." "At the same time," Udall adds, "that Dr. Bond was with me, I received a letter from a friend of mine that did solicit Sir Walter Raleigh for me wherein are these words:—

"'Sir Walter Raleigh willed me to let you understand that her Majesty is informed of you; that you hold that the Church of England is no Church, and the sacraments of the same no sacraments; and that all her ecclesiastical laws are against the Word of God; and that all ecclesiastical matters ought to be governed by a Presbytery, and she herself to be subject to the censures thereof; and that for these and such like, you are not worthy to live; but if you will write half a dozen lines under your hand unto Sir Walter, concerning these opinons, that he may show to her Majesty, he hopeth to obtain your life. I know it is an easy thing for you to answer these things, and

Message from Sir Walter Raleigh.

therefore do it with speed; in your writing to Sir Walter take knowledge that he hath sent you such word.'"

Udall wrote promptly the following letter :

"To the Right Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Lord Warden of the Stannery.

"My duty being remembered unto your Lordship, I humbly thank your honour for your great and honourable care over me, and for my good, whereof I trust you shall never be ashamed. Most humbly beseeching your good Lordship to be a means to appease her Majesty's indignation against me by means of some accusations untruly suggested; for God is my witness, I have never had any earthly thing in so precious account as to honour her Highness, and to draw her subjects to acknowledge with all thankfulness the exceeding blessings that He hath bestowed upon them by her Majesty's Government. Whereof I trust mine adversaries will be witnesses when I am dead. I have sent unto your Lordship, (as in perplexity upon the sudden) what I hold concerning certain points declared unto me as from your Lordship; praying that it would please you to make known the truth thereof unto her Highness; and if neither my submission heretofore delivered, nor these things now set down will be accepted to draw her gracious compassion to pardon me; that it would please her Majesty (that the land may not be charged with my blood) to change my punishment from death to banishment: thus trusting your Lordship will vouchsafe me this favour, and that it will please her Majesty thus graciously to consider of me, I humbly take my leave, from the White Lion, Feb. 22, 1590.

"Your Lordships to command, JOHN UDALL, Prisoner."*

In the document accompanying this letter, Udall assured Sir Walter that he was faithful to the Church of England, and that he held no strange opinions. "I utterly renounce," he said, "from my heart, the schism whereunto the Brownists have fallen in condemning the Church of England and separating

* Harleian MSS., 6848, 139.

themselves from communicating in the public ministry thereof."

A correspondent of Anthony Bacon's gives us some light on contemporary opinion in the case of Udall.

"Our church," he writes from London, March 11, 1591, "hath been marvellously troubled about matters of Government; and the labouring and striving to bring in an uniformity doth cause, and is farther like to make a wonderful desolation and deformity amongst us. The best preachers and faithfullest in their callings, are cast into prison; sometimes being close shut up from the speech and company of their dearest friends; being degraded and deprived of their livings and callings, some having six or seven children:—whom the charity of the clergy pillars send a-begging, for anything they do unto them. Mr. Cartwright is, I think to honour him, cast into the Fleet; Mr. Fenne, of Coventry, a man of rare gifts, in the Clink; with many more. Udall, a profitable preacher, of Kingston-on-Thames, is condemned, and hath judgment given upon him to be hanged, for a book called the 'Demonstration of Discipline,' which book they labour much to have him confess to be of his doing, having before condemned him as the author. I can see nothing else but a way preparing to bring in Popery — for Atheism is in already—and in a short time will overflow the land. It is said that there hath been tampering about a general subscription throughout the land, not only of the ministry, but of all whatsoever who bear any public office; that the authority of our bishops is lawful by the Word of God; and that it was brought to my Lord Treasurer to subscribe to it — who should snub it— saying;—'That it is lawful by the positive law, but to say that it is lawful by the Word of God, that is another matter.' There it stayeth. How long it will there rest, God knoweth. Sir Walter was made an instrument of the prolonging Udall's life. They had informed the Queen that he held monstrous points, and that we had no church, no ministers, no sacraments, etc. But the speech is, he satisfied her Majesty in those points, with his own hand. *Omnia liceant*, non licet esse bonum."*

* Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, 61.

The ministers of the Kirk of Scotland took a deep interest in the case of Udall. In the minutes of the Assembly we find the following record:—"On Sunday, the 11th of June, 1591, a letter was forwarded by Lord Lyndsay and Mr. R. Bruce to the Queen of England, in favour of Mr. Udall, an English preacher, at the instance of her bishops. The letter was penned by Mr. George Young, as followeth:—

Letter of King James.

"Richt excellent, richt heich, and mychtye Princesse, our dearest sister and cousine, in our hearty manner we recommend us unto you. Hearynge of the apprehensioun of Maister Udall, Maister Cartwright, and certaine utheris, ministers of the Evangile, within youre realme of quhais gude eruditioun and fruitfull travellis in the Kerk we heer a verye credible commend, howsoever their diversitie from the Bischops, and utheris of your clergie, in maters tutching thame in conscience, hes bene a meane, be thair delatioun to work thame youre myslykyng at this present! We can not, weying the dewetye quhilk we au to sic as are afflected for their conscience, in that profession bot be our maist affectuous and ernist letters interpone us at youre hand to any harder usage of thame for that cause. Requeisting you maist earnustlie, that for our cause and intercessioun, it may pleas you, to lett thame be relevit of thair present strait, and quhatumever further accusatioun or persute depending on that ground respecting baith their former merite in the furth setting of the Evangell, the simplicitie of thair conscience, in thame quhitt can not well be thrallit be compulsioun, and the greit sclander quhilk cald nocht failzie to fall out upon thair further straiting, for only sic occasioun, quhilk we assure us youre zeale in religioun, besydes the expectatioun we have of youre guid will to pleasour us, will willinglie accord to our request, havinge sic pruiffs from tyme to tyme of our lyke dispositioun to you in any materes quhilk ye recommend unto us, and thus richt excellent, richt heich, and mychtye Princesse, our dearest sister and cousine, we committ you to the protectioun of the Almightie. From our Palace of Halyrude House,

Letter of King James.

the ellevint day of Junii, 1591, and of our reigne the 24th yeir.

"Signed youre most lovinge and affectionatt brother and cousine, JAMES R."*

The following note from Archibald Johnstown to Lord Burghley, July 4, 1591, explains the real nature of the transaction:—

"May it please your honour there is a letter come to hand from the King's Majesty, my Sovereign, unto the Queen's Highness, which I am commanded to deliver, and as it should seem by my letter, it is in the favour of Mr. Udall, minister, who remaineth in prison here: and as I think obtained by our church and mayor of our city, which I will in no wise deliver nor deal in until I make your Lordship privy thereunto: wherein I humbly crave to know your honour's good pleasure."

Poor Udall derived no benefit from the royal epistle. After languishing in prison many months longer, he wrote the following appeal to Lord Burghley:—

Udall's last letter to Burghley.

"My homble dutie remembered unto youre good, and w^th^ harty thanks to God for restoringe youe from youre late sicknes, and earnest prayer that y^t^ may be to thadvancement of his glorie, the good of the whole kingdome, and the eternall comfort of your owne sowle.

"My lamentable estate (havinge beene above three yeares in durance) dothe constrayne me humblie to beseeche youre good favoure, whearby I trust presently to obtayne release from imprisonment. The Tourkie merchants have my consent to goe into Syria, ther to remayne two yeares w^th^ ther factors, yf my libertie may be obtayned. They have gotten the Archbyshopp's consente, my Lorde Keeper hathe promised his furtherance, and my L. of Essex hathe a draught of a pardon readie, when y^t^ shall please God to move her Ma^tie^ to signe the same. The shippe wherew^th^ I should goe doe presently departe, so that I must

* R. O. Transcript.

either have libertie out of hande, or I can not goe. My homble suite, therefore, unto youre good L. is, that y^t^ woulde please you to move her Ma^tie^ therein, whearby I trust y^t^ will please her highnes to signe the same. And so commending youre good L., and all your weightie affayres unto the good blessinge of the Almightie, I most humbly take my leave. From the White Lion in Southwark, Marche 3, 1592."

"Your L. homble suppliant and poor oratour,
"Jo. Udall, Prisoner."

Left in heart-sickening suspense, Udall wrote to Sir John Puckering, March 15, 1592, now the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, once more to ask the furtherance of his liberty. Sickening delay. "This," he says, "I am the rather induced humbly to entreat your Lordship at this present, for that my Lord of Canterbury, to whom my case was referred last Sabbath by the whole Council, telleth my wife that he must confer with your Lordship about my pardon, a copy whereof I must send his Lordship, to show unto your honour whether it be drawn according to law; which, as I hope, your Lordship will approve to be rightly done, seeing it was penned by the Clerk of the Assize, according to the indictment."

The pardon was granted, but the Archbishop raised difficulties. When two of the Turkish merchants appeared before him, in order to a final settlement, he insisted that further security should be given that Udall should not return to England, but with the Queen's licence.

The opportunity for liberation was lost. Mrs. Udall rejoicing in the hope of seeing her worn and wasted husband once more at home, to be tended

with the loving care he so much needed, was made to feel the bitterness of a final disappointment. Death brought the release so long denied to him at the hand of man, and he was buried in the churchyard of St. George the Martyr, Southwark, near the grave of Bonner.

Udall's death.

CHAPTER III.

Barrowe and Greenwood at this period had remarkable proof that the testimony given by them for the truth was not in vain. Their reply to Giffard, privately printed in Holland, was discovered by Francis Johnson, and intercepted by him as an agent of the English ambassador. He allowed the edition to be worked off, and then had the whole impression publicly burnt, with the exception of two copies.

Francis Johnson joins the Separatists.

"He went home," we learn from the "Pilgrim Fathers," "and being set down in his study, he began to turn over some pages of this book, and superficially to read some things here and there as his fancy led him. At length he met with something that began to work upon his spirits, which so wrought with him as drew him to this resolution, seriously to read over the whole book, the which he did once and again. In the end he was so taken, and his conscience troubled so as he could have no rest in himself until he crossed the seas and came to London to confer with the authors, who were then in prison. After which conference he was so satisfied and confirmed in the truth, as he never returned any more at Middleburg, but adjoined himself to their society at London, and was afterwards committed to prison. In conclusion, coming to live at Amsterdam, he caused the same books which he had been an instrument to burn, to be new printed and set out at his own charge. And some of us

here present testify this to be a true relation, *which we heard from his own mouth before many witnesses.*" *

Adhesion of Penry.

The accession of Penry to the Separatists in London was no less remarkable. He was a fugitive in Scotland where a price was set upon his head; but, in the face of all danger, he travelled to London and sought out Barrowe and Greenwood that he might identify himself with them.

In a short treatise, entitled the "History of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram," and circulated in manuscript, he now distinctly avowed himself on their side:—

"If her Majesty and the High Court," he says, "require of us that we resort unto the public assemblies of the land, and so enter into the Antichristian band, and continue therein; I answer that it is against the written Word of God; and, therefore, that her Majesty hath no power, no authority from the Lord to require this at our hands. We are punished for it. We answer again, that the sword is given for our health, and not for our hurt; that it ought not to be drawn against us for well doing; yet we patiently and quietly bear the stroke. Although we, for our parts, know ourselves bound, even in nature, to pacify the hard dealings of our prince and country towards us, by suffering and bearing of these injuries, as we do our parents; that yet the Lord God, who judgeth without respect of persons, is an avenger of such. Christ Jesus, being the Head of his Church, hath all fulness of power, pre-eminence, and authority, dwelling in Himself; in such sort as his body and spouse is no more to submit herself unto the power of another head; than to receive the false doctrines and false sacraments of some other religion or god."

There was a relaxation about this time of the rigour exercised by the authorities towards Greenwood. He was transferred from the Fleet

* Young's Chronicles, p. 425.

Prison* to the charge of a private citizen, Roger Rippon.

One of the brethren and a fellow-prisoner had extended to him the same indulgence, and was permitted to have the "liberty of the house." The way was thus open for the formation of a church in accordance with the principles laid down in their "platform." At meetings held for this purpose at the house of Roger Rippon in Southwark, and at the house of George Johnson in Nicholas Lane (now leading into King William Street, in the City of London), Francis Johnson was chosen pastor, John Greenwood, teacher, Daniel Studley and George Knyveton, elders. The ordinance of baptism was administered to children, and the members sat at the table covered with a white cloth to receive the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. To avoid detection the congregation did not meet on consecutive days at any particular place, but appointed by private intimation a different house at every service where they should next convene: the "garden house," or the dwelling of Mr. Bilson, in Christchurch, Southwark; the house of John Barnes, near Bartholomew's Hospital; or at Robert Badkyne's, in Gray's Inn Lane; at St. George's Fields; or the "woodsides" of Deptford and Islington. Cautious as were their movements they did not escape the observation of Bancroft. "*Divers ministers*," he writes, "*well reckoned of heretofore for their learning are fallen off from Cartwright and his*

Church formed in Southwark

* On the site of the Memorial Hall.

sect into another more new frenzy of Barrowism. This latter schism groweth on very fast. Insomuch, that as Cartwright and his brethren began eight or nine years since to set up and put in practice their Genevan discipline, so do these new upstarts begin to erect in divers places their Barrowish synagogues, and I know not what cages of fanatic schismatics. Thus they go forward. God knows whither. I am persuaded that if there be not good order taken in this behalf there will be some mischief grow of it. *The number of them doth increase daily more and more*, and for the repressing of them it will not be sufficient in mine opinion to use the ordinary course by the ecclesiastical censures or commission; for they are entered into a league amongst themselves of all manner of secrecy for the not detecting one another in any of their proceedings. When by great chance some two or three are met withal, if you find any writings amongst them you may thereby learn something; peradventure, otherwise they will confess nothing." *

Alarm of the Bishops.

The alarm of the bishops was unaffected. Even the heart of the brave Sir Walter Raleigh failed him, when he thought of the spread of Separatist opinions.

"Time," he says, "will bring it to pass, that if this spirit be not resisted (*i.e.*, the multiplication of private opinions and sects), God will be turned out of the churches, into barns, fields, mountains, and hedges; and the officers of the ministry, robbed of all dignity and respect, will be as contemptible as such places; all order, discipline, and church government left to newness of opinions and men's several fancies. Yea, and soon after, as many kinds

* Bancroft, A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline, p. 429.

of religion spring up as there are parish churches: every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the gift of revelation; insomuch that, when the truth, which is but one, and shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt."*

To prevent this serious catastrophe, the bishops, acting on the suggestion of Bancroft, adopted extraordinary measures. Forty-two servile preachers in London were employed as detectives, and instructed to visit the Separatist prisoners twice every week; to elicit from them in conversation something that might be adduced as evidence against them when brought up for trial. Six Puritan ministers in succession were appointed for the purpose to confer with Barrowe and Greenwood.

Extraordinary measures.

Extraordinary pains were taken to collect evidence that might by the construction put upon it convict the Separatists of felony. Every person captured at their meetings was subjected to a close examination, his answers were recorded, with the endorsement of the presiding magistrate. The books written by the Separatists in prison were carefully searched for the same purpose, and extracts made that had the slightest semblance of disaffection to the government. The reports of the Puritan ministers were also examined, and those points selected that might have a similar bearing on the case. It was resolved to bring all the Separatists into safe custody. Francis Johnson and John Greenwood were seized at the house of Edward Boyes, on Ludgate Hill

* History of the World.

(Dec. 5, 1592) between one and two o'clock in the morning, led to the Compter of Wood Street, and next day committed to prison. One to the Clink, the other to the Fleet. Thomas Settle and Daniel Studley (out on bail) were called for and sent to the Gatehouse.

Trial of Barrowe, Greenwood and others.

On the 23rd of March, 1592, 3, Barrowe, Greenwood, Scipio Bellot, Robert Bowle and Daniel Studley were fined for publishing and "dispensing seditious books." Of the nature of this alleged sedition, we may judge from the following particulars of the offences alleged against them. "They tell the people that none ought to intermeddle with the government and causes of the Church, but the pastors, doctors, elders and deacons among themselves."

"They invite men to take the calling of the ministry upon them, not expecting the bishops ordaining them."

"They blame her Majesty's subjects for that they are no more forward to work the reformation (as they term it of themselves)." Some dark hints were given as to their collusion with the "Spaniard."

Egerton, on whom devolved the responsibility of the prosecution, found himself in a position of great embarrassment, and would gladly have been exempt from the service. In his report of the trial to the Lord Keeper, he writes:

"My most humble duty to your Lordship.

"This day, by virtue of her Majesty's Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* in London, the Court have proceeded against Barrowe and Greenwood, and against Scipio Bellot, Robert

Bowle, and Daniel Studley, for publishing and dispensing seditious books; and they are all attainted by verdict, and judgment, and direction given for execution to-morrow, as in case of like quality.

"None showed any token of recognition of their offence and prayers for the same, saving Bellot alone; who desireth conference, and to be informed of his errors, and, with tears, affirmeth himself to be very sorry that he hath been misled.

"The others, pretendeth loyalty and obedience to her Majesty, and endeavour to draw all that they have most maliciously written and published against her Majesty's Government to the bishops and ministers of the Church only; and not as meant against her Highness, which being most evident against them, and so found by the jury; yet not one of them made any countenance of submission, but rather persisted in that they be convicted of this. I have thought good to make known to your Lordship, to the end, that if her Majesty's pleasure should be to have execution deferred, it might be known this night, and order given accordingly; otherwise, the direction given by the judges in open court will prevail, and so I commit your Lordship to the Almighty, 23 Martii, 1592, 3. Your Lordship's most humble at commandment. THO. EGERTON."

Triple martyrdom

Early on the morning of the 24th, Barrowe and Greenwood were brought out of the cell to the cart, only apparently to intimidate them into submission, and then to be sent back to prison. Once more Barrowe proposed to the Attorney-General a free and open conference; "that a Christian and peaceable disputation by the Scriptures might be vouchsafed unto some few of them, for the ready and happy deciding or composing" of their "ecclesiastical difference." The bishops refused any such disputation, and said it was "not reasonable that a religion established by Parliament should be examined by an inferior authority." Simultaneously with the trial of Barrowe and Greenwood, the bishops, through the agency of the

legal advisers of the Crown, urged the adoption of a bill in Parliament, to render the 23rd Act of Elizabeth more stringent; and to extirpate the Separatists, by giving to them the alternative of submission or banishment, with the confiscation of goods, enforced under penalty for noncompliance or return.

In the course of the debate on the second reading of the bill, Sir Walter Raleigh said:—

"In my conceit, the Brownists are worthy to be rooted out of a Commonwealth. But what danger may grow to ourselves if this law pass, it were fit to be considered; for it is to be feared that men not guilty will be included in it. And that law is hard that taketh life, and sendeth into banishment where men's *intentions* shall be judged by a jury, and they shall be judges what another means. But that law as against a fact is but just, and punish the *fact* as severely as you will. If two or three Brownists meet at the sea, at whose charge shall they be transported, or whither will you send them? I am sorry for it. *I am afraid there is more than twenty thousand of them in England*, and when they be gone who shall maintain their wives and children."

Mr. Finch said,

"There be great faults in the preamble, and in the body of this bill. It pretendeth a punishment of the Brownists and Sectaries, but throughout the bill, there is not one thing that concerneth a Brownist; and if we make a law against Barrowists and Brownists, let us set down a note of them who they are. But as the bill is 'not to come to church or to speak against the government established,'* this is not the opinion of the Brownists."

Egerton renewed his efforts to shake the resolution of Barrowe, but in vain. Writing to the Lord Keeper on the 27th of March, he says, "I have spent this whole afternoon at a fruitless, idle conference, and am now returned, both weary and weak." He reported also, that the Bill introduced

* Simonds D'Ewes, 5171

into Parliament, had not passed in its original form. On the following day, the "28th Martii," he says, "weakness of health falleth unto me at this time." "I would forbear going into the air this one day, if I might, because I am so advised." Barrowe and Greenwood were left by the Attorney-General to their fate. They were taken to Tyburn to try the effect upon them of the preparation for immediate execution. In a letter to a certain "Countess of his kindred,"* Barrowe relates the story :—

"Upon the last day of the third month," he says, "my brother Greenwood and I were very early and secretly conveyed to the place of execution; where, being tied by the necks to the tree, we were permitted to speak a few words. We then, in the sight of that judge that knoweth and searcheth the heart, before whom we were then immediately to appear, protested our loyalty and innocency towards her Majesty, our nobles, governors, and the whole state; that in our writings we had no malicious or evil intent, so much as in thought, towards any of these, or toward any person in the world; that wherein we had through zeal or unadvisedly, let fall any word or sentence that moved offence, or carried any show of irreverence, we were heartily sorry, and humbly besought pardon of them so offended, for the same. Further, we exhorted the people to obedience and hearty love of their Prince and magistrates; to lay down their lives in their defence against all enemies; yea, at their hands, patiently to receive death, or any punishment they shall inflict; whether justly or unjustly. We exhorted them also unto orderly, quiet, and peaceable walking, within the limits of their own calling, to the holy fear and true worship of God. For the books written by us, we exhorted all men no further to receive anything therein contained, than they should find sound proof of the same in the Holy Scriptures.

"Thus craving pardon of all men whom we had any way offended, and freely forgiving the whole world; we used prayer for her Majesty, the magistrates, people, and even our adver-

* Countess of Warwick.

saries. And having both of us almost finished our last words, behold one was even at that instant come with a reprieve for our lives from her Majesty, which was not only thankfully received of us, but with exceeding rejoicing and applause of all the people; both at the place of execution, and in the way, streets, and houses on our return."

On the 6th of April, 1593, Barrowe and Greenwood were hurried to the place of execution secretly, and put to death. The reason of this peremptory step is explained in a letter of Thomas Philips, dated 7th April, 1593:—

Letter of Philips.

"The Parliament," he writes, "is to end this week. There was a bill preferred against the Barrowists and Brownists, *making it felony to maintain any opinions against the ecclesiastical government*, which by the bishops' means did pass the Upper House; but found so captious by the other House, as it was thought it would never have passed in any sort, for it was thought all the Puritans would have been drawn within the compass thereof. Yet by the earnest labouring of those who sought to satisfy the bishops' humours, it is passed to this effect; 'that whosoever shall be an obstinant recusant, refusing to come to any church, and do deny the Queen to have any power or authority in ecclesiastical causes; and do, by writing or otherwise, publish the same, and be a keeper of conventicles, also being converted; he shall abjure the realm within three months, and lose all his goods and lands; if he return without leave, it shall be felony.' Thus have they minced it, as is thought, so as it will not reach to any man that shall deserve favour in a concurrence of so many faults and actions. The week before, upon the late conventicle you wrote of last, Barrowe and Greenwood, with some others, were indicted, arraigned, and condemned upon the statute, of writing and publishing seditious books, and should have been executed; but as they were ready to be trussed up, were reprieved; but the day after the Court House had showed their dislike of this bill, were early in the morning hanged. It is said their reprieval proceeded of a supplication to the Lord Treasurer, complaining that, in a land where no Papist was touched for religion by death,

their blood (concurring in opinion touching faith which was professed in the realm) should be first shed. Desiring therefore conference to be removed from their errors by reason; or else for satisfaction of the world, touching their opinions which were communicated by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury; who, notwithstanding, was very peremptory, so as the Lord Treasurer, gave him and the Bishop of Worcester some round taxing words; and used some speech to the Queen, but was not seconded by any, which hath made him now remiss, as is thought. It is plainly said that *these executions procceded of malice of the bishops to spite the Nether House*, which hath procured them much hatred among the common people affected that way."*

Capture at Islington.

To strike terror into the hearts of the suffering remnant of Separatists, a company of fifty-six in number were surprised at a meeting held in Islington, April 5, 1592, 3, and brought up with others taken for examination. The following extracts will suffice to illustrate the mode and spirit of the investigation :—

"They acknowledged that they had met in the fields in the summer season, by *five o'clock on a Lord's day morning*, and in winter in private houses; that they continued all the day in prayer and expounding the Scriptures; dined together, and afterwards made collection for their food; and *sent the remainder of the money to their brethren in prison.*†

"What office had you in your church which meets in woods and I know not where?"

John Penry.—"I have no office in that poor congregation; and as to our meeting in woods or elsewhere, we have the example of Jesus Christ, and his Church and servants in all ages, for our warrant. It is against our wills that we go into woods and secret places; as we are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, so our desire is to profess it openly. We are ready before men and angels to show and justify our meetings, and our behaviour in them, earnestly desiring that we may serve our God with peace and

* S. P. Dom. † Harleian, 6848, 67.

quietness; and that all men may witness our upright walking towards our God and all the world, especially towards our prince and government. We know the meeting in woods, in caves, and in mountains, is a part of the cross of the gospel at which the natural man will easily stumble; but we rejoice to be in this mean estate for the Lord's sacred truth. The question should not so much be *where* we meet, as *what we do* at our meetings; whether our meetings and doings be warranted by the Word of God, and what constraineth us to meet in those places."

"Francis Johnson, 31 years of age, of uncertain abode. Refuses to be sworn, but saith he hath been twice examined before the Lord Chief Justice of England and the Lord Anderson: once before the Chief Justice and once before them both. He is not aware that he is indicted for any offence.

"How long have you held these opinions?"

"I cannot definitely answer; but I was committed to prison four years ago upon reading a sermon in St. Mary's Church, Cambridge."

"Have you, or have you had any of Barrowe, Greenwood, or Penry's books?"

"Let me be accused."

"Have you not laboured and persuaded others to the assemblies and congregation of which you are pastor. If so, how many have you so drawn?"

"I have done and must do all that God layeth upon me, in duty according to his word. Beyond this I have no answer."

"Daniel Buck, of the Borough of Southwark, scrivener.

"He was not in the parish church these twelve months, because it was against his conscience, unless there were reformations in the church according as they be warranted by the Word of God.

"Concerning bishops, he thinketh that they have no especial authority over the rest of the clergy."

Being asked what vow or promise he had made when he came first into their society. He answered, "He made this protestation that he would walk with the rest of the congregation as long as they did walk in the way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the Word of God. Being demanded whether should be a motion made by some of their fraternity that they

should go somewhere in the country, where they might be in more safety; denieth that he heard any such matter; but saith he heard one Miller, a preacher at St. Andrew's Undershaft say; that if they did maintain the truth they should not keep themselves in corners, but should show themselves publicly to defend the same. But he thought that unfit, lest it might be a means to stir rebellion."

"ROBERT ABURNE servant to Mr. Rooke of Southwark.

"How long ago is it since you were at church?"

"This year and a half."

"Who brought you into this congregation?"

"William Howton, deceased. He brought me to be acquainted with the rest of the brethren of that congregation being at Bridewell; and I went thither to see their orders. Studley with other persons were there. I heard one Stanhope preach amongst them in the prison openly, and I was received and admitted into that society and congregation, without either examination or further inquiry of my conversation."

"CATHERINE UNWIN, late of Christchurch, age, 35 years, or thereabouts.

"How long have you been in prison?"

"About a month at the Gatehouse at Westminster. I was committed by the Lord Chief Justice for being with Penry's wife and others when she delivered the petition to the Lord Keeper."

It is needless to add to these citations. The *crimes* committed by the prisoners were all of one character, they were not "conformable." The petition presented by Mrs. Penry is still in existence, and is of very touching character. Her husband being "a very weak and sickly man" she feared he might die for want. She prayed therefore that she might bring him daily provision. The Lord Chief Justice felt it to be his duty to commit Catherine Unwin as an accessary.

Penry was the next victim. When brought up at the Sessions House before the Dean of West-

minster he cited, in the course of his examination, the words of Scripture, Numbers xxxv. 33, "So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are, for blood it defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." These words were put down as evidence of a criminal design. In a letter to his wife Penry says, "Though I read the very words unto them, they were so lamentably ignorant and lay wait for blood so cruelly that certainly the Lord's hand is not far off. The Lord show mercy unto us and them, from my heart I say it. I cannot but think that they thirst after my blood, therefore pray for me, and desire all the church to do the like."

Trial of Penry.

Penry from the first anticipated a fatal issue, and prepared his friends for the event. No pains were spared by him to prove his innocence, and to show that he could not be fairly indicted under the Statute 23 Eliz., cap. 2,* on which the counsel for the prosecution relied. Amongst his private papers was found a document written by him in Scotland, in which he expressed his indignation at the obstructions raised against the course of the gospel, and extracts from it were taken to form the substance of the indictment for a capital offence.

The proceedings were hurried on with a manifest purpose to allow to the prisoner no chance of escape. Feeling the uncertainty of his life from day to day, he wrote letters of Christian counsel and of the tenderest affection to his family. At the close of one of his thrilling papers he says to his wife—

* Lansdowne MSS., 75, 26. Coke's Book of Entries.

"6th of the fourth month of April, 1593.

"In any case, let it not be known that I have written unto you, be sure hereof. Yea, and I would wish you to go to the judges for me with your children; desiring them to consider your hard case and mine. Yea, and I would have you, if you can go to the Queen with them, beseeching her, for God's cause, to show her wonted clemency unto her subjects; with my Lord Treasurer and other of the Council whom you think to regard your and my cries, for sure my life is sought for. I am ready, pray for me, and desire the church to pray for me much and earnestly. The Lord comfort thee, good Helen, and strengthen thee. Be not dismayed. I know not how thou doest for outward things, but my God will provide. My love be with thee, now and ever in Christ Jesus."

With sensibilities keenly alive, Penry nevertheless exercised the calmest judgment in the statement of his case to the judges.

"I, John Penry," he writes, "do here, as I shall answer before the Lord my God in that great day of judgment, set down summarily the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, which I hold and profess at this time; either in regard of my faith towards my God and dread Sovereign, Queen Elizabeth; unto whom only, of all the potentates in the world, I owe all reverence, duty, and submission in the Lord:— Statement to the Judges.

1. "Because my allegiance unto her Majesty is chiefly called in question; that I am not at this day, nor yet ever was, in all my life, either guilty or privy in any purpose, consultation, or intent of any sedition against, or disturbance of, her Majesty's loyal estate and peaceable government. And if I were privy unto any such godless, wicked, and undutiful actions or purposes, as might anyways impair or disquiet the peaceable state of my native prince and country; I would reveal, disclose, and withstand the same, to the utmost of my power; in all persons, both foreign and domestical, of what profession or religion soever they be.

"*Her supreme authority within her realms and dominions I acknowledge to be such over all persons, in all causes, as no person either civil or ecclesiastical, may exempt himself or his cause from the power and censure of her laws and sword.* I do also ackno-

ledge that her Majesty hath full authority from the Lord, by her royal power, to establish and enact all laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, among her subjects; in the making whereof the Lord requireth that her ecclesiastical be warranted by his written word; which expressly containeth whatsoever belongeth to his worship, and her civil, to be grounded upon the rules of common justice and equity—the which bounds are so far from diminishing the authority of kings and princes, as they are the only inexpugnable ways thereof.

"This sovereign prerogative authority of her Highness I am most willingly ready to defend and maintain against all the estates, persons, and creatures under heaven; to the loss of my life ten thousand times, if it should be needful.

"And I take the Lord to record, that that day, to my knowledge, hath not passed over my head, I am sure, since the first that the Lord, under her gracious reign, brought me to the knowledge of the truth; wherein I have not, or do not pray for the blessing of my God, both outward and inward, to be poured with a full horn upon her right excellent Majesty's throne, regiment, and dominions for ever and ever; and that He would either convert, or speedily overthrow in his wrath, all his or her enemies, with their enterprises, whether home or foreign. Hereof I call the Searcher of hearts, as in witness of truth, against my soul, if either I dissemble or forge in the premises."

All we know of the conduct of Penry, in public or in private, is in strict accordance with this profession of allegiance. His views of Christian doctrine were in unison with the articles of the Church of England. His creed was clearly defined.

Confession of Faith.

After a statement of the doctrines he held, he adds, "True faith I believe to be the persuasion of the heart, whereby the soul is truly assured of remission of sins, and imputation of righteousness through Christ.

"This true faith belongeth only to God's elect, and hath perseverance unto the end. With this true faith, also, is inseparably joined (as the fruit thereof)

a dying unto sin, and a living unto righteousness; in such sort as the members of Christ have a continual battle in them against sin; the which, by the power of Christ's death, is so wounded, and in some measure decayeth, more and more in them; until at length it shall be utterly consumed, when the bodies and souls be separated, and not before."

Penry distinctly renewed the offer previously made by the martyrs, Barrowe and Greenwood, for an impartial conference. In an original memorandum we find the following points set down for discussion:— Offer of Conference.

The "unlawfulness"

1. "Of the officers (in the Anglican Establishment).
2. "The manner of calling into the offices.
3. "A great part of the works wherein the officers are employed.
4. "The living or maintenance whereby the officers are maintained."

"These things," Penry adds, "by the Lord's assistance, we will be ready to make good by the Word of God; and if it be thought needful by the writings of the martyrs of this land, whereof some are privileged by her Majesty's authority; and also by the doctrine of the reformed churches—a conference we are most willing to yield unto. Our humble request unto her Majesty and their honours is; that it may so stand with her pleasure, we may have but this equity yielded unto us in it.

1. "That the questions on both sides being laid down in writing. The reasons briefly annexed with them, the answers also may, with the like brevity,

be returned in writing, and so everything will be the more deliberately set down, and all bye speeches and matters shall be avoided.

2. "That such as are scholars make one side may confer together (having also the use of books) about the answers and replies that we shall so make.

3. "That those of the ecclesiastical state with which we are to deal may be but parties in this conference, and not judges; and that such of the civil state may be appointed by their honours (if their Lordships will not take the hearing of the cause themselves) which we had rather and earnestly crave to see that both parties do contain themselves within bounds; lest otherwise either the holy truth of God should not be so dealt in as it beseemeth the same; or so holy and necessary an action should be unprofitable, broken off by infirmities, or other greater wants of either parties. JOHN PENRY."*

Amidst his multifarious correspondence, Penry prepared an able legal document in fifteen articles, that might serve for his defence.† But with the presentiment that he must die, he wrote on the 24th of April the following valedictory address to the Church:—

Valedictory Letter to the Church.

"My good Brethren,—Seeing banishment, with loss of goods, likely to betide you, *prepare yourselves for this hard entreaty;* and rejoice that you are made worthy for Christ's cause, to suffer and bear all these things. And I beseech you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that none of you in this case look upon his particular estate, but regard the general state of the Church of God; that the same

* Harleian MSS., 6849, 209. † Lansdowne, 75, 26.

may go and be kept together whithersoever it shall please God to send you. Oh! the blessing will be great that shall ensue this case. Whereas, if you go, every man to provide for his own house, and to look for his own family, first neglecting poor Zion, the Lord will set his face against and scatter you from the one end of heaven to the other; neither shall you find a resting-place for the soles of your feet, nor a blessing upon anything you take in hand!

"The Lord, my brethren and sisters, hath not forgotten to be gracious unto Zion. You shall yet find days of peace and of rest, if you continue faithful. This stamping and treading of us under his feet, this subverting of our cause and right in judgment, is done by Him, to the end that we should search and try our ways, and repent us of our carelessness, profaneness, and rebellion in his sight; but He will yet maintain the cause of our souls, and redeem our lives, if we return to Him. Yea, He will be with us in fire and water, and will not forsake us, if our hearts be only intent on serving Him, and especially of the building of Zion, whithersoever we go.

"Let not those of you, then, that either have stocks in your hands, or some likely trades to live by, dispose of yourselves when it may be most commodious for your outward estate; and in the meantime suffer the poor ones, that have no such means, either to bear the whole work upon their weak shoulders, or to end their days in sorrow and mourning for want of outward and inward comforts in the land of strangers; for the Lord will be the avenger of all such dealings. *But consult with the whole Church, yea, with the brethren of other places, how the Church may be kept together and built, whithersoever they go.* Let not the poor and the friendless be forced to stay behind here, and to break a good conscience for want of your support and kindness unto them, that they may go with you.

"And here, I humbly beseech you—not in any outward regard, as I shall answer before my God—that you would take my poor and desolate widow and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans with you into exile, whithersoever you go; and you shall find, I doubt not, that the blessed promises of my God made unto me and mine, will accompany them, and even the whole Church, for their sakes.

"I could wish you earnestly to write; yea, to send, if you

may, to comfort the brethren in the west and north countries, that they faint not in these troubles; and that also you may have of their advice, and they of yours, what to do in these desolate times; and, if you think it anything for their further comfort and direction, send them conveniently a copy of this my letter, and of the declaration of my faith and allegiance, wishing them, before whomsoever they be called, that their own mouths be not had in witness against them in anything; yea, *I would wish you and them to be together, if you may, whithersoever you shall be banished; and to this purpose, to bethink you, beforehand, where to be; yea, to send some who may be meet to prepare you some resting-place;* and be all of you assured that He who is your God in England will be your God in any land under the whole heaven, for the earth and the fulness thereof are his, and blessed are they that, for his cause, are bereaved of any part of the same."

After further practical counsels for their guidance in the event of his martyrdom, as in the full prospect of a glorious immortality, he rises to a strain of devout rapture.

"I thank my God I am not only ready to be bound and banished, but even to die in this cause by his strength. Yea, my brethren, I greatly long in regard of myself to be dissolved, and to live in the blessed kingdom of Heaven, with Jesus Christ and his angels; with Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Job, David, Jeremiah, Daniel, Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, and with the rest of the holy saints, both men and women, with the glorious kings, prophets, and martyrs, and witnesses of Jesus Christ that have been from the beginning of the world; particularly with my two dear brethren, Master Henry Barrowe, and Master John Greenwood, which have, last of all, yielded their blood for this precious testimony."

Having fulfilled this last duty to the Church, he penned the following letter:—

"To the Right Honourable my good Lord, the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, and one of her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council. 22nd May, 1593.

Endorsed:

"John Penry to my Lord,—He sends your Lordship a writing declaring his innocency." "Vouchsafe, I beseech your Lordship and Right Honourable, to read and duly weigh the writing herein enclosed. My days, I see, are drawing to an untimely, and, I thank God, an undeserved end; except the Lord my God shall stir up your honour, or some other, to plead my cause, and to acquaint her Majesty with my guiltless estate. How clear I am of that heinous crime, especially now intended against me, this my writing doth declare.

Appeal to Lord Burghley.

"The case is most lamentable, that the private observations of any student, being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life, with blood, unto a violent end: especially seeing they are most private, and so imperfect, as they have no coherence at all in them, and, in most places, carry no true English. If I may crave so much favour of your Lordship, as to procure that her Majesty, before I be further proceeded with, may be acquainted with this true testimony of the affection and loyalty which I have ever carried towards her Highness, I shall entreat the Lord that you may not want your reward for this work. Law, I know there is none that can take hold of me; and yet I refer myself wholly to her determination, and will be contented with the sentence which the Lord shall move her to give me.

"Though mine innocency may stand me in no stead before an earthly tribunal, yet I know that I shall have the reward thereof before the judgment-seat of the Great King; and the merciful Lord, who relieveth the widow and fatherless, will reward my desolate orphans and friendless widow that I leave behind me, and even hear them cry, for He is merciful.

"Being likely to trouble your Lordship with no more letters, I do, with thankfulness, acknowledge your honour's favour towards me, in that you have been always open to receive the

writings which I have presumed to send unto you from time to time; and in this, my last, I protest before the Lord God that I have written nothing but truth unto your Lordship in any of my letters, that I know of.

"Thus, preparing myself, not so much for an unjust verdict and undeserved doom in this life, as unto that blessed crown of glory, which, of the great mercy of my God, is ready for me in heaven; I humbly betake your Lordship into the hands of the just Lord through Christ.

"In great haste, from close prison, this 22nd of the fifth month, May, 1593.

"Your Lordship's most humble suitor, JOHN PENRY."*

The end was near. On the 21st of May, 1593, Penry received the sentence of death. The next day he sent a "protestation" to Lord Burghley, in which he says:—

Protestation.

"I thank God, that when soon an end of my days comes, as I look not to live this week to an end, my innocency shall benefit so much, as I shall die Queen Elizabeth's most faithful subject, even in the conscience of my very adversaries themselves, if they will be the beholders thereof; and, by my death, continue them before all the world that have lived so too; and my God, I trust, will one day cause my innocency to shine as the noonday before my gracious prince.

"I am a poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first, since the last springing up of the Gospel in this latter age, that laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains. I have often rejoiced before God, as He knoweth that I had the favour to be born and live under her Majesty, for the promoting of this work. In the earnest desire I had to see the Gospel in my native country, and the contrary corruptions removed, I might well, as I confess in my published writings, with Hegetorides the Thracian, forget mine own danger, but my loyalty to my prince did I never forget; and being now to end my days before I am come to the one-half of my years in the likely course of nature, I leave the success of my labours unto such of my countrymen as the Lord is to raise

* Lansdowne MSS., 75, 28.

after me for the accomplishing of that work which, in the calling of my country unto the knowledge of Christ's blessed Gospel I began.

"I never took myself for a rebuker, much less for a reformer of states and kingdoms; far was that from me: yet, in the discharge of my conscience all the world must bear with me, if I prefer my testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ before the favour of any creature. An enemy unto any good order and policy, either in Church or Commonwealth, was I never. All good learning and knowledge of the arts and tongues I laboured to attain unto, and to promote to the utmost of my power. Whatsoever I wrote in religion, the same I did simply for no other end than for the bringing of God's truth to light. I never did anything in his cause (Lord, thou art witness!) for contention, vainglory, or to draw disciples after me, or to be accounted singular. Whatsoever I wrote, or held, beside the warrant of the written Word, I have always warned all men to leave; and wherein I saw that I had erred myself, I have, as all this land doth now know; confessed my ignorance, and framed my judgment and practice according to the truth of the Word. Notwithstanding that this be prejudicial to my public writings, yea, and life, the like I am ready to do in anything which I hold beside the truth at this hour.

"That brief confession of my faith and allegiance unto the Lord and her Majesty, written since my imprisonment, and delivered to the Worshipful Mr. Justice Young, I take, as I shall answer before Jesus Christ and the elect angels, to contain nothing but God's eternal verity in it: and, therefore, if my blood were an ocean sea, and every drop thereof were a life unto me, I would give them all, by the help of the Lord, for the maintenance of the same, my confession. Yet, if any error can be showed therein, that I will not maintain.

"Otherwise, far be it that either the saving of an earthly life, the regard in nature I ought to have to the desolate outward state of a poor friendless widow and four poor fatherless infants; whereof the eldest is not above four years old, which I am to leave behind me; or any other outward thing, should enforce me, by the denial of God's truth, contrary to my conscience, to lose mine own soul: the Lord, I trust, will never give me over unto this sin. Great things in this life I never sought for, not

so much as in thought. A mean and bare outward state according to my mean condition, I was content with. Sufficiency I have had, with great outward troubles; but most contented I was with my lot, and content I am and shall be with my undeserved and untimely death: beseeching the Lord that it be not laid to the charge of any creature in this land; for I do, from my heart, forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in that day of strict account; praying for them as for my own soul, that, although upon earth, we cannot accord, we may yet meet in heaven, unto our eternal comfort and unity, where all controversies shall be at an end. And if my death can procure any quietness to the Church of God, or to the State, I shall rejoice. I know not to what better use it could be employed if it were reserved. And therefore in this cause I desire not to spare the same. Thus have I lived towards the Lord and my prince, and thus I mean to die, by his grace. Many such subjects I wish unto my prince, though no such reward to any of them. My only request being also as earnest as possibly I can utter the same unto all those, both honourable and worshipful, unto whose hands this my last testimony may come, is; that her Majesty may be acquainted herewith before my death, if it may be, or least before my departure.

"Subscribed with that heart and that hand which never devised or wrote anything to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign Queen Elizabeth, I take it on my death, as I hope to have a life after this. By me, JOHN PENRY."*

As the execution of Penry did not take place at the usual time—the second or third day after the sentence—the people expected a reprieve. This proved, however, to be only a ruse to divert their attention.

On the 29th of May, Archbishop Whitgift attended the Council Chamber with Sir John Puckering, the Lord Keeper, and Sir John Popham, the Lord Justice, to sign the warrant, the Primate affixed his name first. The instrument was immediately sent

* Lansdowne MSS., 189, 13.

to the Sheriff, who proceeded on the same day to erect the gallows at St. Thomas-a-Watering, the place of execution for the County of Surrey. While Penry was at dinner, the officers came to bid him make ready, for he must die that afternoon at four o'clock; an unusual, and, therefore, unexpected hour. He was led at five from the prison in the High Street, Borough, to the fatal spot. Few persons were present on the occasion. Penry would have spoken, but the Sheriff insisted that he should not utter a word.

Penry's Execution.

The friends of Penry, after his execution, were sought after for punishment. Amongst others, in June, 1594, Mr. John Clerk, Mayor of St. Albans, was brought into the High Commission Court, charged in the indictment with the following offence:—

Mayor of St. Albans.

"That you the said John Clerk, in the year 1593, permitted divers and sundry ministers, not licensed or allowed by authority to be privately exercised in your own house, namely, one John Penry, lately executed, or at least have secretly received and entertained the said Penry, and have had much conference with him, within your own house, and have uttered your liking of many of his factious opinions; insomuch that you have kept many of his seditious books supposed to be written by him, and have dispersed or imparted some of them to others. Then that the said Penry, not long before his arraignment, was at your house, and had conference with you, and that you, before his departure from you, understanding that he was endangered, did then *promise to pray* for him, saying that you hoped both he and his cause should return with credit."*

The spirit of the persecuted remnant left in prison, we learn from remarkable memorials addressed by them to Sir William Rowe, Lord Mayor of London,

* Lansdowne, 64, 25. Ditto, 982—89.

in the interval of respite after Barrowe and Greenwood had been twice led to the place of execution.

Memorial of the Church.

"Ye reverend magistrates,* ye gods (so-called in Scriptures) because you are in his stead to do righteous judgments upon the earth; hath not the Almighty given you understanding to try the depth of all attempts within this land? We trust He hath. *Oh, search us deeper then.* Try our ways, and if none can allege anything against us, save only this one error (if it be such) touching the law of our God (Dan. vi. 5).

"Deal tenderly with tender consciences. We are yet persuaded that we should show ourselves disobedient and unthankful to our Maker, except we hold fast this cause. You know not how rich his mercy hath been unto us; for we verily suppose that you never offended his divine Majesty so much, or so often as most of us have done, like that prodigal child; yea, like Mary Magdalene. But He hath washed us and cleansed us, and given us unspeakable joy and peace of conscience since we came to this company.

"Marvel not, then, at our state; but pity us and help us, wherein you know it to be amiss. Behold a people wholly bent and devoted to serve the God of heaven in that course which they may perceive to be most tending to holiness and righteousness. If your honours and worships can bring any to show us that we shall do more true service to our God, our Queen, and country, by coming to the parish assemblies; verily, we will hearken to them without obstinacy, and so that some of you would be the witnesses and judges.

"Alas! it is not our worldly ease to be thus tossed as we are. *It is not only this matter of conscience* that causeth all our sufferings and your troubles with us. Wherefore, for Christ Jesus' sake, whose true subjects we are; for England's sake, whose loving countrymen we remain; and for the *honour of your own names, and health of your own souls*, let no man cause you to fix your eyes and thoughts wholly upon our supposed faults (or fault indeed); but rather upon some merciful means whereby this our too much heat may be cooled and tempered, if it be advised, in all meekness and love. How? As becometh them that

* Harleian, 6,848.

would spend their blood against the Pope and Spanish king; to death with those that are most willing to do the like; as it becometh Englishmen to deal with Englishmen; Protestants with Protestants; fathers with their children; and briefly, Christians with Christians.

"Men and fathers, if you cannot help us presently, yet suffer us to ease our hearts a little by expressing our wounds, sorrows, and sickness at large; even as a child mourneth to the nurse. Under God, we have no help but our Queen and you; and who knoweth whether He will (even this mournful month) by increasing our afflictions, cause you to behold our loyalty and innocency more than ever you did, and hereby release us the sooner. The mercy of God, and the merciful inclination of our most gracious Queen, doth feed us with undoubted hope that so many of us as cannot be found traitors or heretics, shall yet find favour and pardon. The God of Daniel, our most merciful Father, grant all true wisdom and prosperity to our most gracious Queen Elizabeth; and to as many of you and yours as desire to increase in the true fear, and love, and service of that mighty God of Israel. Amen."

Whatever estimate may be formed of the principles of the early Separatists in relation to church polity or to Christian doctrine; there was no class of people more loyal or more patriotic. They sought no political alliance, and they desired no distinction or emolument from the State. Not a word can be found in their papers seized by the authorities incompatible with the most disinterested zeal for the peace and highest welfare of their country. It was but the simple truth when they declared their willingness "to spend their blood against the Pope and the Spanish king."

That such was not the sentiment of intolerant bigotry will be seen by any one who will carefully look into the original documents that reveal the designs of the Papacy in conjunction with the

Spaniards. In a "Relation of the State of England,"* published by authority at Rome in 1590, the writer, after giving an account of the state of parties says, that "a great change has been effected by the Catholics within the last three years." "At the beginning some learned persons fleeing to France, during their exile in that country wrote books against the heretics, as well in Latin as in the vulgar English tongue. Dr. Allen, now cardinal, Harding, Sanders, Stapleton, and others, the authors of these publications, sent them in great numbers to England, and they were secretly scattered abroad everywhere." "After this two seminaries were commenced—one in Douai, which was afterwards transferred to Rheims, and the other in Rome. From these institutions priests were sent into England to carry on *viva voce* the business of conversion. To this matter also the heretics paid no attention. These priests (*piano piano*, very softly), with the assistance of the elder people who had preserved the faith, and the zealous new converts gained much fruit. The churches being forsaken, and the sermons of the ministers neglected, they gave notice to the Privy Council, and the priests were put to death. Proclamations were issued against the Jesuits and seminaries; but the art and cunning of the devil could not prevail. Many courtiers and attendants of the Queen from time to time declare themselves Catholics and incur the risk of *celebrating the mass in*

State of England reported at Rome.

* Relatione del presente stato d'Inghelterra Cavata da una littera de li 25 di Maggio scritta di Londra, et da un 'altra scritta da una persona, di qualità venuta di frescho d'Ingheltirra data in Anversa, alli 27 di Giugno et altre con Licenza de i superiori in Roma. Appresso Francesci Zanetti, MDXC. Minerva Library, Miscell. in 4to, 755.

the palace, and sometimes above the very room occupied by their royal mistress. The authorities in the Privy Council are enraged and try to make offensive war against Spain; and to foment, at great expense, division and civil wars in other countries, because they do not know on whom to rely at home. One of our great adversaries died in the month of March last: and now, we may persuade ourselves, is in hell and pays the penalties of his deeds; whilst the seminaries and all their coadjutors flourish in virtue and doctrine, and go forward to the conversion of England with more success than ever."

The object of the writer cited, is to commend the mission of the seminaries, and to obtain money for its support. To test his statements we must examine the publications sent over to England. Their character and object will be sufficiently indicated by the following extracts from the "Memorial of the Reformation of England," by Robert Parsons:—

Scheme of Parsons.

"God will most certainly," he says, "at his time appointed restore the realm of England to the Catholic faith. England being once converted may be made the spectacle of all the world, and an example of perfection to all other Catholic countries.

"We have yet on foot many principal monuments that are destroyed in other countries. As, namely, *we have our cathedral churches and bishoprics yet standing, our deaneries, canonries, archdeaconries, and other benefices not destroyed, our colleges and universities; so that there wanteth nothing but a new form.*

"There will be two sorts of people to be dealt withal by the better sort of Catholics; to wit, weaker Catholics, known as schismatics, and heretics that have been enemies to both sorts; for the first we ought to have compassion, using sweetness in restoring them to the unity of God's Church, yet how far they are to be used in matters of the Commonwealth, godly wisdom must determine.

"As for enemies or obstinate heretics, for their reduction and satisfaction, we must endeavour to convince them, if possible, of their errors by reason and sweet means. It would be good not to press any man's conscience at the beginning for matters of conscience for a few years; that every man freely and confidently utter his wounds which otherwise he would cover. Yet it may be provided that this toleration be only with such as live quietly and are desirous to be informed of the truth, and do not teach and preach or seek to infect others.

"*My meaning is not in any way that there should be liberty of religion permitted to any person or to any Christian Commonwealth.* I think no one thing so dangerous and dishonourable, or more offensive to Almighty God; than that any prince should permit the Ark of Israel and Dagon, God and the Devil, to stand and be honoured together within his realm or country. But that which I talk of is *a certain connivance or toleration of magistrates only for a certain time, to be limited and with particular exception, that no meetings, assemblies, preaching, or perverting of others be used; but that such as be quiet and modest people who have never heard, perhaps, the grounds of Catholic religion, may use the freedom of their consciences to ask, learn, and to be instructed for the space prescribed without danger of law.*

"A COUNCIL OF REFORMATION should be established to put things in order and to frame regulations. An INQUISITION would 'be very much necessary.' Perhaps it would be best to spare the name of Inquisition at the first beginning, in so new and green a state of religion as one must needs be after so many years of heresy, atheism, and other dissolutions; it may chance offend and exasperate more than do good. Afterwards it will be necessary to bring it in either by that or some other name, as shall be thought most convenient for the time. What form and manner of Inquisition to bring in, whether that of Spain, or of Italy, or that of Rome, is not so easy to determine. Perhaps some mixture of all will not be amiss for England.

"Care must be taken as to what schools, books, and masters shall be allowed. *Libraries, public and private, must be searched and examined, as also all bookbinders', stationers' and booksellers' shops. Heretical books must be utterly removed, burnt, and suppressed, and severe order and punishment appointed for such as shall conceal writings of this kind.*

"The bishops should have a negative voice in the election of members of Parliament, and confirm the election. Every member must be sworn to defend the Catholic faith: *and it must be made treason to propose anything for change thereof or for the introduction of heresy.* The Majesty that shall be established shall employ his whole endeavour to assist the Council of Reformation. '*A new order of Knights must be instituted to fight for the Church; and the nobility must show their valour against the heretics!*' A year in power would have been sufficient for the 'mixed' Inquisition to destroy the libraries and national records, and give a new complexion to the future of England. *

The eclectic and comprehensive system, regarded by its admirers as the "glory of Christendom," was described by Parsons as a mere creation of Burghley, without authority, and unworthy of confidence or respect.

"The Queen," he writes from Cologne (26th May, 1592), "might have enjoyed the kingdom could she have continued the faith of her ancestors, as to be brought to her coronation with solemn procession of the Catholic clergy, and a mass by a Catholic bishop, to be crowned and anointed at what time she vowed the oath to defend the Catholic religion. Burghley made himself Dictator Perpetuus. The Queen being now brought into the change of the old religion, he brought also the election of the new to her in his own choice; and neither followed the doctrine of the Lutherans in Germany nor the Calvinists in Geneva; but prescribed a composition of his own invention. Almost all the old bishops and clergy he thrust into prison, and there consumed them, and forced the others in exile to end the rest of their days: and to supply their places he shuffleth the very riff-raff and refuse of the world: the tail of the ministerial multitude taken up without partiality from *tapsters, tinkers, and such deep divines were sent abroad to preach and serve the cures throughout the whole country.* Some vestments of the old clergy he left in the churches whereby the learned ministers might so much better imitate the outward appearance of the Catholic priests: and the more to diminish the great conceit of innovation in faith

* S. P. Dom.

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among the people, and to make them imagine that the old service was but turned out of Latin into English: some ceremonies only altered: the Gospels, Epistles, part of the Litany, and the very Collects used before at mass were re-ordained, and by a Book of Injunctions, to be daily read in the church: the chiefest substance of doctrine was taken from Geneva. Whereupon the compositor himself added an ecclesiastical superiority by the Queen, which John Calvin, whose doctrine they liked nearest to follow, doth term Antichristian. Thus was the Protestant Congregation created and erected. Most repugnant to the old Catholic faith, participant of some new heresies and not consonant to any religion else; but different and disagreeing from all religious precedents, past and present, under heaven." *

Other documents of this nature will come under our notice. The Queen (October 18, 1591) in a proclamation "for remedy of the treasons which under pretext of religion have been plotted by seminaries and Jesuits secretly sent into the kingdom," refers in the following terms to the designs of the Spanish kings":—

Proclamation of the Queen.

"Two years past he invaded our kingdoms in the very time of a treaty of peace; whereof God gave him and his whole army a just cause of repentance. It is known to us by sundry means besides the preparation of other great forces for the seas against our crowns and dominions: that the same be greater for the years to come than ever he had before; and for furtherance thereof he hath also lately, by colour of this his Pope's authority, which he hath now hanging at his girdle, practises with certain principal seditious heads (being unnatural subjects of our kingdom, but yet very base of birth) he gathereth together with great labours upon his charges a multitude of dissolute young men who have partly for lack of living, partly for crimes committed, become fugitives, rebels, and traitors: and for whom there are in Rome and Spain, and other places, certain receptacles made to live in, and there to be instructed in school points of sedition, and from thence to be secretly and by stealth conveyed into our dominions with ample authority from Rome; to

* S P. Dom.

move, stir up, and persuade as many of our subjects as they dare, to renounce their national allegiance due to us and our crown; and upon hope, by a Spanish invasion, to be enriched and endowed with the possessions and dignities of our other good subjects; for which purpose they do bind our subjects with whom they practise by oaths, yea, by sacraments, to forswear their natural allegiance to us, and yield their obedience with all their powers to assist his forces. Bringing certain Bulls from the Pope, some of indulgences to promise heaven to such as will yield; and some of cursings, threatening damnation and hell to such as will not yield to their persuasion. It is certainly understood that the heads of these dens and receptacles, which are by the traitors called seminaries and colleges of priests, have very lately assured the king of Spain that though heretofore he had no good success with his great forces against our realm, yet if now he will once again renew his war next year, there shall be found ready secretly within our dominions, many thousands of able people that will be ready to assist such power as he shall set on land."*

* S. P. Dom in Spanish.

CHAPTER IV.

Acting on the dying counsel of Penry, the members of the church in Southwark, who had the opportunity, went to Amsterdam in 1593.* Here they were joined by Henry Ainsworth, who, though charged with vacillation at the beginning of the contest, "waxed valiant in the fight," and showed the greatest constancy. Those who knew him well speak of him as a close student of high attainments, especially as a Hebrew scholar; genial in disposition and calm in temper, yet in his controversial writings, giving his opponents no kind of advantage. He was greatly esteemed as a preacher. "His voice was not strong," but he had "an excellent gift of teaching."

Henry Ainsworth.

The condition of the brethren left in the prisons of London was most deplorable. Francis Johnson petitioned the Privy Council, that those who were suffering the most dire privation might be "suffered *together* with peace either to live under her Majesty's Government, in obedience to the gospel in any place of her dominions, 'which,' he says, 'we desire'; or else depart whithersoever it shall please God to bring us, and to give us a resting-place for

* Johnson's reply to White, p. 63. Ainsworth's reply to Paget, p. 45.

the service of his name, and in peace and tranquillity."

In forwarding the petition to Lord Burghley, "Nov. 6, 12, 1593,"* Francis Johnson inclosed some of the papers of Penry, and says of him; "Although he was condemned of men, yet I doubt not but he was accepted of God, and now is partaker of that crown of life which is promised to all that are faithful unto death. The poor remnant of Christians, who are *falsely called Brownists*, do all of us generally agree with that of our faithful brethren in that confession of faith and allegiance to God and her Majesty as we have often declared to the world." The letter closes with the request that Lord Burghley will not let it be known to any one that he has received it, lest the "Prelate of Canterbury," should hear of it; and that under the "new statute," the petitioner may be set at liberty, or be allowed on bail to go out four or five months for the benefit of his health.

Letter of Francis Johnson to Lord Burghley.

John Johnson, the father of Francis and George Johnson, also presented a petition for their liberation, July 1, 1594, in which he says; "The younger called George, 'in the Fleet,' hath been kept sometimes two days and two nights together without any manner of sustenance; sometimes twenty nights together without any bedding, save a straw mat; and as long without any change of linen; and all this sixteen months in the most dark and unwholesome rooms of the prison they could thrust them into; not suffering

Petition for George Johnson.

* Lansdowne, 75, art. 25.

any of his friends to come unto him." The Separatists were now supposed to be annihilated. Sterill in a letter to Paget, June 13, 1593, writes: "the sect is in effect extinguished." "As for those which we call Brownists," Lord Bacon says "being when they were at the most a very small number of very silly and base people, here and there in corners dispersed, they are now, thanks to God, by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out, so as there is scarce any news of them."

The agitation for Church reform having subsided, attention was directed to another question of vital importance—that of the proper observance of the Christian Sabbath. On this subject, the continental reformers, Luther and Calvin, alike failed to inculcate the doctrine of Scripture; and in consequence, the churches of Germany, France, and Switzerland, were deprived of the blessing of the day of rest. England would have drifted into the same jaded and fevered condition, but for the adoption of other views.

Nicholas Bound. Sabbath Question.

Nicholas Bound (in 1595) published a treatise in which he maintains the morality of a seventh part of time for the worship of God: and "that Christians are bound to rest on the Lord's day, as much as Jews on the Mosaical Sabbath. That the commandment of rest being moral and perpetual, it was therefore not lawful to follow our studies, or worldly business on that day; nor to use such recreations and pleasures as were lawful on other days — shooting, fencing, bowling," etc.

The rest of the Sabbath was solace to the heart,

as it commended itself to the conscience of these Christian people, smitten down by the temporal power. Well nigh crushed by their foes, they needed the help and rest of the sacred day. The book of Nicholas Bound had a wide and rapid circulation, and produced a marked reformation. Many who had spent the Sunday as a kind of Pagan festival in interludes, Morrice dances, and other sports; began to reverence the "Lord's day," and to observe it with care, profit, and the truest enjoyment. The thoughtful meditation and growing conviction resulting from this altered course was unfavourable to sacerdotal pretension. Whitgift and Popham ordered the book to be suppressed as one calculated to disturb the peace of the Commonwealth, and as tending to schism and sedition. Still the impression of the truth inculcated remained; and with a revived interest in the doctrine taught on the subject in the Scriptures, the temporary withdrawment of this particular treatise did not arrest the work of Sabbath reformation.

The advocates of the Anglican system now took the opportunity of comparative quiet to defend the Establishment by formal treatises. Daniel Buck, a member of the church in Southwark, anxious to escape, with a good conscience, the penalties attached to Separation, invited Henry Jacob, a Puritan minister in Kent, to enter into a discussion on the subject with Francis Johnson, during his imprisonment in the Clink. The entire question of the constitution, order, and ceremonies of the Church of England was thoroughly examined. The disputants dis-

Discussion between Henry Jacob and Francis Johnson.

played great acuteness and learning, and it would be difficult to find an exposure of the anomalies of the Book of Common Prayer, more complete than that given by Francis Johnson. On the subject of Disestablishment, he says, "*The Queen may take to her own civil uses the Lordships and possessions of the Prelates and other clergy*, which happy work, by what princes soever it is done, as certainly it will come to pass for the Lord of Hosts hath spoken of it, *it will greatly redound to the glory of God, the honour of themselves, the free passage of the gospel, the peace of the Church, and the benefit of the whole Commonwealth.*" He proposes that the endowments of the Church of England should be given "*for schools, universities, the upholding of hospitals, almshouses, and the like; for help of poor widows, and fatherless, and strangers, for the impotent sick and helpless of all sorts; for making and repairing of bridges and highways.*" "*The Brownists*," he adds, "*would have these idolatrous livings returned to the Commonwealth* from which they were taken. *But our forward* (*Puritan*) *ministers that wish the Prelates down and their livings taken from them, would gladly have them for their own use.* As you (Henry Jacob) have pleaded for them, and I fear they hold it no better than sacrilege if they be otherwise employed."

Disestablishment and Disendowment.

Richard Hooker, whilst "rocking the cradle" in his village parsonage, ex-cogitated the works that constitute the text-book of English Churchmen. In common with Whitgift, he gives a view of the primitive Church scarcely distinguishable from that which is termed Congregational.

Richard Hooker.

"For preservation of Christianity,"* he says, "there is not anything more needful than that such as are of the visible Church have mutual fellowship and society one with another. In which consideration, as the main body of the sea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names; so the Catholic Church in like sort is divided into a number of *distinct societies*, every of which is termed *a church within itself*. In this sense the Church is always a visible society of men—*not an assembly*, but *a society;* for although the name of the Church be given unto Christian assemblies; although any multitude of Christian men congregated may be termed by the name of a church; yet *assemblies properly are rather things that belong to a church*. Men are assembled for performance of public actions, which actions being ended, the assembly dissolveth itself, and is no longer in being. Whereas the *Church* which was assembled doth no less continue afterwards than before." "Where but three are, and they of the laity also (saith Tertullian), yet *there is a church*—that is to say, a *Christian assembly*." Yet Hooker had no respect for the "distinct societies" formed in obedience to the law of Christ. With a prodigality of learning and a fine imagination, he contended that the Church should have the support of the State to be in harmony with the laws of nature. The irregularities of the Brownists offended him greatly; and it was clear to his penetrating genius, that by "devolution" they were descended from Knipperdoling and John of Leyden. He had no scruples, therefore, in recommending the bishops "in

* Sect. I., book iii.

causes ecclesiastical to strike with the sword of secular punishments." Shemaiah, writing to the college of priests which were in Jerusalem, and to Zephaniah, the principal of them, told them that they were appointed by God, "that they might be officers in the house of the Lord, for every man which raved, and did make himself a prophet" (Jer. xxix. 26), to the end that they might, by the force of their authority, "put such in prison and in the stocks." In the calm judgment of Hooker, it was equivalent to "raving" for any company of Christian people to meet for prayer and reading in the Scriptures in a way not appointed by the Church, and that all such might justly be smitten with the sword, or put in the stocks.

Proposed Settlement in Florida.

Turning aside from these envenomed controversies, the "mariners of England" directed their thoughts to the New World, with an anxious desire to plant on its shores a permanent English settlement. For a hundred years after the discovery of North America, no European could establish himself in that vast domain. True to their sanguinary instincts, and to the policy they had pursued in other parts of the Western hemisphere, the Spaniards sought to clear a space for themselves on the southern coast by fire and sword. Ponce de Leon was the first to explore the regions north of the Gulf of Mexico. He discovered land in 1512, on Easter Sunday, the Pascua Florida of his countrymen. Charmed with its appearance in the full bloom of spring, and in honour of the day of his landing, he called it Florida. Later attempts to conquer the territory proved disastrous to successive

expeditions, and fatal to their leaders. A company of Dominican friars, in the vain hope of retrieving the honour of their country and the credit of their religion, went out, with the consent of the king, to secure the country by ghostly counsel and mystic ceremonies. They landed without soldiers, and began their mission by a discourse to the natives. But it was too late for their priestly enchantments. Deceived, robbed, and destroyed by their predecessors, the uncivilized people had no confidence in the monkish invaders. They seized them at once, and put them to a violent death. The Spaniards turned Florida into an Aceldama—the land of flowers into a field of blood. In 1565, Don Pedro Melendez received a commission from Philip II. to make another trial, and also to extirpate some Huguenots who had landed in Florida. He took up his position on the river St. Augustine, and founded the town now known by that name. They acquired no other possession; but in the name of Florida they claimed the whole coast as far as Newfoundland, and even to the remotest north. In Spanish geography Canada was part of Florida.

The purpose to form an outpost in this commanding spot was known in England, and the resolve was cherished in the hearts of her bravest sons to circumscribe the encroachment, or to raise a barrier of determined and heroic men to confine it to the region bounded by the Gulf of Mexico. Sir Humphrey Gilbert returned from his voyage, disappointed in this object, in 1583, and was not allowed a farther commission by the Queen. Sir Walter Raleigh, his half-brother (March 16, 1584), procured a patent,

and directed his zeal and efforts to the accomplishment of the same design. He strongly preferred the south of Virginia to the northern portion, or New England, "for the apparent danger all the colonies may be in if this be not possessed by the English, to prevent the Spaniard," he said, "who already hath seated himself on the north of Virginia, in 34°, where he is already possessed of rich silver mines, and will no doubt vomit his fury and malice upon the neighbouring plantations, *if a prehabitation* anticipate not his intentions." Two small vessels were despatched (April 27); and on their return (Sept. 12), the report given by them of the beauty of the country and the fertility of the soil, encouraged Raleigh to fit out a second expedition of seven small ships to secure possession of this inviting property. Ralph Lane, who was left in charge of the infant settlement, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, August 12, 1585, after a glowing description of the natural resources of the country, tells him that he has "undertaken, with the favour of God and in his fear, with a good company more—as well of gentlemen as others—to remain here to the return of a new supply: resolved rather to lose our lives than to defer a possession to her Majesty, our country, and our most noble patron Sir Walter Raleigh, of so noble a kingdom." They are prepared, he says, to "live on fish daily," and "to drink water," "with an assurance of her Majesty's greatness hereby to grow by the addition of such a kingdom to the rest of her dominions: and that "the Church of Christ through Christendom may, by the aid of God, in a short time find a relief and freedom from

the servitude and tyranny inflicted by Spain, being the sword of the Antichrist of Rome and his sect: which hath of long time been most miserably oppressed with. Not doubting in the aid of God to be sufficiently provided for by Him, and much assured by faith in Christ, that rather than He will suffer his enemies, the Papists, to triumph in the overthrow of this most Christian action of us, his poor saints through famine or other want, being in a waste country, unmanured (most apt for us) that He will command the ravens to feed us as He did by his servant the prophet Elijah; and that only for his mercy's sake." This preliminary statement will explain the following petition from "the people *falsely called Brownists*":—

Petition of the Brownists.

"Whereas we, her Majesty's natural born subjects true and loyal, now lying many of us in other countries as men exiled her Majesty's dominions; and the rest which remain within her Grace's land; greatly distressed through imprisonment and other great troubles sustained only for some matters of conscience, in which our most lamentable estate, we cannot, in that measure, perform the duty of subjects as we desire; and, also, whereas means are now offered for our being in a foreign and far country, which lieth to the west from hence in *the Province of Canada;* where by the Providence of the Almighty and her Majesty's favour, we may not only worship God, as we are in conscience persuaded by his word; but also do unto her Majesty and our country great good service, and in time also greatly annoy that bloody and *persecuting Spaniard* about the *Bay of Mexico*. Our humble suit is; that it may please your honours to be a means unto her excellent Majesty, that with her Majesty's most gracious favour and protection we may peaceably depart thither, and there remaining to be accounted her Majesty's faithful and loving subjects; to whom we owe all duty and obedience in the Lord: promising hereby, and taking God to record who searcheth

the hearts of all people, that wheresoever we become we will, by the grace of God, live and die faithful to her Highness and this land of our nativity."

So straitened and prostrate were the petitioners that none could venture to sign it, and it will be observed that the document is without date; but the following entry in the Register at the Privy Council Office throws light upon the matter:—

"Arch. Keeper, Admiral, North Buckhurst. 25 March, 1597.

Order of Privy Council.

"Whereas Abraham Van Harwick and Stephen Van Harwick, merchant strangers, and Charles Leigh, merchant of London, have undertaken a voyage of fishing and discovery unto the Bay of Canada, and to *plant themselves in an Island called Rainea* or thereabouts*, where they hope and intend to bring divers commodities of special use for this realm, and to establish a trade of fishery there; and this present year they have purposed to make ready two ships to be sent there, called the *Hopewell* and the *Chancewell*, the one being appointed to winter and the other to return hither. Forasmuch, as they have made humble suit unto her Majesty to transport out of this realm divers artificers and other persons that *are noted to be sectaries, whose minds are continually in an ecclesiastical ferment*, whereof *four* shall at this present sail thither in those ships that go this present voyage. You shall therefore understand that her Majesty is pleased they shall carry with them the aforesaid persons this present voyage; so as note be taken of their names by a sure and good bond to her Majesty's use by the said merchants or of any one of them; and that they shall not repair hither unto this her Majesty's realm unless they shall be content to reform themselves, and to live in obedience to her laws ecclesiastical for matters of religion; and that they nor any of them shall serve her Majesty's enemies, and before they depart they are to take allegiance to her Majesty as becometh dutiful subjects. These are therefore to require you to cause such bonds to be taken of the said merchants, or any one of them, to permit these four persons to embark in the foresaid ships; and because they do mean to take with them such household stuff and other implements as may serve them for their necessary use, you shall

* An island in old maps, near Newfoundland.

see what those things are which they shall take with them, that may be fit for their use there. They having intention to reside and inhabit these parts, so requiring you to take order herein accordingly, and to signify us the same. We, etc."

Voyage of Banished Brownists.

The four Separatist prisoners selected to go as pioneers, were Francis Johnson and Daniel Studley in the *Hopewell*, of 120 tons, with Master Crofton. George Johnson and John Clark in the *Chancewell*, of 70 tons, with Master Stephen. Mr. Charles Leigh, and Mr. Stephen Van Harwick went in the ships as "chief commanders of the voyage." They departed from Gravesend on Friday morning the 8th of April, 1597. The day after their arrival at the Bank of Newfoundland the two ships parted company for a time, but came again into the sight of each other until the last day of May, when the *Chancewell* was lost in a fog at the mouth of the Bay of Placentia. After much rough weather the *Hopewell* reached Rainea, and had a sharp contest with some French ships, followed by a mutiny of her own crew. The *Chancewell*, in the meanwhile, was stranded on the 23rd June, in fine weather, on a rock a mile from the shore, upon the main of Cape Breton, from the "headiness" of the master. To add to the disaster, they were pillaged by Frenchmen and used in a savage manner. Whilst wandering among the rocks and bemoaning their wretched condition, George Johnson descried a ship in the distance, which proved to be the *Hopewell*, eight men went off in a shallop. The joy at the unexpected meeting was great, but the troubles of the voyage were not over. The ships seem to have had a commission for a little privateering as

well as for discovery and fishing. They took a prize which was recaptured; the *Chancewell* became so disabled that the chase was abandoned. "When we came to sea," says the commander of the *Hopewell*, "we found our sails so old, our ropes so rotten, and our provision of bread so short, as that we were constrained to make our resolution directly for England: whereupon we drew our reasons the 4th of August, and sent them aboard the *Hopewell*. The next day having a fair wind we put off from the coast of Newfoundland, and kept our course directly for England, the *Hopewell* keeping us company until mid-day: when on having lost us in a fog, she shot off two pieces of ordnance, and we answered with three. Afterwards we spake not with her, supposing that she went for the Azores.

"5th Sept., I landed on the outside of the Isle of Wight."

The poor banished "Brownists" finally made their way to Holland.*

The "exiled church" at Amsterdam, on the arrival of Francis Johnson, elected him as their pastor.

Exiled Church at Amsterdam.

He was associated in office with Henry Ainsworth, as teacher; Daniel Studley, Stanshall Mercer, George Knyveton, and Christopher Bowman as elders or representatives. Very lucid and interesting explanations were given by them of the constitution of the Christian Church and the duties of its members. "The estate whereunto God hath called His Church in this life," they

* Many of them had laid long in prisons and then were banished unto Newfoundland, where they were abused; and at last came into the Low Countries wanting money, trades, friends, or acquaintances, and languages to help themselves.—Young's Chronicles, p. 441.

said, "is generally to the communion or fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ, as being the only Mediator and Saviour; the Prophet, Priest, and King of the Church, which they, believing and professing, are also made partakers in proportion, and in their measure, of these three offices with Him." "His word is given to them for their instruction and comfort, and that they, by 'witness, profession, and practice, may hold forth the word of life.'" "They have not only interest in his death and suffering; but also are themselves made a holy priesthood, offering up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God by Him." "He rules them by his Word, and they reign on the earth till they reign with Him in glory."

They carefully guarded the brethren against reliance on any external profession. "Although the Church consisteth only of such as are called, yet there are two sorts; some outwardly only and for a time, which though they be in the church, yet are they not indeed of the church; others are called effectually, and for ever."

"The Church is a sacred commonalty, consociate and knit together into a mystical body; whose head is Christ; whose members are Christians of any nation or condition; whose rule is the word, and whose spirit is the spirit of the living God."

In virtue of this fellowship with Christ, the members of the church have communion amongst themselves, for their better service of God; their mutual edification; common resistance to their adversaries; and for the strengthening and consolation of one another in all Christian duties, both public and private. "Of all these, and many more

blessings, are those deprived that refuse or neglect to unite themselves with Christ in his Church; or do withdraw and separate themselves, to live alone, as in the desert, or to frequent the company of the wicked; they want the benefit and comfort of God's graces in his children; they want help, strengthening, and encouraging in time of trouble; and 'the labour of such foolish ones, doth weary them, because they know not to go into the city.'—Eccl. x. 15. They are exposed to many perils, like wandering sheep upon the mountains, ready to be devoured of the wild beasts, and made a prey unto Satan. If they err, there is none to restore them into the right way; if they be wounded or broken, there is none to bind them up; if they be in misery and want, there is none to give them so much as husks to eat; if they fall, woe unto them, for there is not a second to lift them up."

"Communion" there must be between church and church. The churches in the Apostles' days communicated in blessings, temporal and spiritual: as amongst others, the churches at Jerusalem and Antioch; the one of which were Jews, the other Gentiles: as also the churches in Macedonia and in Corinth. From these few examples it may appear how churches owe help, comfort, and refreshing one to another, as they have need and ability; and should not envy nor vex one another: for although we may advise, exhort, warn, and reprove, so far as Christian love and power extend, yet we find no authority committed to one congregation over another for excommunicating the same, as every church hath, over her own members. Christ reserveth this power in his own hand.

Johnson and Ainsworth were not suffered to labour in peace. Romanists, Anglicans, Puritans, and renegade Separatists, involved them in many thorny controversies.

The first demand, in the way of vindication on the part of the "exiles," was that which seemed to be necessary for the satisfaction of the learned divines in Holland and in other foreign places, to whom their principles and conduct had been grossly misrepresented. In their letters to Francis Junius, divinity reader at Leyden, they gave a full and exact statement of their principles and of the cause of their expatriation.* The main object of this interesting apology, is to show that their principles of church government were in unison with those of the reformed churches, if faithfully applied. "We believe," saith the French Confession, Art. xxx., "that *all true pastors, in what place soever they be placed, have the same and equal authority among themselves, given unto them under Jesus Christ, the only Head, and the chief, alone universal bishop, and that therefore it is not lawful for any church to challenge unto itself dominion or sovereignty over any other.*"

The Brownist Apology.

Junius expressed his great astonishment that they should trouble the world with any formal exposition of their views. It seemed to him the most injudicious thing that persons in their condition, whatever wrong they had suffered, should challenge investigation in a matter that affected the honour of a body so important as the Church of England. He would have greatly preferred personally to have

* Limborch.

kept a "holy silence," but to guard them against the repetition of this strange imprudence, he condescended to write, advising them not to publish anything again on the subject. "Having found a place of rest, by the mercy of God," he says, "where ye may be quiet, pity yourselves, your flock, your entertainers, the whole church. Ye shall do wisely if ye do not stir, but for protection, submit to have both 'doctrine and faith,' 'tried by the church,' 'among whom ye are,' whom it is an unlawful course to omit, and to call upon one another, or the whole public state, or this university, or me, who am a weak member therein." "Let them speak first, with whom ye sojourn, whom ye deny not to be your brethren; but if, peradventure, they shall not satisfy you, or you shall not satisfy them; then let a new course be taken by lawful order. I come to the accusation which ye use against the Church of England, as ye write. What need is there that ye should accuse them? ye have given place; ye have passed over into another court: wherefore, you have given place, nobody desireth to know, or doth trouble you. If wrong be done in England (that I may grant there was done, it belongeth not to me to affirm or deny who have not known it), yet this injury hath ceased to prosecute you, being departed from thence."

"All *wise men*," added the learned Dutch professor, "have taught this with one consent, and delivered it to posterity, that where the foundation of the truth of doctrine remaineth, which is the pillar of salvation, *although with most corrupt manners and discipline*, there the church remaineth; and that no man ought rashly to separate himself from

that church, while he may tarry in it without shipwreck of faith and conscience, or take from it the name of a church."*

The exiles continued their hopeless task of trying to bring the divinity reader to a better mind. "If you write again," they say, "we do humbly and earnestly entreat, if anywhere we have erred in our faith and cause, that you vouchsafe to show us it by the light of God's Word. Otherwise, it will be suspected, seeing you bestow so much pains in discussing these things which concern the manner and not the matter itself; that either you do dissemble your judgment, whatsoever it be, or that in very deed you are of the same mind with us. Especially seeing now you have written, that you do not any "prejudice at all" to our cause, and have spoken this "religiously" before the Lord. Pity, we pray you, our church here exiled; everywhere reproached, eaten up, in a manner, with deep poverty; despised and afflicted well near of all; against which Satan hath now for a long time attempted all utmost extremities. Pity them from whom we have departed, who, under pretence of the gospel, continue still in Antichristian defection; and do so stiffly hold and eagerly maintain it, as there is scarce any among them that dare so much as hiss against it. Pity these churches, among whom we sojourn, in which, whether you look at the public prayers, or the administration of the sacraments, or the execution of discipline; there be sundry tares, if they may be called tares, or rather, corruptions, and those also not of small moment; at which, as is reported, the

* Limborch Epistolæ, xxxvii. xliii.

Anabaptist, and others, not a few, that live here, do stumble; of which also we have, heretofore, conferred friendly with the ministers of these churches, men indeed learned, and our brethren beloved; but hitherto, we do not accord therein, yet hope for better consent hereafter, by the blessing of God, and through the help of you and other godly men. Finally, pity the whole Church of Christ, which verily it is not meet nor expedient, neither indeed ought, among so many and grievous wounds of hers, universally inflicted, to be further galled with this particular wound; that you should not take it in good part, to have by us like, the true faith of Christ published, and the remnants of Antichrist apostacy discovered."

Junius found it more convenient to give the exiles "counsel" than to "make answer" to their "demands." In his judgment, they had not improved their case at all by referring to the defects in the Dutch churches at Amsterdam. He would have had a far better opinion of them if they had been wise enough to hold their peace. The Anglican party also followed the Separatists with pamphlets full of invective and abuse.

"They keep their wont," Ainsworth said, "in abusing us before the world: we look, not in any case, to the greatest number, either of people or elders; but in all cases we look to God's law and testimony, as we are commanded; which, when it is showed by whomsoever all ought to yield to, we know neither the multitude, neither yet the mighty nor Rabbi's are still to be followed: there are differences of gift and offices in the church; yet no

man's gift or office (though he were an angel from heaven) may carry us from the written word by which godly people tried even the apostles' doctrine, and were commended."

The Papists were exceedingly active, and full of hope that at the death of Elizabeth, England would be brought within the power of Rome. "Intelligencers" were stationed at the principal cities of Europe to communicate with each other, and to transmit to the Holy See all the news collected by them respecting the movements at different courts. Talbot, at Loretto, intercepted English travellers on their way to Rome, to examine their letters and report the contents, so far as of interest to Parsons. Adams, at Venice, took charge of the correspondence from Milan and Bologna. Thornton, at Placentia, and Hesketh, at Perugia, were occupied in the same manner. Baldwin, at Brussels, and Cowper, at Douai, looked after all strangers from England. Parsons, at Rome, had notice within a fortnight of all that happened in England. He received his letters on Wednesday; on Thursday he called his secretaries, Walpole, Stephens, Smith, and Wilson together, who wrote continually until midnight, having authority to break open any letters they liked. The network of intercommunication was perfect, and at each point agents were in readiness to attend to the instructions conveyed, in order to prompt and simultaneous action. Various schemes were submitted for the consideration of the Pope; one in particular, proposed in 1602, for the recovery of England, is worth attention. It is entitled a "Discourse of the

Activity of the Romanists.

Providence necessary to be had for the setting up the Catholic faith, when God shall call the Queen out of this life; considering that sundry rumours have come within this year's space of the Queen's sickness, and that, haply, God may call upon her upon a sudden."*

Plan for the recovery of England.

The author of this scheme has little hope from the Spaniards, because of the truce that exists and their "natural tardivity." He proposes that the Pope should nominate a successor to the English throne, and "Grant graces and conditions that would secure two-thirds of the people." The lands originally belonging to the monasteries, but now sold, should, on moderate terms, be secured by a valid title to all who would assist the Catholics; but, taken from the rest, and given in rewards to gentlemen, captains, and soldiers who would fight for the Church. Persons involved in debt from usury might be freed from all liabilities on similar conditions. The writer is sanguine in his expectations as to the success of this policy. "The presaid graces," he says, "published in his Holiness' name at that instant upon the Queen's death, will draw and allure thousands; for not only the first will be a great and singular contentment unto Catholics and schismatics who possess a great portion of those lands; but also it may be hoped that both Protestants and Puritans will prefer their temporal commodity before the respect of their religion; which now is grown in discredit and contempt through the ignorance of their ministers, their falsities in translating the Scriptures, and false alleging of the doctors discovered by Catholic

* S. P. Dom.

writers, their scandalous lives, the diversity of sects sprung up within the realm, and the open and deadly discord grown between the Protestant and Puritan; whereby this new religion of the Queen is holden, but for a fable and a vanity; and, in these respects, it is to be hoped that the heretics will not stand so zealously upon the point of religion; but that they will respect also their particular profit, the offer of annulling grievous debts (of those the number is infinite), will easily draw without other invitation. The nobility are to be won by privileges appointed by the Pope; and a share in the confiscated lands of obstinate heretics. Parliament is to be gained by freedom of speech, exemption from subsidies, and military service; the poor by freedom of pasture for their cattle, and the reduction of lawyers' fees; and the middle-class, or 'Franklyns,' by the promise that they shall be advanced to the degree of gentlemen, and arms given to them; and, in case their patrons and signors be heretics, and do not assist, that the presaid shall be allowed a competent portion of his patron's land." Other details are given, but this brief summary is sufficient. It may be objected, the writer naturally says, that other competitors may make similar promises; but, in reply, he points to the unrivalled guarantee that will be given "in the word of his Holiness, and to the promise of a priest in his name." The simple word of a simple Catholic is more confident, more assured, and better trusted than the handwrit of a heretic. All such schemes failed from the vigilance of Elizabethan statesmen.

The pecuniary resources of the Pope were in-

adequate to meet the demands upon his Treasury. Tyrone, in a letter to Don Carlo, said, "The faith ought to be re-established within one year, if the King of Spain would send only 3000 soldiers. All the heretics would disappear, and no other Sovereign would be recognized than the King Catholic. Both I and O'Donnell have besought him to succour the Church. Pray second our petition. If we obtain positive assurance of succour from the King, we will make no peace with the heretics."*

To encourage the enterprise, his Holiness issued a Bull in favour of his "beloved son," the Earl of Tyrone, grand captain of the Catholic army in Ireland; granting to all who should follow him in "the Catholic array" plenary pardon and remission of all sins, as "usual granted to those setting out to the war against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land." †

* Carte Papers. † Carew Papers.

CHAPTER V.

On the death of Elizabeth (March 24, 1603), the hopes of the Puritans began to revive. "The King of Scots (a correspondent in Flanders writes to his friend at the English Court, 1598), builds more on means of England than abroad, and has a great party, especially the Puritans. He accounts London altogether his, the most of the citizens being Puritans, and having that city, he thinks the rest of England a matter of no great difficulty, and the less because most of the rich towns are Puritans."

Hopes of the Puritans revived.

In the Chapel Royal of Holyrood (May 10, 1586), the King assented to the calling of the Assembly, that they might "resolve themselves of a Form of Discipline and Church Government most agreeable to the Word of God, which he proposed to establish throughout the realm." "Sir," replied the Moderator, "we praise God that your Majesty has decreed our Assembly with your own presence. *We trust your Majesty speaketh without hypocrisy.*" The Kirk well knew the slipperiness of the royal orator, and the necessity of keeping him up to his solemn engagements. On the 5th of April, 1603, James left Edinburgh to take possession of the

crown of England, accompanied with a numerous retinue, including Patrick Galloway, the minister of his household, Andrew Lamb, and David Lindsay, minister of Leith.

Other parties, however, were equally expectant of regal favour. The Roman Catholics, notwithstanding their diabolical plots, made their appeal to the "sacred ears" of their "beloued" sovereign on the ground of state policy. The Pope, they told his Majesty, was greatly delighted with his book, "Basilicon Doron."* They pressed him to consider their superiority to the Protestants, and especially the evil-minded Puritans. "The Puritan as he increaseth daily," they say, "over the Protestant in number, so is he of a more presuming, imperious, and hotter disposition and zeal, burning in desire to bring in the ecclesiastical state or popular form of Government, if the Catholics (perchance the powerablest let [hindrance] thereof), were once extinguished."

King James besieged with applications.

William Bradshaw lost no time in preparing a treatise to prove to the King that the Puritans had no sinister designs whatever, "and that there was nothing in their demands disloyal to the sovereign or which would not be conducive to the national welfare." Having "separation from Rome," they desired that they might not be forced against their consciences, to stain and pollute the simple and sincere worship of God, prescribed in his Word, with any human traditions and rites whatsoever."

The Separatists in exile or in prison presented

* S. P. Dom.

also their case: "Your Majesty," they said, "once made this declaration, that you were willing to take knowledge of any truth of God, and that whosoever differ in religion, must be careful alway to have warrant of the Word of God and antiquity." They submitted to his Majesty the most abundant proof from Scripture in support of their views; and with respect to antiquity, they went back to the days of the Apostles, and to a period still more remote, that of the "Patriarchs since the world began," citing at the same time on many points the "Fathers" of the "primitive church."

"The seventh proposition" supported from texts of Scripture was to the following effect: "That the due maintenance of the officers of the Church should be of *the free and voluntary contribution of the Church;* and that according to Christ's ordinances they which preach the gospel may live of the gospel, and *not by Popish lordships and livings, tenths, tithes, and offerings; and that therefore the lands and like revenues of the prelates and clergy yet remaining, being still also baits and allures to the Jesuits and seminaries into the land, and instruments unto them to plot and prosecute their wonted and evil courses, may now by your Highness be taken away, and be converted to better use;* as those of the abbeys and seminaries have been by your Majesty's worthy predecessors, to the honour and glory of God, and the great good of the realm." "Fourteen" propositions were substantiated by Scripture in the same fashion, and "three petitions" were addressed to his Majesty, that the "ancient and only sure way of Christ" might be adopted, and that the petitioners as "loyal

subjects," might be "suffered peaceably to walk in that faith."

The Puritans, under the direction of Arthur Hildersham and Stephen Egerton, gave in their adhesion to a document called the "Millenary Petition," for further reformation. To counteract this demonstration, an order was passed at a Congregation in Cambridge, July 9, 1603, "that whosoever opposeth the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, either by word or writing, should be suspended from all degrees already taken, or from any degree to be taken, excluded *ipso facto* from taking any new ones."* Oxford issued a formal manifesto on the part of the authorities of the University in which they implore the King to consider "how inconvenient and insufferable it was in Christian policy, to permit a long and well established state of government to be so much as questioned, much more to be altered: "the petitioners" they say, "are for a limited monarchy, and for subjecting the titles of the kings to the approbation of the people." "Does it become the supereminent authority and regal person of a King to be subject to the overswaying and all-commanding power of a presbytery?"

The agitation increased. The Puritans were apprised by a friend at court that the bishops were preparing a memorial to the King to disprove the allegations made against them; and to show that the petitioners for the reformation were but an insignificant and disaffected party. A committee was immediately organized to correspond with ministers

* Collier, vol. vii. 27.

and influential laymen in the several counties, and to stir them up to send a counter-statement with statistics from every district to prove the neglected state of the parishes and the abuses that existed. Henry Jacob, writing from "Wood Street, 30th of June, 1603," prepared the forms of the circulars to be sent out for this purpose. With the tact of men accustomed to "getting up" memorials, they advised that the "ministers and gentlemen" should proceed in common to complain of the violences, burdens, and matters of just discontentment; but that in doing so they should draw several petitions variously expressed, "for the avoiding of the suspicion of conspiracy," and also prepare the people by earnest appeals from the pulpit. Above all, to "solicit the King of kings to incline the heart of the King, and to fortify it in the truth he hath professed and maintained."

Letter of Whitgift and Bancroft.

The bishops were informed of these combined and systematic movements; but uncertain as to the inclinations of the King, they acted with caution. Whitgift and Bancroft wrote conjointly to Lord Burghley (September 27th, 1603), to disparage the leaders of the petitioning party.*

"The chiefest of the clergymen," they say "(for aught we hear), that show themselves to be stirrers up of these unjust reproaches and false complaints, are such turbulent and factious persons as have heretofore been one way or other, censured by us in that respect. One Jacob, a very insolent person, of much more boldness than either learning or judgment; a man that hath been imprisoned by us for his disobedience, and *who is subject to our further censures when these dangerous times are past;* was an especial leader in the first petition, and now by his and his fellows' example a second com-

* S. P. Dom.

plaint is made and procured in the name of the meaner souls in Sussex, by the means of one Pearson. At the very writing hereof we also received information from the Bishop of Chichester and his chancellor, that there are two gentlemen of good place in that country who labour, with all the credit they have to procure the subscriptions of the deputy-lieutenants, the justices of the peace, and the rest of the gentlemen."

Proclamation to silence Petitions.

The King issued a proclamation (October 24, 1603), postponing the conference, in which, after severely condemning the petitioning agitation, he adds, "Upon our princely care (our desire is) let all our subjects repose themselves, and leave to our conscience that which to us only appertaineth, avoiding all unlawful and factious manner of proceeding; for that hereafter, if any shall either by gathering the subscriptions of multitudes to supplications, or give us cause to think that he hath a more unquiet spirit than any private person ought to have towards public authority, we will make it appear by his chastisement how far such a manner of proceeding is displeasing to us." "We admonish all men hereby to take warning, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril."

Commission of Inquiry.

On October 22, 1603, a royal message notwithstanding was sent to the primate, directing a searching inquiry to be made to ascertain the real condition of the church in order to the correction of proved abuses. "We thought it convenient," the King writes, "to let you understand that information from many places of our kingdom and from persons of good sort is continually and so credibly delivered unto us as we cannot but give some credit to them. That in many parts of the realm the parishes are so ill served of

pastors able to instruct in matters of faith, as is very scandalous to men of your degree, and giveth much advantage to the adversary to seduce them; and if it should continue would be very heavy to our conscience in our account to God in case it be not amended."

Puritans advised by Friends at Court.

The Puritans were apprised by their friends at court that the proclamation against the petitions was "procured by wicked policy." "The King," they say, "is much offended with the answer made by the vice-chancellor and others at Oxford, and said it was written by a devilish spirit. Mr. Galloway preached, 13th of this month, before the King and all the great lords, and told them that he was resolved to have a resident minister in every parish, whatever the politics said to the contrary. The King, at dinner, said he would subscribe to what had been preached. Assurances of a similar kind were repeated:" so they add, "let us apply to our God with prayers, and carry ourselves peaceably and dutifully, and God will give a blessing."*

The venerable Cartwright, after a long silence, wrote to Sir Christopher Yelverton:—

"I have been entreated by those I confess I owe much to, that I would become petitioner unto you for your good and helpful hand in the common cause of the church. In which request to me, as I do easily see their care and zeal for reformation of things amiss, also their good and sound judgment in discerning wisely of your worship's sufficiency every way to forward the cause we labour about. So I cannot but impute some oversight in them that they seek far off, for that they might have had nearer home. For what am I? or who am I? that I should mediate this matter more than other. If he were fitter for it who is more

* Sloane MSS.

beholden unto you, and hath received sundry kindnesses at your hand, I should in that respect happily be more fit than other; and further fitness than this I neither know nor do acknowledge. Nevertheless, because I know the suit is good, and I am entreated by them, I could bear to be commanded in such a cause; I humbly pray you I may, without your offence or brand of self-conceit, desire that in the love these many years borne to the truth, you would have the pains to draw up the supplication to his Majesty in the behalf of the nobility and gentry of that shire, as for reformation generally of things amiss, so more particularly, the removal of the ignorant, idle, and unresident ministry, and consequently of pluralities; the subscription, other than the statute requires; the burden of ceremonies; the abuse of spiritual courts; especially in the censures of suspension and excommunication; and the oath ex-officio, and such others of that kind, your worship understandeth to be contrary to the laws of the land; for which cause I have sent here a short survey of them with the laws of the land, that you might the better understand the lamentable servitude the church is in to these hard laws; and if the Lord would enlarge your Christian heart so far, as in subscribing the same supplication, as the principal belwether of the flock to go before the rest, as I am persuaded the rest would follow with great cheerfulness, so we already bound unto you for the good duties you do to the Church and Commonwealth of our land, shall yet have a straiter band daily in our prayers to remember you and yours before the Lord, for all manner of his gracious blessings, especially those of a better life; He knoweth you have need of this. After mine and my wife's humble and thankful remembrance of you and your good lady's kindness to us, I commend you both, and yours; those especially which do more nearly concern you, to the gracious keeping and the blessing of God in Jesus Christ. Warwick, the 12th of November, 1603. Yours humbly to command,*

"THOMAS CARTWRIGHT."†

The Justices of the Peace for the county of

* Sloane MSS., 826.

† This appears to have been the last act of Cartwright in relation to the Puritan struggle. He died with "unutterable comfort and happiness," as he said to his wife, at the age of 68, Dec. 27, 1603; having preached on the previous Sabbath from Eccl. xii. 7.

Lancaster, in their petition, gave their decided testimony to the moral worth of the Puritan ministers.

"They beseech his Majesty to take knowledge of the ministers and preachers of this county now in question, for Nonconformity in matter of ceremonies; concerning whom we have emboldened ourselves to certify your Majesty, that excepting this one point of their Nonconformity wherein they allege for themselves the conscience of the unlawfulness and inconvenience of the said ceremonies: and we are persuaded that they merely upon their conscience therein, and not upon any wilful stiffness, affectation of novelty, or humour of disobedience, we have known them in all other things, for all the time of their continuance amongst us, well near forty years, and the most of them above twenty, diligent and painful preachers, and that with such fruit and blessing upon their labours, that whereas in the beginning of her late Majesty's reign, of blessed memory, this country was generally overgrown with Popery and profaneness, it now (especially in the places in which these men have continued) is so reformed that many are become unfeigned professors of the Gospel, and many recusants are yearly conformed. Divers of the said preachers being men of great years, some gentlemen by birth, and, according to their place, great housekeepers; some of good reputation for learning, and all of them men of honest conversation and peaceable among their neighbours, and (this one thing excepted) very obedient to all authority, as, we doubt not, but the reverend Fathers in God, our very good Lords, Doctor Chadderton and Doctor Vaughan, now or late bishops of this diocese will sufficiently testify. We must needs acknowledge that, by means of their good doctrine and example, we have found it more easy to contain the common people in the duties of their subjection and loyalty to the supreme power. And whereas the disposition and state of this country is known to be such, that where they be Protestants they hate all remembrance of Popery, and where they be Papists they rejoice greatly in the least movement thereof, if it be but a palm cross. We greatly fear that if these godly ministers shall be deprived of their places, it will bring exceeding much grief to all the godly, too great rejoicing to the common adversaries, and further endanger the progress of religion in these parts. And as they did, by

their dutiful letters sent into Scotland to your most excellent Majesty, and by their attendance at York, signify their forwardness and joyful thankfulness for your Majesty's most happy and peaceable entry into this kingdom; so did they also, by their public exercises and sermons, stir up themselves, and all the people of the country, to praise the God of heaven for bestowing the inestimable blessing of your most excellent Majesty upon the kingdom; and seek thereby to oblige the consciences of your subjects, for ever to acknowledge the same with all faithfulness and loyalty. In regard of the premises, and the rather for that the things urged have been disused in their places during all the time of their continuance, we, knowing it also to be the desire of many thousands of your faithful subjects in this county; do upon our knees most humbly beseech your princely clemency to have compassion upon the poor wives and children of these faithful preachers, otherwise likely to fall into great extremity and beggary, in vouchsafing your gracious allowance for their continuance in their places; so shall we, your Highness' most humble and loyal subjects, as otherwise in all duty we are ready and bounden, beseech the Lord our God in mercy to recompense your Majesty and your royal posterity."

"Jan. 1603-4."*

The conference promised by the King was held at Hampton Court,† on Thursday, Jan. 12, 1603-4. Eight bishops, beside the Archbishops, seven deans, two doctors of divinity, and one archdeacon were summoned on the behalf of the hierarchy. Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstub, and Mr. Chadderton, were nominated by the King to speak on behalf of the Puritans. On the first day the bishops alone were admitted to the Audience Chamber; when the King explained to them the design of the conference, and expressed his strong desire "that the kingdom of Ireland might be reduced to the true knowledge of

Hampton Court Conference.

* S. P. Dom.

† Additional MSS., 6394, 15, 25.

God, and true obedience." They met his Highness on the Saturday following, "about xi of the clock in his private chamber, the privy council only sitting on his right hand, and all the bishops on the left," when he "made an excellent oration about an hour long." Because "some preachers in this realm did not submit to discipline," and that "of late" little less than a schism had arisen "most perilous to the Commonwealth and to the Church," "he had convened the reverend fathers apart from their opposites," "for avoiding of contention, and for his own resolution in some particulars," which the contrary faction imputed to the Book of Common Prayer, and partly to the form of church government, against which his Majesty did argue and dispute at large, and after answer severally made by the bishops, "his Highness so ecclesiastically and effectually replied," they tell us, "that with rejoining and sur-rejoining, four long hours were spent in that day's conference, to our exceeding great admiration of his Majesty's not only rhetorical and logical, but apologetical and judicial discourses." Dudley Carleton says the King told the bishops he sent not for them as persons accused; but as men of choice by whom he sought instruction; and chiefly to be satisfied on the points of confirmation, absolution, and private baptism: and insisted somewhat upon the disorders of the bishop's chancellors: to which the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Winchester and Durham, made mild and good answers; and the Bishop of London spake well and to the purpose, but with too "ruf boldnes." The deans, amongst whom was Westminster, were

only hearers. In conclusion, the King seemed to be reasonably satisfied; only did wish some alteration of scandalous words in the Common Prayer Book, but the substance to remain: upon which he willed the bishops to advise, and return to him again on Wednesday next. Meanwhile Patrick Galloway and "his crew" shall have their turns, and to-morrow appear before the King. These two companies, as they differ in opinion, so do they in fashion, for one side marches in gowns and rochets, and the other in cloaks and nightcaps. Cartwright, a ringleader of these reformed Pallenti, is lately dead "*

The "best learned of the precise sort" were admitted to the "privy chamber" on Monday, "to hear what they could object." "The doctors named divers abuses." "After that," the bishops report, "his Majesty had in most excellent and extraordinary manner confuted their objections, being therein assisted now and then for variety's sake, rather than necessity, by the Bishops of London and Worcester from xi of the clock until after four, with some sharp words among. He favourably dismissed them for that time, requiring them to give their attendance there again on the Wednesday after, before himself and his Council, and all the bishops, to receive such order and direction as he should be pleased to give herein."

Dr. Reynolds, in the name of the Puritans proposed, "1. That the doctrine of the church might be preserved in purity, according to God's Word. 2. That good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same. 3. That the church govern-

* S. P. Dom.

ment might be sincerely ministered according to God's Word. 4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety." Bishop Barlow records with exultation the sharp words of the King. In reply to a point urged by Reynolds, he said, "Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that of me; and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will, perhaps, hearken to you."* At the close of the conference, he remarked to one of his attendants, "If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of this land, or do worse."†

"At the final audience after that, his Majesty had summarily repeated unto us what had passed between him and the Puritans on the Monday, and began to set down the course he would have to be observed. Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Knewstub moved his Majesty, with all submission, to have the cross in baptism utterly forborne, and kneeling at the communion, which being for divers causes denied them, yet by their importunity on their behalf, and certain preachers in Lancashire, who had taken great pains against the Papists, and done much good among the people, his Highness was contented, out of his princely clemency to grant, and so far to condescend unto them, that a letter should be written to the Bishop of Chester to bear with their weakness for some time, and not to proceed overhastily and roughly against any of them; until by conference between the bishop and them, they might be persuaded to conform themselves; advising Mr. Chad-

* Barlow's Account, p. 169. † Barlow, p. 170.

derton and Mr. Knewstub, by their letters or otherwise, to deal with those preachers, to submit themselves to the judgment of the church, and to avoid singularly the authors of schism and all disorder. Which done, his Majesty assigned his Council and all the bishops forthwith to go and consult together in the Council Chamber, as well upon the premises that needed any amends, as also how religion might be planted upon the borders of England and Scotland; and likewise in Wales; but especially in his kingdom of Ireland." After further counsels respecting the universities, he advised the bishops to "look better to the education of noblemen's and gentlemen's sons; many of whom, he was informed to have been by Popish tutors and teachers dangerously corrupted:" and so "requiring the bishops to be so much the more vigilant in their calling, as the adversaries are no less diligent than the 'Divill' himself in perverting the people, we were most benignly dismissed for that time."

Patrick Galloway, in his account of the conference states, that when the King, in his first interview with the bishops, pointed out the corruptions of the church, "they upon their knees, with great earnestness, desired that nothing should be altered, lest the Papist recusants, punished by penal statutes for their disobedience, and the Puritans, punished by deprivation from calling and living, for Nonconformity, should say they had just cause to insult upon them, as men who had travailed to bind them to that which now by their own mouth was confessed to be erroneous always." The representatives of the Puritans answered "loosely and

coldly." Galloway sent to his brethren a statement of the points of reformation, corrected by the King's own hand: including the preparation of a plain Catechism, the translation of the whole Bible, better observance of the Sabbath, the High Commission to be rightly used, the removal of scandalous ministers, more learned ministers, the correction of abuses in non-residence and pluralities. With these orders for reformation, measures were to be adopted for securing strict conformity; the electors of the kingdom were commanded to send representatives to Parliament (March 5, 1603-4) in accordance with the King's instructions, on pain of fine and imprisonment.

The 16th of July was fixed as the limit of forbearance to the ministers who hesitated to conform, and new canons were framed to prevent the evasion of ecclesiastical regulations. All meetings for conference or worship appointed were forbidden, on pain of excommunication. The Bishop of St. David's alone opposed these stringent impositions in Convocation (August 23, 1604):— "Though I do not justify the doings of the preachers," he said, "who choose to forfeit their livings; yet surely their service will be missed at such a time, and need shall require us and them to give the right hand of fellowship one to another, and to God, against the common adversary. If these men—hundreds in number—should forsake their charges, who, I pray you, shall succeed them? In the time of the late Archbishop of Canterbury these things were not so extremely judged, but that many learned preachers enjoyed their liberty therein conditionally,

New Canons.

that they did not by word or deed openly disgrace or disturb the state established. I would know a reason why they should now be so strictly called upon, especially seeing that these men's labours are now the more necessary, by so much as we see greater increase of Papists to be now of late than was before."

The Bishop of London, and others (Winchester, Ely, and Lincoln), replied, and the Bishop of St. David's rose to speak; but he was forbidden by the president; "and he submitted obediently, affirming that nothing was more dear to him than the peace of the Church"—and he might have added, "than the quiet and secure possession of the revenues of his see."

Cranborne was not satisfied with the proceedings of the Convocation. In a letter to Sir Thomas Lake (January 24, 1604), he writes:—"I have warned my Lord of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to come hither this afternoon; having yesterday received order from you. I would the canons had been better considered than to depend upon their own judgments in the constitution of them, if they be so full of stupidity as to need directions for supplying of those that are void; in which, if they shall lack providence, it were a pity of their lives; for either they have the conscience to be assured of filling the rooms, or cannot be so godless as to remove them."

Cranbourne and the Bishops.

The pressure was intended to be effectual for the self-exclusion of the Nonconformist clergy, and many withdrew. Still, in the judgment of their friends, sacred interests were in imminent peril, and they were constrained to appeal to the King. Pas-

sionately fond of hunting, he was on his way to the "field" at Royston, and had given directions that, while enjoying his pastime, he should not be troubled with affairs of State.

A deputation from Northamptonshire, twenty-seven in number, nevertheless pressed through every obstruction into the royal presence with their most urgent petition:— Northampton Petition, Feb. 9, 1604.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty,—We, your Majesty's loyal and true-hearted subjects, justices of peace, and gentlemen within your Highness's county of Northampton, finding just cause to fear the loss of many a learned and profitable minister, if the execution of this late decree should proceed (as in part it is begun) to the deprivation and suspension of many of our most learned and profitable teachers. With all reverence upon our knees, we prostrate ourselves at your Majesty's feet, and most humbly beg and crave of your Highness that the hand of your kingly favour may be stretched out to moderate the extremity of this decree; which otherwise is like to deprive us, and many thousands of your loyal and true-hearted people, of the labour of many faithful preachers, who not out of self-will and conceitedness, as some have supposed, but out of the tenderness of their consciences, and fear to offend the King of heaven (as we are verily persuaded), make scruple to use the ceremonies, and yield to the subscription enjoined. We presume, most dread Sovereign, out of our love to the truth of God, and out of our loyal hearts to your Majesty with confident boldness, to affirm in your princely presence that these men, for whom we now sue, have laboured long among us, and with great pains and faithfulness, profited us and many of your subjects, by their conscionable and sincere teaching; confuted Papism, depressed Brownism, and all other schismatical and heretical opinions; carefully beaten down sin and impiety powerfully, and have proved lights of great comfort and furtherance to us, and to all other your Majesty's subjects with their several charges, both by their doctrine and examples. May it please your Majesty, out of a religious heart, to take compassion upon us, your humble suppliants, who grieve in our souls

to see so many worthy labourers in this part of the Lord's harvest, their wives and children to be exposed to certain beggary; which will be an insupportable charge to the country ourselves, being bound by the laws of God and the laws of the land, to relieve them. Show them mercy and favour, most gracious king, to us, and *many thousands* of your poor subjects, and let us not receive so lamentable a divorce from our faithful pastors, who, some twenty, some thirty years, and some more, have, in season and out of season, according to the apostle's rule, faithfully discharged their duties in their several congregations: and yet we see so many ignorant and scandalous men of that calling sitting in great quiet, against whom there is either no law, or no execution of law, for their just removal; so shall your Majesty glorify the God of heaven, honour your royal person, maintain the laws of your kingdom, proceed in the gracious way of her Majesty, deceased; be a means of the salvation of the souls of many of your subjects; encourage many young students to the study of divinity; take away through unnecessary occasion of contention in the church; keep your Majesty's subjects from schism and separation; daunt the hearts of Papists and Atheists who glory much in the deprivation of painful pastors and teachers; raise up the spirit of your sorrowful people, and bind us all, as in duty we are most bound, to pray daily and hourly for the preservation of your person, the prosperity of your government, and the prolonging of your days, and that there may never want one from your kingly loins to sit on your throne."

Resentment of the King.

The King was mortally offended. These troublesome petitioners had spoiled the hunt, and expressed their dissatisfaction with the measures adopted by the bishops with his sanction, after all the pains they had taken to arrive at a proper settlement. What did the restless men want more? A friend at court, writing to the Bishop of Norwich, describes the heat of the King's anger. He says his Majesty "took such a deep impression" at the presenting of the petition—

"As the next day being Sunday, he sat eight hours in council with the Lords. In this meeting he first most bitterly inveighed

against the Puritans, saying that the revolt in the Low Countries, which had lasted ever since he was born, and whereof he never expected to see the end, began first with a petition for matters of religion; and so did all troubles in Scotland; that his and he from their cradle had been haunted with a Puritan devil, which he feared would not leave him to his grave; and that he would hazard his crown, but would oppose these malicious spirits. From the Puritans he proceeded to Papists, protesting his utter detestation of their superstitious religion, and that he was so far from favouring it, as if he thought his son and heir after him would give any toleration thereunto, he would wish him fairly buried before his eyes.

"Besides, he charged the lords of the council and the bishops present that they should take care of themselves, and give order to the judges of the land, to the justices, and other inferior officers, to see the laws speedily executed with all rigour against both extremes.

"Hereupon yesterday being Ash Wednesday, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Judges of the land giving their charge to the gentlemen of the Commission of the Star-Chamber, as the manner is at the end of every term; declared his Majesty's pleasure, showing withal in the most vehement manner how much themselves were incensed against the disturbers of the State in both extremes.

Declaration of the judges against Petitions.

"My Lord Chancellor delivered his speech with tears. He asked three questions:—

"The first, of the Lords of the Council, whether to gather hands to move his Majesty by petition in matter of religion, as certain Puritan gentlemen went about, were not a matter tending to sedition and rebellion. They all answered, yea.

"The second was to the judges, whether those men that were deprived for nonconforming themselves could be restored by law. They answered, no. The third was concerning Papists," etc.

Sir Dudley Carleton writes (Feb. 20, 1605):—"The poor Puritan ministers have been ferreted out in all corners, and a crew of gentlemen of Northamptonshire, who put up a petition to the King in

their behalf, told roundly of their boldness, both at the Council table and Star Chamber. Sir Francis Hastings, for drawing the petition, and standing to it when he had done so, was removed from his lieutenancy and justiceship of the peace in his shire.

Mr. Erasmus Dryden, one of the petitioners, was committed to the Fleet, and there continued until the 17th of March, when he was brought before the Council, and charged with sedition. After some resistance, he cooled down, made a servile apology, and was dismissed. Sir Francis Hastings maintained a firmer and more consistent position. In the course of his examination on the second day, Cranbourne said:—"We have concluded in matters of State for these proceedings, and now you must set down under your hands the affirmation; 'That the men you have petitioned for are not worthy of petition to be made for them, for that they be seditious, factious, and disobedient against the law and the King, and also disturbers of the Church's peace;' and you must put down under your hand that petitions coming by combination under the hands of many are mutinous and seditious, and contrary to law." The following colloquy arose:—

Dryden and Hastings before the Council.

HASTINGS. "I am before your honours upon the complaint of gentlemen about drawing of a petition. Let not matters impertinent, besides the matter in question, be laid upon me."

CRANE. "Your answer is insufficient. You must speak directly according to your conscience, and not by our persuasion."

HASTINGS. "I most humbly thank your honour for granting me that liberty; for otherwise I must have been bold to take it, if I should have answered contrary to my own heart and conscience. God is greater than my conscience to condemn me, and

if you yourself should find me to dissemble, you might justly adjudge me dishonest. And now, I beseech you, give me leave to speak boldly and plainly. If the ministers did refuse the ceremonies upon a humour and disposition to disobey, and not upon conscience, none should be more opposite to them than myself. But, seeing it is through the tenderness of their conscience, let not me lay a blot upon them being free and innocent, for that myself have some experience of the tenderness of conscience. Neither do I desire to live to see the King so dishonoured nor his subjects so prejudiced, that it should be unlawful to petitionate with many or few hands to him who hath power to grant or to deny."

CRANBOURNE. "Now you know what to do."

NORTHAMPTON. "I will prove your petition to be seditious, and to contain threatening to the King; that howsoever you are a gentleman of honour, birth, wisdom, and judgment, yet herein you have overshot yourself, for you have it in your petition that a *thousand* are discontented."

HASTINGS. "It is not in the petition that a thousand are discontented, but that they are grieved."

NORTHAMPTON. "Like to the petition of Essex, pretending the number three thousand or four thousand, who would have come with them had they not been stayed, as it was related by a reverend prelate, by their own confession."

HASTINGS. "I named a thousand in the petition not to press the multitude to sedition, but to draw a compassion from the King to his subjects; but if any of our side had been so presumptuous as the Papists have been, had they been never so near or dear to me, I would soon have disclaimed them; for in their first petition they gave out that they were men of generosity, of spirit, of quality, of sufficiency to overthrow their opposites; and in the second petition of late, durst be so bold to publish that if the King would not grant them toleration they did not know what might fall out. (*Kneeling down.*) My Lords give me leave to make my suit not for favour to the King, but for this favour, which I think a great favour, if I may obtain the same; that if either in the Queen's time or in the King's, I dealt offensively, that the least conceit of disloyalty might be found against me, I might rather live in prison to his Majesty's satisfaction than at liberty in his suspicion."

LORDS. "All the Lords commended him as a very loyal gen-

tleman, and approved his service, only blamed him that he stood so stiffly in these points."

ANSWER. "My Lords, if you continue in this course against the poor and faithful ministers of religion, for it is my duty to speak, whatsoever do become of me, you will so raise the spirit of the Papists that when you would, you will hardly suppress them."

Being commanded to withdraw himself, when he was called in again, the Lord Chancellor proceeded to sentence him:—

LORD CHANCELLOR. "I did never see this Board so careful of a gentleman as they are of you; and joyful would it be to them all to see you careful of yourself. Are you altered in your judgment?"

HASTINGS. "My Lord, you might well judge me to be fickle if so soon I should reverse my judgment."

LORD CHANCELLOR. "Then it is their Lordships' pleasure that you should return to your own house in the country, and desist from all matters concerning the King's service. And this is done to you in favour, and if it were any other you should be by the heels."

HASTINGS. "I do willingly undergo your honour's sentence."

The King and Parliament.

Sir Francis Hastings, in Parliament, contended for constitutional rights. The House of Commons, after stating their grievances, petitioned the House of Lords in favour of the Puritan ministers,* and appealed to the King on behalf of the silenced ministers.

In reply to the Commons, the King replied†:—

"Since I perceive by this youre petition, that my last speache unto you anent matters of religion hath so littel opened your understanding as not only ye now move me againe in those verie points quiche, I directlie discharged you to medle with at that tyme for the waichtie reasons then alleadgie by me; but

* Petyt, MSS., 538, vol. 52, 23. Sloane, MSS., 826.

† Harleian MSS., 2073. Rapin, vol. ii. 115.

ye are even come to that haicht of forgetfulnes in the verry first wordes of youre petition to alleadge my comande for your warrande to enter into consultation upon causes of that nature, quhaeras by the plaine contraire, I not only directlie discharged you to medle any further in these pointes, and did especiallie name unto you such pointes as I wolde have hadd you to consulte upon, but also ordained that your consultation on those pointes that I named unto you, shoulde not be into your house, but by a priuat conference of some few of the Upper House. Therefore in consideration hereof, and that my former travelles and reasonis have so littel prevailed with you, I can give no ansuere to youre petition than by repeating shortly those reasons that I formerlie alleaged it unto you; to witte, that a settled ordoure in settled churche, must either be uniformlie obeyed without any exception, or elles the dispensing thairwith to certaine particulaire persones can not but surelie promeise a confusion to the quhole state of the churche. For other are these ceremonies indifferent, and elles against Scripture and not indifferent; if they be not indifferent than utheris of the conformable Churche of Englande that practise them are heretikes, and I am the arch-heretike that maentaine thaeme; quhen any man alyve is able by worde or worke to prove these ceremonies to be contraire to the Worde of God, then shal I be content for my pairt to make publique recantation, and if they be indifferent, as surelie they are, then can it not be denyed that these painfull and profitabile ministers, who are disobedient to the King's authoritie and ordinances of a settled churche in indifferent things, do prove themselves to be nothing elles indeed but sediouse schismatikes, and thaerfore *my counsail is hereafter ye medle onlie in suche thinges as are within the reache of your capacitie.*"

A circular was addressed from Whitehall, Dec. 10, 1604, to apprize the bishops of the expiration of the time allowed for subscription, and to suggest the steps to be taken in filling up the vacant places.

The Archbishop of York* took exception to these impolitic proceedings. In reply to Lord Cranbourne, he writes:—

* S. P. Dom., Dec. 18, 1604.

"I have received letters from your Lordship and others of her Majesty's Privy Council, containing two points: first, that the Puritans be proceeded against according to the law, except they conform themselves; secondly, that good care be had unto greedy patrons, that none be admitted in their places, but such as are conformable, and otherwise worthy for their virtue and learning. I have written to three bishops in this province, and in their absence to the Chancellor.

"The Puritans, whose fantastical zeal I mislike, though they differ in ceremonies and accidents, yet they agree with us in substance of religion, and I think all or most of them love his Majesty and the present State, and I hope will yield to conformity; but the Papists are opposite and contrary in very many points substantial of religion, and cannot but wish the Pope's authority and Popish religion to be established. Very many are gone from all places to London, and some are come down into the country with great jollity, almost triumphantly."

They had some cause for jubilation. It was known to them that the King, in his desire to promote a matrimonial alliance for his son, Prince Charles at the Spanish Court, made semi-confidential overtures to the Pope. The "suffering recusants" took the opportunity to press once more on the attention of his Majesty, their claims to favourable consideration. "In 1588," they said, "when the Spanish Armada came, we offered to be placed unarmed in our shirts before the foremost ranks of our battles." "Make us then, sweet Sovereign, as we are willing to serve you, by

Overtures to the Pope.

restoring us to our pristine honours, honest reputation, and to our birthright, freedom, and liberty; by your only peerless justice, clemency, and benignity." Lyndsay, in a letter to the King, dated Rome, Feb., 1605, says:—

"His Holiness desired me, with many kind and sincere protestations, to assure your Majesty of the love and care which in my opinion no man hath cause to doubt of which, as he said, *shall never be otherwise as long as he lives.* Since my last letter, the Congregation of Cardinals hath convened sundry times, and in one of their conferences, I have learned that the Cardinal de Peron, a Frenchman, who was before Bishop of Eureux, took occasion to discourse of your Majesty; but in such form that they were all astonished that were there present, for he made an ample relation of your Majesty's virtues, prudence, literature, and good 'naturall.' He told likewise what proof your Majesty had given to the world of these parts. His discourse pleased sundry that were present, but most the Pope, *who did weep for joy.* His Holiness hath commanded to continue to pray for your Majesty, *and he himself, stays every night two large hours in prayer for your Majesty, the Queen, and your children, and for the conversion of your Majesty, and your dominions;* this I may very well witness as one who was present."*

The rumour of this intimacy on the part of the King excited alarm and suspicion. To prevent further agitation, it was formally denied. The matter was gravely discussed in the House of Commons. Pym said on the occasion; "He would beseech his Majesty not to admit Papists to come too near to him, to work on his affections. He would now have it made known to the King that the Pope hath now blown over the fire of his Romish religion, and that the Popish party here as tinder, were

* S. P. Italy, Jan. $\frac{13}{25}$, 1605; Jan. $\frac{26}{\text{Feb. } 5}$, 1605.

ready to take fire." It was observed as no hopeful sign, that they "flocked to the house of the Spanish ambassador."

Offer of Conference from Separatists and Puritans.

In contrast with the illusory movements of the Romish party, the Separatists of Amsterdam renewed their appeal for a fair and open inquiry. Henry Jacob also made another effort to convince the bishops of the necessity of reforming the "churches in England, by reasons taken out of God's Word." The Bishop of London invited him to Fulham, as for a personal conference, but, after a brief interview, sent him to the Clink Prison. Anxious to be restored to his wife and four small children, who were in much distress, he wrote to the archbishop, complaining of this treatment, and proposed "to forbear speaking against the orders for six months." We are not informed as to the result, but we find him soon afterwards in Zealand, the pastor of a church at Middleborough. There he wrote another treatise, entitled "A Christian and Modest Offer of a most indifferent (impartial) Conference." He was satisfied that in such a conference he could make clear to the King as the sun at noonday, that "the government of the churches of Christ by pastors, teachers, and elders, is much more agreeable to the state of a monarchy than is the present government by archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, commissaries, and the rest of that Romish hierarchy." William Bradshaw, with the same object, set forth the "worst opinions" of the Puritans to convince his Majesty that they were not incompatible with supreme power of the civil magistrate. In 1606, three hundred

silenced ministers renewed the offer of conference, but to no purpose. "You will never be satisfied," it was objected, "was not your cause, according to your own seeking, handled and heard in the conference at Hampton Court?" *

"Such a conference," they replied (p. 29), "was never desired by the ministers; and it seems, by the whole managing of it, that it was underhand plotted and *procured by the prelates themselves; abasing therein his Majesty, and using Mr. Galloway as an instrument in the matter, to the end that they might have the more colour for their intended proceedings afterwards.* And there is great probability of this, for that the archbishop professed to the committees of both Houses, the last session, that he had the letters written from Mr. Cartwright to Mr. Galloway about that matter."

The weakest point in the case of the party who urged further reformation was that of their desire to retain their connection with the Anglican Establishment. "Either," said their opponents, "your propositions are false, and sufficiently confuted in your own practice; or if they be, then why do you join to our church, which is governed by the prelates? Why do you desire to execute a public ministry under us? *Why do you not wholly, with the Brownists, separate,* and get you to Amsterdam, to your holy brethren there?" They answered: "The churches," willing to have their ministry, "however in their constitution very defective and imperfect, are true;" therefore so long as their consciences are in the meantime unconvinced of

* Powel, "De Adraph," cap. ii., c. 7, 8, 9, 10.

these their errors wherein they stand, God taketh not away their ministerial gifts from them; and so long as their churches cleave unto them, though in their entrance and continuance they were, and are, guilty of much sin, in approving, by conformity and subscription, the jurisdiction of prelates, they think it not just to separate from them in the worship of God, as they can remain without their personal communion with them in those corruptions which in their weakness they yielded unto. If the prelates shall still hold the things in question in such sort as of late they have done, and shall urge them so hotly as they began, both the ministers and many of the people will be forced to leave their ordinary standing in these churches. In which regard they humbly pray that they may be exempted from the prelates, and may have liberty granted unto them by the King to serve God according to his own will revealed in his Word, without any human tradition."

There was not the slightest prospect of any such concession, either on the part of the King or of the bishops, as that of a second conference. Bancroft was resolved to push things to extremes, and to render it impossible for the "refractory" ministers to remain. The King advised that the more pliable of the silenced ministers should be sent for privately by the bishops, to give them an opportunity to accept the terms of unqualified submission; but he distinctly intimated that no favour should be shown to the "obstinate."

Concession refused.

To not a few conscientious ministers the crisis was severely trying. Fairlambe, wearied of the unsettled life of a persecuted Brownist, professed to

be satisfied with the evidence for the apostolic succession of the English bishops, and with the seal of martyrdom in many who had worn the mitre. Bernard of Batcombe, who had advanced so far in the Puritan track as to form a church by covenant, now saw things in a different light, and offered the most strenuous opposition to church reform.

Puritans taunted by Conformists.

The distress of the "deprived" Puritans awakened little or no sympathy in the conformist clergy; the non-compliance with the "Articles" was simply an annoyance to those who contended for uniformity.

"I cannot but grieve in my very soul," said Gabriel Powel, "when I hear them complain of their poverty and want of the benefits of this life, as they do in sundry places of this supplication, to Parliament; which would God their singularity hindered them not to enjoy as well as we. For alas! what pleasure can we take to see them deprived thereof? We all believe in one Christ according unto the truth of his gospel; we do, or should obey one King; our peace is their peace, and our liberty theirs, if they will be content, as they ought to enjoy it. We can afford them room amongst us, we envy them no preferment and places of any good and honourable service in the church, according to their worthiness and ability to deal therein. And whereas they lay the blame upon us who are their brethren, to be always at the nobles' and princes' elbows to stir them up and to provoke all men against them; let them look unto themselves and acknowledge their own error, and we assure ourselves, upon the com-

passionate clemency and merciful nature of our sovereign lord, that they shall be graciously and lovingly embraced, and that they shall want no manner of thing that is fit for them. Let them be ashamed of their feeding of shales and husks at other men's trenchers, as they do without respect either unto the necessity of their estate or to the dignity of their calling. Whereas the sincere minister of the gospel, as a learned man observeth, ought to be maintained not by popular contributions but by set stipends or tithes."

Parliament evinced more sympathetic interest in their case, but they found no practical relief.

CHAPTER VI.

The meetings of the Separatists at this time were held in secret, and are difficult to trace. John Smyth, to whom Francis Johnson refers as a prisoner in the Marshalsea in Southwark, was liberated in consideration of his declining health and disposition to retire from the conflict. After conference with Puritan ministers at the house of Sir W. Bowes, he was at first prepared to relinquish the views of the Separatists, and to go to Amsterdam to dissuade his friend Francis Johnson from his course: but on reflection and further inquiry, he returned to his former opinions, and formed a church at Gainsboro' in 1602. "Many," Bradford tells us, "became enlightened by the Word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered to them, and began by his grace to reform their lives, make conscience of their ways. The Word of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude; and the ministers were urged with the yoke of subscription or else silenced; the poor people were so vexed with apparators, and pursuivants, and the consistory courts, as truly their affliction was not small; which, notwithstanding, they bore sundry

John Smyth.

Church at Gainsboro'.

years with much patience till they were occasioned by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days, to see further into things by the light of the Word of God."*

"So many, therefore, of these professors as saw the evil of these things in these parts, and whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth; they shook off this yoke of Antichristian bondage, and, as the Lord's free people, joined themselves, by a covenant of the Lord, into a church estate in the fellowship of the gospel to walk in all his ways made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours *whatsoever it should cost them*, the Lord assisting them."

These people became two distinct bodies or churches, and in regard to distance of place did congregate severally: for they were of sundry towns and villages, "some of Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire where they border nearest together." In the hamlet of Scrooby, near to Bawtry, the place to which Bradford refers, the second church found a welcome in the house of William Brewster, formerly in the service of Secretary Davison, who succeeded his father as postmaster,† providing the relays of conveyance for the service. Conversant with the Puritan controversy, Brewster had been led by conviction to identify himself with the "Brethren of the second separation." His care for the church in his house was most assiduous and constant. "After they were joined together in communion," we are told,

Church at Scrooby.

* Bradford's Plymouth Plantation, p. 28. † S. P. Dom., August 20, 1590.

"he was a special stay and help unto them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day, which was a manor house of the bishop's, and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge."

Richard Clifton (1553, May 20, 1616), rector of Babworth, a village in the neighbourhood, adopted their views. He was "a grave and reverend preacher, who, by his fervour and diligence had done much good, and under God had been the means of the conversion of many." Richard Clifton.

William Bradford (1589-90—1657), a convert of Clifton, also joined their fellowship. He was born in the small hamlet of Austerfield, inhabited by a "most ignorant and licentious people." Here, and in some other places, he had a comfortable inheritance left him of honest parents, who died while he was yet a child, "leaving him to the care first of his grandfather and then of his uncles, who devoted him, like his ancestors, unto the affairs of husbandry." William Bradford.

A long affliction in childhood, and the diligent perusal of the Scriptures, preserved him from "the vanities of youth, and made him the fitter for what he was to undergo."

Smyth in a letter to the brethren at Scrooby Manor, anticipates their future progress. "Although you are but few in number, yet considering that the kingdom of heaven is as a grain of mustard seed, small in the beginning, I do not doubt but you may in time grow up a multitude, and be, as it were, a tree full of fruitful branches." Letter of Smyth.

In another note written for the confirmation and encouragement of one of their number, he says; "The truth we hold, now blessed be the Lord, is so evident that all the men upon earth with their learning can never be able to obscure it."

The Christian band at Scrooby was greatly strengthened at this juncture by the adhesion of John Robinson (1575—1625) of Christ's College, Cambridge. He commenced his ministerial career in the Anglican Establishment, but being suspended by the bishop, returned to Norwich, and gathered around him a Puritan congregation. His conversion to Congregational principles was gradual, and the result of patient inquiry. He tells us that he was long held back from the estimate he had formed of the piety and learning of the Puritan ministry. "Had not the truth been in my heart as a burning fire, shut up in my bones (Jeremiah xx. 9), I had never broken those bonds of flesh and blood, wherein I was so straitly tied, but had suffered the light of God to have been put out in mine own unthankful heart by other men's darkness."

John Robinson.

The Separatists of Gainsboro' and of Scrooby were soon compelled to break up their congregations, and to seek an asylum as exiles in Holland. Smyth and Clifton went to Amsterdam. The Pilgrim party at Scrooby Manor, after suffering many trials and vicissitudes, followed in their turn. The troubles connected with migration are best described in their own words:—

"Though they could not stay, yet were they not suffered to go, but the ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were fain to seek secret

means of conveyance, and to bribe and fee the mariners, and give extraordinary rates for their passages. And yet many of them were oftentimes betrayed, and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised, and thereby put to great trouble and charges." Removal to Holland.

"There was a large company of them purposed to get passage at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the master to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods in, at a convenient place, where they accordingly would all attend in readiness. So after long waiting, and large expenses, though he kept not day with them, yet he came at length and took them in the night. But when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having before been and complotted with the searchers, and other officers so to do; who took them and put them into open boats, and then rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money; yea, even the women further than became modesty; and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behold them. Being thus first, by the catchpole officers rifled, and stripped of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates, and messengers sent to inform the Lords of the Council of them, and so they were committed to ward. Indeed, the magistrates used them courteously, and showed them what favour they could; but could not deliver them, till order came from the council-table. But the issue was that, after a month's imprisonment, the greatest part was dismissed, and sent to the places whence they came, but seven of the principal were kept in prison, and bound over to the assizes."

In the records of the Ecclesiastical Court at York brief notices are given of delinquents brought up for nonconformity.

"Office against Gervase Nevyle, of Scrowbie, dio: Ebor.

"Information hath been given and presentment made that the

said Gervase Nevyle is one of the sect of *Barrowists** or Brownists, holding and maintaining erroneous opinions and doctrines repugnant to the Holie Scriptures and Worde of God; for wch his disobedience and schismatical obstinacy, an attachment was awarded to Willm. Blanchard, messenger, etc., to apprehend him; by vertue whereof being by him brought before his Grace and said associates, and charged with his errors, and dangerous opinions, and disobedience, his Grace, in the name of himself, having charged him therewith; as also with certain contemptuous speeches, and frequenting of conventicles and companies of others of his profession, he required him to take oath and make answer (so far as he ought and was bound by law) to certain interrogatories, or questions, by them conceived, and set down in writing to be propounded and ministered unto him and others of his Brethren of the Separation and sect aforesaid, which he obstinately and utterly refused; denying to give his grace any answer, and protesting very presumptuously and insolently in the presence of God against his authority (and, as he termed it, his *Antichristian hierarchie*); but yet yielded to answer to the rest of the said commissioners (excepting his grace only); although it was showed unto him that his grace was chief of the ecclesiastical commission by vertue whereof he was convented, and they all did then and there sit; and then, after divers godly exhortations and speeches to him, they did propound and read the said interrogatories unto him; and presentlie set down his answers unto the same, in their presence under his hand; and forasmuch as thereby as also by his unreverent, contemptuous, and scandalous speeches it appeared that he is a very dangerous, schismatical Separatist, Brownist, and irreligious subject, holding and maintaining divers erroneous opinions; the said lord archbishop with his colleagues aforesaid, by their strait warrant, committed him, the said Gervase, to the custody of the said Willm. Blanchard, by him to be therewith delivered to the hands, ward, and safe custody of the keeper, or his deputy, of his (Majesty's) castle of Yorke; not permitting him to have any liberty or conference with any without special licence from three

* Young Men. "Did any of you know Mr. Barrowe?"

"Ancient Men. "We have not seen his person, but some of us have been well acquainted with those that knew him familiarly, both before and after his conversion."—Bradford's Dialogue.

at the least of the said commissioners, whereof one to be of the quorum."

"Gervase Nevile, of York Castle, Brownist or Separatist. He appeared and made answer 22 Mar., 1607, 8."

"15 Sep., 1607.—Office against Richard Jackson and William Brewster, of Scrooby, gents., for Brownism, etc. An attachment was awarded to W. Blanchard to apprehend them, but *he certyfyeth that he cannot find them, nor understand where they are.*"

(The first payment to Brewster's successor as postmaster was made on the 30th September.)

"Dec. 1, 1607.—Office against Richard Jackson, of Scroby, for his disobedience in matters of religion. A process was served upon him by the pursuivant, and he gives his word to appear, and is found 20li and a warrant sent out for his apprehension."

"Dec. 1, 1607.—William Brewster, of Scroby, gentleman. Information is given that he is a Brownist, and disobedient in matters of religion."

"July 26, 1608.—A monition against Richard Jackson, now of Tickhill, late of Scroby—did not appear."

"July 26, 1607, 8.—John Drewe, Thomas Jessop, Joan Elwisse (the wife of Thomas Helwys), Brownists. They have answered, but refused to take an oath according to law. On wh day they appeared, and are returned to prison from which they respectively came."

"1608, Basford.—Office against Joan Elwaies,* a Brownist, to certify if she was in England in July last, 1608."

"1607, Sheffield. — Thomas Toller, clerk, presented. Did not appear in the visitation, is said to be a Precisian if not a Brownist, he is no observer of the Book of Common Prayer, nor any way conformable to order.

"Appeared and promised to observe the Book of Common Prayer to all intents and purposes, and he is to certify on a certain day about signing the cross and wearing the surplice."

The following return was made to the exchequer by Toby Matthew, Archbishop of York :—

"Richard Jackson, William Brewster, and Robert Rochester,

* Variations in the spelling of names are common.

of Scrooby in the county of Nottingham, Brownists or Separatists; for a fine or amercement of £20 a-piece, set and imposed upon every one of them, by Robert Abbot and Robert Snowdon, Doctors of Divinity, and Matthew Dodworth, Bachelor of Law, Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical within the province of York, for not appearing before them upon lawful summons at the collegiate church of Southwell, 22d day of April."

"The next spring," Bradford relates, "there was another attempt made by some of these and others to get over at another place. And it so fell out that they light on a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own belonging to Zealand; they made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him than in the former of their own nation. He bade them not fear, for he would do well enough. He was, by appointment, to take them in between Grimsby and Hull, where there was a large common a good way distant from any town. Now, against the prefixed time, the women and children, with the goods, were sent to the place in a small barque, which they had hired for that end; and the men were to meet them by land. But it so fell out that they were there a day before the ship came, and the sea being rough, and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by where they lay on ground at low water. The next morning the ship came, but they were fast and could not stir about till noon. In the meantime, the shipmaster perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to be getting the men aboard, whom he saw ready walking about the shore. But after the first boatful was got aboard and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills, and guns, and other weapons: for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman, seeing that, swore his country's oath, 'sacramente,' and having the wind fair weighed his anchor, hoisted sails and away. But the poor men which were got aboard were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps, and themselves also, not having a cloth to shift them with, more than they had on their backs, and some scarce a penny about them, all they had being aboard the barque. It drew tears from their eyes, and anything they had they would have given to have been ashore again; but all in vain, there was no remedy, they

must thus sadly part. And afterward endured a fearful storm at sea, being fourteen days or more before they arrived at their port, in seven whereof they neither saw sun, moon, nor stars, and were driven near the coast of Norway; the mariners themselves often despairing of life, and once, with shrieks and cries, gave over all as if the ship had been foundered in the sea, and they sinking without recovery. But when man's hope and help wholly failed, the Lord's power and mercy appeared in their recovery; for the ship rose again and gave the mariners courage again to manage her. And, if modesty would suffer me, I might declare with what fervent prayers they cried unto the Lord in their great distress (especially some of them) even without any great distraction when the water ran into their mouths and ears, and the mariners cried out, 'We sink, we sink,' they cried (if not with miraculous, yet with a great height or degree of divine faith), 'Yet, Lord, Thou canst save; yet, Lord, Thou canst save,' with such other expressions as I will forbear. Upon which the ship did not only recover but shortly after the violence of the storm began to abate, and the Lord filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as everyone cannot understand, and in the end brought them to their desired haven, where the people came flocking, admiring their deliverance, the storm having been so long and sore, in which much hurt had been done, as the master's friends related unto him in their congratulations.

"But to return to the others where we left. The rest of the men that were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before the troop could surprise them; those only staying that best might, to be assistants unto the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in their distress: what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, as before related; others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones; others again melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear and quaking with cold. Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in the end they knew not what to do with them; for to imprison so many women and innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable, and all would cry out of them; and to send them home again was as difficult,

for they alleged as the truth was, they had no homes to go to, for they had either sold or otherwise disposed of their houses and livings. To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms; for all were wearied and tired with them. Though, in the meantime, they, poor souls, endured misery enough; and thus in the end, necessity forced a way for them.

"But I haste to other things. Yet I may not omit the fruit that came thereby, for by these so public troubles, in so many eminent places, their cause became famous, and occasioned many to look into the same; and their godly carriage and Christian behaviour was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts and sharp beginnings (as it was no marvel), yet many came on with fresh courage, and greatly animated others. And in the end, notwithstanding all these storms of opposition, they all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, and some in one place and some in another, and met together again according to their desires, with no small rejoicing."

Separatists in London.

Incidentally we learn that in other places the meetings of the Separatists were not entirely suppressed in London. Chamberlain, in a letter to Carleton (Oct. 21, 1608), mentions a nest or assembly of Brownists discovered on Sunday about Finsbury, "whereof five or six and thirty were apprehended." The more to alarm the authorities, the Separatists were called "Anabaptists." Penry, Barrowe and Greenwood, were so described by Dr. Some, and identified with the followers of Münzer, who had committed insurrection and murder. Once thrown into prison, the bishops felt justified in detaining them as criminals of the most dangerous class, and to give no occasion for setting them at liberty, they delayed proceedings against them in open court.

A company of these persecuted people sent the following petition to Parliament.

Their petition to Parliament.

"A most humble supplication of divers poor prisoners and many others the King's Majesty's loyal subjects, ready to testify it by the oath of allegiance in all sincerity, whose grievances are lamentable, only because of conscience. Most humbly showing, that whereas in the Parliament holden in the 7th year of the King's Majesty's reign that now is, it was enacted that all persons whatsoever above the age of eighteen years, not coming to church, etc., should take the oath of allegiance, and for the refusal thereof, should be committed to prison without bail. By which statute the Popish recusants upon taking the oath are delivered from imprisonment, and divers of us also are set at liberty *when we fall under the hands of the reverend judges and justices. But when we fall under the hands of the bishops we can have no benefit by the said oath*, for they say it belongeth only to Popish recusants, and not to others, but *kept have we been by them many years in lingering imprisonment*, divided from wives, servants, and calling; not for any other cause, but only for conscience towards God, to the utter undoing of us, our wives and children.

"Our most humble supplication therefore to this High and Honourable Assembly is, that in consideration of the distressed estate of us, our poor wives and children, that it may be enacted in express words that other the King's Majesty's subjects, as well as Popish recusants, may be freed from imprisonment upon taking the said oath.

"And we shall still, as we do day and night, pray that the God of Heaven may be in your Honourable Assembly, for by Him do Princes decree justice.

"By his Majesty's faithful subjects, *most falsely called* Anabaptists."

"The petition is endorsed: '*Read and rejected.*'"*

Attention at this period was earnestly directed to the New World as an outlet for the English population. The Virginia Company formed 6th of April, 1606, sent out a hundred

Virginia Company.

* House of Lords MSS.

emigrants of the most unsuitable description, under instructions framed by Robert Hakluyt, and his associates. The emigrant party were directed to suffer no man to return but by passport from the President and Council, nor to write any letter of any thing that might discourage others. "The way to prosper and achieve good success," the sapient council said, "is to make yourselves all of one mind;" this was soon found to be impracticable. Indolent and refractory, they soon brought discredit on the Company and involved themselves in ruin. On the appointment of Lord Delaware as new Governor of Virginia, a second party of colonists was collected Crakanthorpe, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, March 24, 1607, 8, in glowing terms dwelt on the grandeur of the enterprise. "What glory! what honour to our sovereign!" the preacher exclaimed. "What comfort to those subjects who shall be means of furthering so happy a work, not only to see a New Britain in another world, but to have also those as yet heathen barbarians and brutish people, together with our English, to learn the speech and language of Canaan."

Hakluyt.

Crakanthorpe.

Hakluyt wrote to the Company (April 15, 1609), in the assurance that all things would be "so prudently carried" that all "paganism and idolatry" would be "by little and little utterly extinguished." The treatment of the Indians was confessedly difficult. "To handle them gently while gentler courses may be found to serve," Hakluyt says, "it will be without comparison the best; *but if gentle polishing will not serve we shall not want hammerers and rough*

masons enough—I mean our old soldiers trained up in the Netherlands—to square them to our preachers' hands."

The necessity for colonization was urged in a sermon, preached at Whitechapel by William Symonds, preacher at St. Saviour's, in Southwark (April 25, 1609), "before the most noble and worthy advancers of the standard of Christ among the Gentiles, the adventurers for the plantations of Virginia." Symonds.

"Look seriously unto the land," said the preacher, "and see whether there be not just cause, if not a necessity, to seek abroad. The people, blessed be God, do swarm in the land, as young bees in a hive in June, insomuch that there is very hardly room for one man to live by another. The mightier, like old strong bees, thrust the weaker, as younger, out of their hives. Lords of manors convert townships, in which were one or two hundred communicants, to a shepherd and his dog. The true labouring husbandman that sustaineth the prince by the plow, who was wont to feed many poor, to set many people on work, and pay twice as much subsidy and fifteens to the King for his proportion of earth as his landlord did for three times as much—that was wont to furnish the Church with saints, the masters with able persons to fight, is now in many places termed labourer, and can hardly 'scape the statutes of rogues and vagrants. State of England.

"The thoughtful poor woman, that hath her small children standing at her knee, and hanging on her breast, she worketh with her needle, and laboureth with her fingers; her candle goeth not out by night; she is often deluding the bitterness of her life with sweet songs that she singeth to a heavy heart."

Crashaw—preacher at the Temple, in a sermon (Feb. 21, 1609-10), defended the Company against the objection that the plantation was poor and small, by the example of the Israelites, who went down into Egypt, being seventy souls; Crashaw.

and of Rome, despised as it was at the beginning, "grew to be mistress of the world."

"To you," he said, in conclusion, "right honourable and beloved, who engage your lives, and are therefore deepliest interested in this business; you that desire to advance the gospel of Jesus Christ, though it be with the hazard of your lives; go forward in the name of the God of heaven and earth, the God that keepeth counsel and mercy for thousands; go on, with the blessing of God, God's angels, and God's Church; cast away fear, and let nothing daunt your spirit, remembering who hath broken the ice before you, and suffered that which, with God's blessing, you never shall; remembering what you go to do, even to display the banner of Christ Jesus; to fight with the devil and the old dragon, having St. Michael and his angels on your side; to *eternize your own names, both here at home and among the Virginians, whose apostles you are.*

"*Suffer no Brownists nor factious Separatists:* let them go and convert some other heathen; and *let us see if they can constitute such churches really, the ideas whereof they have fancied in their brains, and when they have given us such an example, we may then have some cause to follow them:* till then we will have our patterns from their betters."

No Brownists allowed.

A proclamation was issued to prohibit any one going to Virginia without the royal licence.

For the guidance of these who might follow the pioneers in the work of colonization, "the articles, laws, orders, divine and politic, for the colony in Virginia, first established by Sir Thomas Gates,

Knight, lieutenant-general, the 24th of May, 1610," exemplified and approved by the Captain-General, and enlarged by the Deputy Governor, were printed. It was deemed essential that, in a country in which the feeble colony was so exposed to danger, the strictest discipline should be maintained. The orders in relation to religious observances were the following:— Articles and Regulations.

"That no man speak impiously or maliciously against the holy and blessed Trinity, or any of the Three Persons; that is to say, against God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, or against the known articles of the Christian faith, upon *pain of death.*

"That no man blaspheme God's holy name, upon *pain of death*, or use unlawful oaths, taking the name of God in vain, curse, or ban, upon pain of severe punishment for the first offence so committed; and, for the second, *to have a bodkin thrust through his tongue;* and if he continue the blaspheming of God's holy name, for the third time so offending, he shall be brought to a martial court, and there receive *censure of death* for his offence.

"No man shall *speak any word*, or do any act which may tend to the derision or despite of God's holy Word, upon *pain of death;* nor shall any man *unworthily demean himself unto any preacher or minister* of the same, but generally hold them in reverent regard and dutiful entreaty; otherwise he, the offender *shall openly be whipt three times*, and ask public forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation three several Sabbath days.

"*Every man and woman, duly twice a day, upon the first tolling of the bell, shall upon working days repair unto the church* to hear divine service, *upon pain of losing his or her day's allowance for the first omission;* for the second, to be *whipt;* and for the third, to be *condemned to the galleys for six months.* Likewise, no man or woman shall dare to violate or break the Sabbath by gaming, public or private, abroad or at home, but duly sanctify and observe the same, both himself and his family, by preparing themselves at home with private prayer, that they may be the better fitted for the public, according to the commandments of God and the *orders of our Church;* as also *every man and woman*

shall repair in the morning to the divine service, and sermons preached upon the Sabbath day, and *in the afternoon to divine service and catechisms*, upon the pain, for the first fault, *to lose their provision and allowance for the whole week following;* for the second, *to lose the said allowance, and also to be whipt;* and for the third, *to suffer death.*

"There is *not one man or woman* in this colony now present, or hereafter to arrive, but *shall give up an account of his or their faith* and religion, *and repair unto the minister*, that by his conference with them he may understand, and gather, whether heretofore they have become sufficiently instructed and catechised in the principles and grounds of religion, whose weakness and ignorance herein the minister finding, and *advising them in all love and charity* to repair often unto him, to receive therein a greater measure of knowledge; if *they shall refuse* so to repair unto him, and he, the minister, give notice thereof unto the governor, or that chief officer of that town or fort wherein he or she, the parties so offending, shall remain, the governor shall cause the offender, for the first time of refusal, to be *whipt;* for the second time, to be *whipt twice*, and to acknowledge his fault upon the Sabbath day, in the congregation; and, for the third time, *to be whipt every day until he hath made the same acknowledgment, and ask forgiveness for the same, and shall repair unto the minister to be further instructed.*"

These instructions were given to the normal colony planted under the auspices of the Church of England; that, "as in a mirror, the blind and wandering judgment might survey what those knowledges were which taught both how to govern and how to obey." That none might lose the benefit of the instruction, it was ordered that "every minister or preacher shall, every Sabbath day, before catechising, read all these laws and ordinances publicly in the assembly of the congregation, upon pain of his entertainment checkt for that week." *

* It is singular that this remarkable document seems to have escaped the notice of Bishop Wilberforce, in his "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America."

The scheme of this Church of England colony was not successful. Sir Thomas Dale, in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury, describes three hundred colonists that came with him, as "so profane, so riotous, so full of mutiny, that not many are Christians but in name, and their bodies so crazed and diseased, that not sixty of them may be employed." Decay, confusion, massacre, leading to extinction, followed as an inevitable consequence.

Failure of the Scheme.

There were ministers in the Church of England of learning and piety who were concerned for the advancement of Christian civilization, but their efforts were marred by their constant resort to civil force. All who dissented from their opinions were treated as enemies. The exemplary character and remarkable attainments of WILLIAM AMES did not shelter him from the hostility of the bishops. Lady Mary Vere nominated him as her chaplain, but she could not screen him from danger. So closely was he pursued, that he had to flee to Holland in the guise of a sailor. He found a friend in Sir Horatio Vere, commander of the English forces, and was content to remain in his service, though he was pressed at the time to accept a professorship in the University of Leyden; but the English hierarchy would not allow him to rest. Archbishop Abbot writes to Winwood, 12th March, 1611:—

William Ames.

"I have written to Sir Horatio Vere touching the English preacher at the Hague. We know what he was that preceded, and we can be less ignorant what Mr. Ames is, for by a Latin printed book he hath laden the Church and State of England

with a great deal of infamous contumely, so that if he were here among us he would be so far from receiving preferment that some exemplary punishment would be his reward. His Majesty hath been advertised how this man is entertained and embraced at the Hague, and how he is a fit person to breed up captains and soldiers there in mutiny and faction. I therefore hope that Sir Horatio Vere, having entered into consideration thereof, will speedily reform this error, and labour to give unto his Highness the best satisfaction that he can, and unto this I pray you to yield the best assistance that you may. I wish the removing him to be as privately and cleanly carried as the matter will permit. We are also acquainted what English preachers are entertained in Zealand, whereunto in convenient time we hope to give a remedy here. So commend me unto you.

"I rest your very loving friend,

"G. CANT."*

Henry Jacob, now become one of the ministers in Zealand, prepared a petition for toleration, of which a copy, annotated by the King, is at Lambeth :—

Petition for Toleration. Notes of the King.

"Whereas our Lord Jesus," the petitioners say, "hath given to each particular church, or ordinary congregation, this right and privilege, viz., to elect, ordain, and deprive her own ministers, and to exercise all other parts of lawful ecclesiastical jurisdiction under him :—The favour humbly solicited is that your Majesty would be pleased to take order, as well that each particular church that shall be allowed to partake in the benefit of the said toleration may have, enjoy, and put in execution and practice this, her said right and privilege, as that some of your subaltern civil officers may be appointed by you to demand and receive of each church a due and just account of their proceedings. Here we do humbly entreat that we may not be so interpreted—as if we disclaimed all sorts of synods—it is the *ruling*, and not the *deliberative* and *persuasive* synods which we except against.

* "G. Cant." "Zealous of the law." In the case of Legate and Weightman, he wrote the Lord Chancellor, "Lambich, 22 Januarii, 1611": "Mr. Justice Williams was with me the other day, who maketh no doubt that *the law is cleere to burne them.*"—Egerton Papers.

KING. "Shoemakers, then, are better juges then devynes of ecclesiastical causes and pointes of divinitie."

PETITIONERS. "We acknowledge no other power and authority for the overseeing, ruling, and censuring of particular churches, how many soever in number, in the case of their misgovernment, than that original invested in your royal person, and from it derived to such of your luity as you shall judge worthy to be deputed to the execution of the same under you."

KING. "Quhy, then, do ye not obey the Kinge's lawes that are already maide, quhome ye grawnte to be your supreme magistrate."

PETITIONERS. "Most gracious Sovereign and mighty Prince, we acknowledge you are the Lord's lieutenant: we find you have such care of matters civil that you proceed in the managing of the same according to the commission you have received from so high and glorious majesty."

KING. "This is distrustful if it is not maliciouse, since my care for the Lordis Spirituall Kingdome is so well known both at hoame and abroade, as well by my daylie actions as by my printed bookes."

PETITIONERS. "We prostrate ourselves at your Highness' feet, most humbly entreating that whereas the prelates, our professed adversaries, and their officers, have not, either for the nature of their offices, or the quality of their proceedings, any warrant from the word of the Lord Jesus, or the laws of this kingdom."

KING. "A false and impudentlie bolde assertion."

PETITIONERS. "That your Majesty would be pleased that we, the ministers and others, may have allowed unto us, by way of toleration, First, the liberty of enjoying and practising the holy ordinances enacted and left by the Lord for the perpetual direction and guiding of the churches."

KING. "Ye have that libertie allreaddie if ye coulde be contented."

PETITIONERS. "Secondly, an entire exemption from the jurisdiction of the said prelates and their officers; and, lastly, this happiness to live under the command and charge of any of your subordinate civil magistrates."

KING. "Country constables, goodlie spirituall juges."

PETITIONERS. "We hold that your Majesty within your

dominions hath power to call and to dissolve them. So we hold likewise that ruling synods and United Presbyteries, exercising Government, and imposing laws and decrees upon several churches, and the pastors of them, are not only human institutes, but in regard of the said Government and authority, of imposing laws altogether unlawful, and usurping upon the supremacy of the civil magistrate, in whose power only it resteth to enact and ordain laws ecclesiastical for and over all the churches within his dominions.

KING. "No such confusion in hell; but in this, your Skottish brethren are endewed with a contraire light."

PETITIONERS. "The prelates assume unto themselves the name of the Church, the power of ordination to the ministry, and the sole execution of censures."

KING. "And ye ar scismatics in denying thaime to be the churche."

PETITIONERS. "They exact fees in regard of these; they abandon us to the check of every official and summons; they command appearance in their courts; they post us from one tribunal to another, and from this term to the next succeeding; they tire our bodies and exhaust our purses, and in the issue, after we have been sufficiently harassed and loaded with contumelies, they silence us and degrade us from our ministry; they exact bonds of us, whereby to restrain us from all further intermeddling in the same; and lest the world should censure them for too much partiality and charity towards us, they pass us over to Satan by their thunderbolts of excommunication.

"And not contented with proceedings of this quality against us, they, the said prelates, by their officers, break open the doors of our houses and chambers, they seize upon what pleaseth them, they dispatch us to the *Gatehouse* or the *Clink*, there to endure an unlimited imprisonment, hunger, cold, chains and fetters sometimes; there to be closed up for a time in such sort (in case we stir the humour in them) as that we shall see neither friend nor foe, sun nor moon; and there likewise to spend our days and last breathing, as some have done unless the Lord dispose their hearts to compassion."

KING. "And all justly for your disobedience and obstinacy."

Failing to convince the King, Henry Jacob felt

that his position as a Puritan was untenable. On his retirement to Holland he put himself in communication with Robinson and Ames at Leyden; and when removed to Middleborough he continued his inquiries into the nature of the Christian Church and the object of its constitution. He came to the conclusion that the only directory on this subject, as in every other in relation to Christian faith and practice, is that of the Holy Scriptures; the result of his investigation he gave in a treatise entitled the "Divine Beginning." He was ready to avow that he had been constrained to adopt the principles advocated by the Brethren of the Separation; but in no narrow sense. "I acknowledge," he said, "that in England are true visible churches and ministers, though *accidentally*, yet, such as I refuse not to communicate with. My meaning is, that as these particular congregations have in them godly and holy Christians *consociated together*, to serve God, so far as they see, agreeable to his Word; so they are in right from Christ essentially true churches of God, and as such to be acknowledged by us, and in public not to be absolutely separated from."

Henry Jacob joins the Brethren of the Separation.

"Divine Beginning."

Explaining the design of his treatise, called the "Divine Beginning," he says:—

"Two sorts of men there are, Christian reader, who have chiefly occasioned the publishing of this treatise. The first is those who do hold and maintain that Christ Jesus in the New Testament hath instituted no certain form of a visible church nor church government for us; but hath left the same arbitrary, and free to the discretion of men in authority to erect and set up, to alter and change again, as they in their opinions shall think most fit for the several states and towns wherein they live; and

so withal they hold and confess that Christ, in respect of his church and government as it is visible and outward, is *not* king, or lord, or lawgiver to the same. The second sort is those who so plainly and clearly acknowledge that Christ *is* King, Lord, and Lawgiver of his church as it is visible and outward, and that He hath instituted in the New Testament, as in the Old, a certain form of his visible church and government, for us everywhere and for ever, not to be altered or changed by any man or men whatever they be. Thus these most truly and soundly do profess and teach that Christians ought so to believe. Yet I know not how, nor on what reason they live themselves, and are well content that others also do live, continue, and remain in a clear contrary practice: that is, first, not at all to participate in any such form of a visible church and government as they profess is of Christ's institution in the New Testament, and consequently is his visible kingdom on earth; secondly, they submit and stand subject unto a provincial diocesan lord bishop's ecclesiastical government and remain apparent members of a provincial church never instituted, yet is contrary to this said reformation (see the 'Reasons for Reformation,' pp. 4, 23, 52), and therefore He is not King and Lord of such a church; neither hath He promised nor can we ordinarily have assurance of any spiritual blessing therein. These two sorts of men, beloved of the Lord Jesus, have given the occasion of writing this little treatise, which maketh manifestly and I hope soundly and sufficiently. Against the former, in a direct course of argumentation; against the latter, by necessary infallible consequence; and verily there is no Christian heart, I suppose, if he will deeply and advisably weigh the matter with an upright and single conscience in God's own presence, but will confess with me that both these sorts of persons (especially their errors) are, justly in these our days, needfully to be reproved. For it is evident in the eyes of all men who look into the case, that by the opinions and profession of the former a wide door is opened, and an easy way for libertines to walk in; and Familists, as they are called in England, who taking for their ground that the outward form of the church, ministry, and ceremonies in respect of God's law are things *indifferent*, do make no matter to present themselves upon occasion, either privately or publicly, to the exercise of any religion, and from thence do quickly

gather, by a likely consequence of reason as it seemeth to them, that seeing those things so nearly concerning God's special worship are indifferent, therefore other outward things are indifferent also, and ought not to trouble any man's conscience, nor are to be held either as commanded or forbidden by God: *from whence a world of impieties and most unchristian practices do overflow the land:* yea, also hence is it that the very name and number abundantly increaseth at this day. Touching the latter sort of men above-mentioned, which are here likewise reproved; namely, those who do profess and acknowledge Christ Jesus as the true Lord and King of his invisible church, hath instituted in his New Testament a certain perpetual form of the said church and government; and that the same which in England prevaileth *is not it,* yet they will neither make conscience to relinquish this, nor in obedience to Christ, use and practice that which they do profess to be from heaven; these truly seem *to destroy the conscience and faith of the people;* not unlike to the other, verily they cannot be excused, except the true faith which saveth us be seen in *words* and not in *deeds;* except further that they be approved, who granting that the land of promise is a 'good land,' yet because there be 'giants' to meet withal and encounter if any ascend thither; therefore neither would they themselves, neither would they that others should adventure to enter into it. Howbeit, we well conceive, dearly beloved, what is our bounden duty. *When we know the truth on this behalf and in our hearts acknowledge it, we are not to consult with flesh and blood, but presently to follow the heavenly calling.* I am not ignorant what will be excepted against this writing and against myself. Many and divers there are who will be not a little offended hereat. Howbeit I trust in God the offence shall be taken and not given. By a great number this will be pronounced to be flatly schismatical, whose hearty and rash censures I shall be exceedingly sorry for. But yet I must tell them, first, that it is not the part of a schismatic to labour, as I do in this treatise, to prove against all gainsayers, and thereby to advance and maintain the special honour of Jesus Christ our Mighty Lord and Saviour. It is his special honour, and glory, and majesty to have a visible kingdom. I must say to these objectors, that in truth and in deed, they are schismatics—whether they be few or many, weak or mighty, learned or unlearned—who wilfully divide them-

selves from and profess not the true and holy outward ordinances of Christ Jesus, sufficient and duly ordered, given us in his unchangeable testaments, which only are the ordinary assured means both of worshipping Him and of saving our souls."

Jacob gave great attention to the subject of the call to the Christian ministry, and wrote in reply to various opponents.

Fraser.

Fraser offered to "subscribe and embrace the religion of the ministers of Scotland if they could sufficiently prove they had the true kirk and lawful calling."

"The house of God, that is the kirk being found," he says, "wha has the power and charge to lette me in; wha has the keys; wha may not onlie schaw me the infinite treasures of God's goodness towards us with his manifold mercies and grace, but also will and may by virtue of their charge mak me partaker thereof, by participation of the holie sacraments and knowledge of the true faith, and receaving of the same—that is, I must go to the true and lawful pastors and prelates whome I man knaw, not by the execution of that charge (albeit that be also required), but by the power they have receaved to execute sic a charge.

"They ar called and sent extraordinairly, say they, to govern the kirk of God: if their vocation be extraordinair it passeth the bounds of the order apostolik; for how can it be apostolik without continuation since the apostles, not having beginning nor authoritie of their vocation. If the race and succession of the apostles be lossed, why want they themselves to follow the apostles? At least they follow them not in their vocation, and therefore, the tytils and evidents of the apostles can serve them for nothing. They must shaw their new halding, seeing the ancient tytils are expyred and rune out; if there resteth no man having the right of the apostles, the minister cannot have it. We must see their new charters passed under the great seal of Jesus Christ, marcked with miracles wroght by the Holy Spirit: if they can schaw anie sic thing, it will put them out of trouble and us out of doubt, and tak away al schadow of excuse whilk otherwayes we might justlie pretend for disobedience."

Kellison in the same confident tone says, "We must urge our new reformers to declare unto us *the pedigree of their ancestors*, and to show who be the predecessors, to whom they be successors, if they will have us to admit them as the ministers of God, sent by an ordinary mission. Kellison. But this they can never do, for who, I pray you, was the immediate predecessor of Luther and Calvin? Or who was he that made the first superintendent in England? I am sure, and all the world, yea, they themselves will witness, that they are no successors to the Catholic bishops and pastors, because they degenerate from them altogether, and they were fain to continue and disobey them before they could open their mouths in pulpits. Yea, our pastors were so far from ordaining them, or instituting them and giving them authority, that they cried out against them as new 'start-uppes,' contemned them for heretics, antipators, and new, yea, false apostles. Neither can they derive themselves from any other lawful pastors, for before they themselves took upon them the name and office of pastors, there were none at the time of their rising but our Catholic pastors. They cannot derive their descent from ancient heretics, because in all points they agree not with any of them; and if they could, yet were not that sufficient, for they were counted and condemned for arrant heretics, and intruded themselves as these men do unto the true pastor's office, and were themselves as these men are, the first of the family, succeeding to no predecessors. Here they find themselves much pressed, and know not, I daresay, what to answer; but yet they will play small play, and will make hard shift rather than no shift, and shape a misshapen answer rather than no answer; and what is that? They say that the apostles which were the first bishops and pastors, had for a long time their lawful successors, but at length the church failed, and the pastors with it, and with them the succession decayed. Yet afterwards, Luther and Calvin revived this dead church again and restored pastors; and so they succeeded the apostles and their immediate successors, but by interruption of many hundred years. But this, God knows, is a poor shift, and a stale shift. For if the church failed before your coming, then she expected many hundred years for you in particular; then all ministry in the church was all this while wrong, preaching and teaching was false; they who bore the name of true

pastors were not so; that society which was dispersed throughout the world, and was counted the only Christian church, and was persecuted for the same by the devil and his ministers, was a synagogue of the devil, established and upholden by the devil, and some devil persecuted another, and all martyrdoms in that church were vain, all acts of religion superstitious; all councils which were gathered in this church, all pastors that ruled in it, all doctors that wrote in it and for it, deceived and were deceived.

"Let not the reformers brag of their extraordinary mission, because Christ having instituted a perpetual succession of ordinary pastors, meaneth not to send any extraordinary preachers.

"Since that the Novellers can work no miracles, raise no dead men, dispossess no devils, fortel no future things, heal no diseased, not so much as a lame dog, to prove their authority, what reason have we to hearken unto them? who may not challenge audience at our hands? For suppose some brain-sick Brownist, some brother of the Family of Love, and some other if it may be more fantastical, should preach the dreams of his drowsy head, and vain conceits of his idle brain, calling their new points of religion and reformation of the old, might he not allege some Scripture for every fancy of his thought, never so vain, and make a show also of proof, if he expound it as he please?"

Jacob in his "attestation" adduced proofs from Scripture, and the testimonies of the learned and godly from the days of the apostles, that "*Church government ought to be always with the people's consent*," and that "*A true church under the gospel containeth no more congregations but one.*" The members of the church "created anew in Christ Jesus," have the right and power to choose pastors called to the work by the grace of God, and not by influence transmitted through the polluted channel of the Papacy.

"Well, will our adversaries say the Protestant's ministry is justified sufficiently against the Papist's, albeit the people have no

consent in their minister's calling? Oh, would God our learned men in England would show this substantially. Then would I, for my part, quickly conform. *But otherwise let them be assured the Church of Rome, do what they can, will get ground of them in England, and this maketh me to lay this to heart as I do.* Every day we are challenged by the Papists (D. Kellison's 'Treatise of Faith,' John Fraser, etc.), to prove the lawfulness of our ministry in England, and our calling to it. What say our learned men hereunto? A direct and a full and a steadfast answer must be made to this, men's consciences will not be satisfied with dilatory and shifting answers, nor if we leave scruples and difficulties in that we speak.

Validity of Protestant ministry.

"To justify the calling of our ministry in England and to prove the lawfulness thereof, *we must plainly show that the persons who give this calling with us have good authority to give the same.* This is the very point; let our learned men make this clear, and then let the Papists be stopped, then all men are satisfied. For it is a plain case and granted of all, that every true ministry in the church must be received from some persons who have good and just authority to give it; and this is essential to every true ministry.

"Some there are in England who affirm the minister's authority is only an inward calling, and the gifts of the mind, and so hath no absolute necessity to be outwardly received from any other, which indeed is not fit for any wise man or honest Christian to hold. It is the worst answer of a thousand. Some others there are who say that this authority of the ministry, and of exercising excommunication also, is derived originally from the magistrate, even from the King and Parliament with us. And so they expound that ordinance of our Saviour, 'Tell the Church,' to be, tell the civil magistrate verily; they may as well expound these words, 'Upon this rock will I build my church,' upon the civil magistrate, upon the prince, Christ buildeth his church. For thus *they make Christ's visible church under her gospel only a civil society, and a human polity*, which profane opinion is so unworthy of all true Christian people, that it deserveth to be exploded no less than the other. These answers against the Papists, we may think, will do but little good. For it is absolutely necessary that a true minister of

the gospel have his calling given by those who are by Christ Himself (or by his Holy Spirit in the Apostles) authorized to give it, John iii. 27; Heb. v. 4; Matt. xxi. 25; 1 Cor, xii. 5; Rom. x. 15. For this only can an ordinary minister's calling be of God (which is necessary) and of men. And this is that which we call essential in every ordinary ecclesiastical minister. Again, as I said, this will soundly answer the Papists and nothing else.

"But now all the matter will be, Who are the persons which have power and authority from Christ to give a calling to a minister of the gospel? Here as touching myself, when I deal with Papists (as I have often done) I affirm as D. Tilenus in this case answered the L. Lavall in France, *that the people consenting together in the truth of the gospel, have from Christ, power and authority first to forsake all sacrilegious priests and their ministry, and then to give a true and lawful calling of ministry to some whom themselves do like.* Wherein Tilenus showed Cyprian's judgment also agreeing with his; Cyprian then affirming likewise, that this power of the people is from divine authority, Acts i. 23—26; vi. 3, 5, 6; and xiv. 23. Christian people, whether few or many, joined together in a constant society of one ordinary congregation, to serve God according to his Word, are a true visible church of Christ. Every true visible church of Christ is his kingdom upon earth. Now it ought not to be doubted but Christ hath given power to his kingdom to govern itself, to preserve itself, to provide for itself, when it wanteth, all things ordained for it in the best manner it can. This may not be doubted, therefore such a society under the gospel wanting ministers must have power to ordain ministers for herself; likewise the apostle saith, 'All things are theirs and they are Christ's, and Christ God's.' Then when they want ministers *they cannot want power* to provide them to themselves, seeing God hath made them *theirs. Further, the apostle requireth the Christian people to try whether they be of God or not. And Christ saith his sheep hear his voice. A stranger's voice they will flee from.* But they cannot thus discern and try, unless they may reject their teachers, being false and erroneous; and if they may reject, they may choose, yet always in the best manner they can. Some here object and say, The people indeed have power and right, but they have not means thus to do when they want ministers. I answer if they have power, from whom have they it? It will be said from God.

If the people have power from God, then they have means also; otherwise God giveth them power in vain. But that is absurd and false, that God giveth any power in vain, or such as cannot be acted. If God intend an end, as He doth, in giving all power, then surely He intendeth means also to effect the said end.

"But our adversaries of the Protestants in England, what say they to this? How defend they the calling of our ministers against the Papists? Dr. Bilson denieth vehemently (Perpet. Gov. 335—368) that the people's consent is essential in the making of any minister. I desire him then to tell us what is essential; the common answer in a manner of all men is that in England, our diocesan and provincial bishops do give our ministers calling and office. I think few advisedly will say it is essential. For whatsoever is essential anywhere, the same is essential everywhere. So they must deny the true ministry in the foreign reformed churches, where they have no such bishops at all. In the end I doubt not, the common defence will be this, that our said bishops, by their sole authority and power, do essentially give the calling of our ministry. And that from Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley, our first Protestant bishops, they have still so done. Let what inconvenience soever follow thereof, be it then so. Yet even they likewise must have it given to them. They, viz., these our first bishops, must have it derived unto them from others. From whom had they their authority and power? Briefly it will be answered, they had it given them from the bishops and Church of Rome; and indeed is the truth. The Pope is he who made Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley such bishops. They had no other ordination since. And from them all the rest of our ministers have had their ordination to this day. And so the effect of all is, that our whole ministry in England successively and derivately cometh from the Pope, Doctor Douniame, Doctor Bilson and all that maintain the church state in England will thus answer. But oh, miserable defence, and woeful unto us, which indeed, though it be false, yet it is such as the Papists desire, and do triumph in. It is false two ways. First, *whatsoever the Church of Rome did give to Archbishop Cranmer, etc., that wholly they took away again*, namely, when he fell from them, for then they both deposed him and excommunicated him. So that they left him no whit of that power and function (so much as lay in them) which they had

given him. But, *questionless, if they could give it they could take it away*, wherefore, so soon as he was ours, being thus cut off and excommunicated from the Church of Rome, he could not after that have any power, (as derived from them) to make ministers, nor to do any other bishoply act. Secondly, we all know the Church of Rome to be the very Antichrist, chiefly in respect of their clergy and spiritual government, and most chiefly of all in respect of the Pope, from whom all the rest, as from the head, do take their power and authority. Now shall we say that very Antichrist can have power from Christ to make ministers? Or that we have a lawful ministry derived from those who had their power only from him? It cannot be. What communion hath light with darkness? What concord hath Christ with Belial? And so what hath Christ to do with Antichrist? Nothing at all. Thus then our consciences can have no assurance, we cannot have confidence in such estate of the ministry. But, certainly, Christ's true ministers among us in England have a better original than this. *Wherefore the answer of our state Protestants must be false.* Yet in this answer who seeth not how the Papists do rejoice, triumph, and insult? Who seeth not how by this they are encouraged, strengthened, and multiplied among us exceedingly. Truly, it would pity a man's heart to behold how this one point putteth life into thousands to stand up against *Christ's gospel and the liberty of their country* also. For when they hear ourselves openly ascribe to the Church of Rome, and to their means, such a gift of grace, even that which is our glory, even the holy instrument of our faith unto salvation; for so is our ministry, they will say: if the branch be holy, the root is more; if the rivers be sweet, the head spring is delicious. And so how can it be chosen, but that the Papists will be graced, and get great advantage among us?"

Troubles in Amsterdam.

Whilst the Congregational Separatists maintained their cause with consistency, ability, and skill, they were often damaged by the eccentricities and querulous disposition of others who professed to represent their cause. John Smyth in particular was "a jarring string."

Henry Ainsworth says, "Of all sorrows that

do befal the people of God, there are none so grievous as intestine troubles which Satan raiseth among themselves. With these, above others, we have been often afflicted, the Lord so chastening our sins, humbling us and exercising our faith and patience; whiles many among us at sundry times have turned aside from the way of truth and holy commandment which God gave unto them, and, not content to stray themselves alone, they have sought by all means to draw others after them, and if they follow not they make war against them."

Troublesome, however, as Smyth became, he was conscientious. At the close of his chequered career he published a declaration, in which with candour and simplicity he confessed his fault and expressed regret for the spirit in which he had too often engaged in polemical strife.

Retraction of John Smyth.

"However in the days of my blind zeal and preposterous imitation of Christ, I was somewhat lavish in censuring and judging others, and namely in the way of separation called Brownism; yet since having been instructed in the way of the Lord more perfectly, and finding my error therein, I protest against that my former course of censuring other persons, and especially for all those hard phrases wherewith I have, in any of my writings, inveighed against England or the separation. For England, although I cannot with any good conscience acknowledge the wicked ones mingled with the zealous professors in one congregation to be the true, outward, visible church, which Christ and his apostles at the first instituted, which consisteth only of penitent persons and believers; yet therefore, to say that the zealous professors themselves are Antichristians is a censure such as I cannot justify before the Lord, who is my judge, in my conscience. And, therefore, I utterly revoke and renounce it. Again, howsoever, I doubt not but it is an error of the forward professors of the English (Puritan) churches to be mingled with the open wicked in the

Supper of the Lord, as they daily are, seeing therein they do transgress the first institution of Christ, who ate his Supper only with the eleven, for Judas departed so soon as he had received the sop of the passover. Yet, I cannot therefore conclude the said forward professors under the same judgment or fellowship of sin with the wicked ones with whom they partake the Supper. Yea, rather, I do also renounce that evil and perverse judgment which I have pronounced in my writings in this particular, acknowledging my error therein. Further, I must needs avouch that the bishops of the land grievously sinned against God, and the forward professors in ruling them so rigorously, urging their subscription, canons, and ceremonies upon pain of excommunication, deposition, silence, imprisonment, banishment, and the like penalties: and that therein they sit as Antichrist in the temple of God, which is the conscience. Yet, therefore, to say that all the professors of the land, whether preachers or others, that remain under their jurisdiction do submit unto the 'beast' and receive 'his mark,' that I dare not avouch and justify, as I have done, for I doubt not but many touch not of these unclean things, but only submit to Christ so far as they are enlightened; and if a sin of ignorance make a man an Antichristian, then I demand, where shall we find a Christian? In these particulars, specially have I transgressed against the professors of the English nation. Generally, all those biting and bitter words, phrases and speeches used against the professors of the land, I utterly retract and revoke, as not being of the spirit of Christ but of the disciples, who would have called for fire and brimstone from heaven, which Christ rebuketh.

"Now for the separation. I cannot nor dare not, in my conscience before the Judge of the whole world, justify my writings and dealings against them; for the truth of the matter, I doubt not, but it is on my side, but the manner of writing it is that alone wherein I have failed. For the chief matter in the controversy I hold as I did, yea, which is more, I say that although it be lawful to pray, preach, and sing out of a book for all penitent persons, yet a man regenerate is above all books and Scriptures whatsoever, seeing he hath the Spirit of God within him, which teacheth him the true meaning of the Scriptures, without the which Spirit the Scriptures are but a dead letter, which is perverted and misconstrued, as we at this day, to contrary ends and

senses; and that to bind a regenerate man to a book in praying, preaching, or singing is to set the Holy Ghost to school in the one as well as in the other."

With respect to Helwys, after referring to points of difference between them, he says :—

"I hold that succession is abolished by the Church of Rome, and that there is no true ministry derived from the apostles through the Church of Rome to England, but that the succession is interrupted and broken off. Succession being so broken off, it may, by two or three gathered together in the name of Christ, be renewed and assumed again, and herein there is no difference between Master Helwys and me: but Master Helwys saith that although there be churches already established, ministers ordained, and sacraments administered orderly, yet these are not bound to join to those former churches established; but may, being as yet unbaptized, baptize themselves as we did, and proceed to build churches of themselves, disorderly as I take it. Herein I differ from Master Helwys, and therefore he saith I have sinned against the Holy Ghost. Herein Mr. Helwys erreth not a little, and breaketh the bond of charity above all men that I ever read or heard of in uttering so sharp a censure upon so weak a ground. The sin against the Holy Ghost is not in outward ceremonies but in matter of substance, which is in the knowledge of the truth, Heb. x. 26; namely, a forsaking of repentance and faith in Christ and falling to profaneness and paganism. It is not lawful for every one that seeth the truth to baptize, for then there might be as many churches as couples in the world, and none have anything to do with the other, which breaketh the bond of love and brotherhood in churches; but in these outward matters I dare not any more contend with any man, but desire that we may follow the truth of repentance, faith, and regeneration, and lay aside dissension for mint, cummin, and anniseed.

"Concerning a secret imputation which Mr. Helwys, by way of intimation suggesteth, as though I had received much help of maintenance from his company, or from that company of English people that came over together out of the north parts with me; I affirm thus much, that I never received from them all put together the value of forty shillings to my knowledge since I

came out of England, and of Mr. Helwys not the value of a penny: but it is well known to Mr. Helwys and all the company that I have spent as much in helping the poor as Mr. Helwys hath done."

Smyth was as peculiar in practical observances as in his theoretical opinions. He would obey literally the injunction, when he had two coats to give one away. He practised as a physician, but would receive no money for attendance or medicine from the poor. Quaint, precise, and punctilious he continued to the last. "A day or two before his death the brethren gathered round his bed. He told them that he had endeavoured to act faithfully. 'Yet, I confess,' he added, 'I have been and am too short therein, but for my weakness and wants I fly to the mercy of the Lord, resting under the hand of God, waiting his good pleasure.'

"One coming unto him and asking how he did, 'I wait for death,' saith he.

"'For death,' she replied, 'but I hope for another comfort first.'

"'I mean,' saith he, 'the death of my sins.'

"Afterwards calling his children to him, as Jacob did his sons, a little before his death, he began to instruct them in the principles of religion, and demanding of them whether they had rather that he should die or live. They, weeping, said that he might live. 'If I live,' saith he, 'I must correct you and beat you; but you must know that I do it not because I hate you, but because I love you, even as now the Lord chasteneth me.' In the morning of the day on which he died, being asked if we should praise God for that He had given him strength and ability to pass the night, 'Yes,' saith he, 'let us

praise his name, and though I cannot be the mouth yet I will be the ear, and let us come before the Lord with an upright heart, for that is well pleasing unto Him.' So drawing nearer unto his end at length he, lifting up his hands, said, 'The Lord hath holpen me, the Lord hath holpen me.' His wife asking him if he had received his desire, 'Yes,' said he, 'I praise the Lord, He hath now holpen me and hath taken away my sins.' And not long after, stretching forth his hands and his feet, he yielded up the ghost. Whereby his life and death both correspondent to his doctrine, it is a great means both to comfort us and to confirm us in the truth. The eye and ear-witnesses of these things are the brethren."

Trial of Francis Johnson.

Francis Johnson was greatly tried with the pertinacity of his brother George in complaining of the style of the dress worn by his sister-in-law. The subject was considered in church meetings held in the prisons in London, and every concession made required in Christian moderation; but nothing would satisfy the restless monomaniac. He published a rambling book, and charged Francis Johnson with neglecting to attend to the charge of Penry in not bringing his daughter "Deliverance" to Amsterdam. Bowman, he said, did not properly administer the fund left by Barrowe for the poor of the church, and the interests of the elder sister church at Norwich were overlooked. Henry Ainsworth and the Pilgrim Fathers gave their testimony in favour of the pastor. Francis Johnson keenly felt the trial caused by all this "vain jangling." "Many troublesome days," he writes, "and full of contention hath God exercised us here together withal,

while we could not be brought in singleness of heart with humility to obey the governors, to observe the government prescribed in his word, and to seek them in the midst of our pilgrimage with love and peace: for love of pre-eminence, which hath always troubled the church, hath troubled us." His views on church government were changed in some degree by the difficulties he had to encounter. Worn by affliction and conflict, he longed to return from exile, and petitioned the King that the church under his care might be permitted to live in peace, in their own native land. There to observe all the ordinances of Christ given to his church, without being urged to the use or approbation of any remnants of the apostacy of Antichrist, or other human tradition whatsoever. The petition was rejected, and the pioneer of the Separatists remained in exile. He died in Amsterdam. "This day," Slade writes (10 Jan., 1618), "we have buried Francis Johnson."* Apart from the petty strife amongst a few, there must have been much in the circle of the Separatist exiles that was interesting. "Truly," the Pilgrim Fathers tell us, "there were in them many worthy men, and if you had seen them in their beauty and order as we have done, you would have been much affected we dare say therewith. At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and teacher those two eminent men." In the "order of worship and government" in the church of John Smyth, we learn from two of the members:—

Testimony of the Pilgrims.

* S. P. Holland.

"We begin with a prayer. After, read some one or two chapters of the Bible, give the sense thereof, and confer upon the same. That done, we lay aside our books, and, after a solemn prayer made by the first speaker, he propoundeth some text out of the Scripture, and prophesieth out of the same by the space of one hour or three quarters of an hour. After him standeth up a second speaker, and prophesieth out of the said text, the like time and place, sometimes more, sometimes less. After him the third, the fourth, the fifth, or as the time will give leave. Then the first speaker concludeth with prayer as he began with prayer, with an exhortation to contribution to the poor, which collection being made, is also concluded with prayer. This morning exercise begins at eight of the clock, and continueth unto twelve of the clock. The like courses and exercises is observed in the afternoon, from two of the clock unto five or six of the clock. Last of all, the execution of the government of the church is handled."*

Their removal to Leyden.

Seeing there was no prospect of terminating differences existing in the churches at Amsterdam, Robinson and his friends judged wisely that it would be for their comfort and peace to remove from that city, and to keep clear of these sad contentions. To prepare their way they sent the following memorial:—

"To the Honourable the Burgomasters and Court of the City of Leyden:—

"With due submission and respect, John Robinson, minister of the Divine word, and some of the members of the Christian reformed religion, born in the kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of one hundred persons, or thereabouts, men and women, represent that they are desirous of coming to live in this city by the first of May next, and to have the freedom thereof in carrying on their trades, without being a burden in the least to any one. Praying that your Honours will be pleased to grant them free consent to betake themselves as aforesaid."

It is added in the register—

* Harleian MSS., 360, 70.

"The Court, in making a disposition of this present memorial, declare that they refuse no honest persons free ingress to come and have their residence in this city, provided that such persons behave themselves, and submit to the laws and ordinances, and therefore the coming of the memorialists will be agreeable and welcome. This done in their Session at the Council House, the 12th day of Feb., 1609. (Signed)

"J. Van Hout."*

The new comers conducted themselves to the entire satisfaction of the Burgomasters. Elder Brewster found occupation as a printer, supplied with capital for the business by Mr. Brewer. He "kept no open shop," but supplied books extensively for circulation in England. In addition to his printing establishment, Brewster taught the English language to Danish and German students in the University. Some of the members of the church were weavers. Bradford manufactured silk; others obtained a livelihood by attendance on temporary residents in Leyden, whom they accommodated with suitable apartments. On the 5th of May, 1611, Robinson, in conjunction with William Jepson, Henry Wood, and Reynalph Tchickins, purchased a house and garden situated opposite, and to the south of St. Peter's church. Here Robinson held many pleasant colloquies with his people, and with the learned professors of the University. Hoornbeck says, "he was most dear to us while he lived." The church, under his care, enjoyed great peace and comfort. "If ever," says Robinson, "I saw the beauty of Zion, and the glory of the Lord filling his tabernacle, it hath been in the manifestation of the divers graces of God in the church, in that

* Cong. Quarterly, 1862, p. 61.

heavenly harmony and comely order, wherein by the grace of God we are set and walk."

Robinson was much esteemed by his flock. Bradford gives the following simple picture:—"Being thus settled, after many difficulties, they continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the way of God; under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him in the place of an elder; unto which he was now called and chosen by the church; so as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the Spirit of God, and lived together in peace, and love, and holiness. Many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation; and if at any time differences arose, or offences broke out, as it cannot be but some time there will, even among the best of men, they were ever so met with, and nipt in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued: or else the church, purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass. Yea, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it might be said of them, as it was once said of that famous emperor, Marcus Aurelius, and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. His love was great towards them, and his care was always

bent for their best good, both for soul and body: for, besides his singular abilities in divine things wherein he excelled), he was also very able to give them direction in civil affairs, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences: by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates, and so was every way a common father unto them, and never did more offend him than those that were close and cleaving to themselves, and retired from the common good: as also such as would be stiff and rigid in matters of outward order, and inveigh against the evils of others, and yet be remiss in themselves, and not so careful to express a virtuous conversation." Robinson supplied the Pilgrims with a literature from his own pen, admirably adapted to their circumstances. On the subject of "ministers' maintenance" he held the views of the early Separatists.

Like Henry Jacob, he had no blind and passionate hostility to the Church of England. "Our faith," he said, "is not negative, as Papists use to object to the Evangelical churches: nor which consists in the condemning of others, and wiping their names out of the bead-roll of churches, but in the edifying of ourselves; neither enquire we of any of ours, in their confession of their faith, that they either renounce, or in one word, contest, with the Church of England—whatsoever the world clamours of us this way—our faith is founded upon the writings of the prophets and apostles, in which no mention of the Church of England is made. We deem it our duty what is found in them to believe with the heart to righteousness, and to confess with the tongue to salvation. (Rom. x. 10.)"

Helwisse, who appears to have been connected with the church at Scrooby, and one of the most active in the movement for their emigration to Holland, raised the question of "flight in persecution," which on the minds of many had a decidedly practical influence.

Helwisse on flight in persecution.

In a dialogue between a "Christian" and an "Antichristian," in which an "Impartial" man takes part (1615), the following passages occur:—

IMPARTIAL. "One thing there is yet which hath much troubled me and others, and, in my judgment, hath much hindered the growth of godliness in this kingdom, and that is, that many, as soon as they see or fear trouble will ensue, they fly into another nation who cannot see their conversation, and thereby deprive many poor ignorant souls in their own nation of their information and their conversation amongst them."

CHRISTIAN. "Oh! that hath been the overthrow of religion in this land: the best able and greater part being gone, and leaving behind some few, who, by the other's departure, have had their afflictions and contempt increased, which hath been the cause of many falling back, and of the adversaries exulting. But they will tell us we are not to judge things by the effects, therefore we must prove that their flight be unlawful, or we say nothing. And, first, whereas it is said by some of the fliers, that many of the people of God fled into foreign countries, and that God gave approbation thereof, as Moses, David, our Saviour Christ in his infancy, and others, thinking thereby to justify this their flight; I answer, God preserved Moses and the rest in their flight, till the time was come that He employed them in his service, then in no case would He suffer them to fly: as when Moses manifested his exceeding backwardness to the Lord's work in helping his people out of bondage, using many excuses, the Lord was very angry with him. And whither did our Saviour fly when the time came that He was to 'show Himself to Israel'? If any of these men can prove the Lord requireth no work at their hands to be done for his glory and the salvation of thousands of ignorant souls in their own nation, let them stay in foreign countries.

"But I trust God's people have learned not to say, the time

is not yet come that Babel should be destroyed, and the Lord's house builded.

"Did God respect his work and people, that all must put to their helping hand, and none must withdraw their shoulder, lest others were discouraged: and is there no regard to be had thereof now, but any occasion, as fear of a little imprisonment, or the like, may excuse any, both from the Lord's work and the help of their brethren, that for want of their society and comfort are exceedingly weakened, if not overcome? If answer be made, they perform their duty in both, that they do the Lord's work, the pastor feeding his flock, and the people walking in fellowship one toward another: I demand, doth the Lord require no more work of them? Doth He not require that they should help to cast down Babel? If reply be made, they do it by their books. I answer, that may be done, and their light shine by their mouths and conversations among the wicked, which is the greatest means of converting them, and destroying Antichrist's kingdom: 'They overcome not by flying away, but by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony: and they loved not their lives unto the death.'

"God's people are the light of the world—a city set on a hill, a candle set on the candlestick, giving light to all that come in—and therefore must shine by their persons more than by their books. And great help and encouragement would it be to God's people, in affliction or imprisonment and the like, to have their brethren's presence to administer to their souls or bodies."*

Robinson in reply, justified the course of the pilgrims.

Henry Jacob, determined it may be to some extent by these considerations urged by Helwisse, returned to Southwark and once more joined the brethren associated with him before his removal to Holland, and with whom he had correspondence during his sojourn in that country. He now organized them as a Congregational Church. In this important step he had the concurrence of the venerable Arthur Hildersham, Job Throgmorton,

Church in Southwark.

* Objections Answered by way of Dialogue. 1615. By John Morton.

John Dodd, and Richard Maunsel, whom he consulted in the Clink prison. He convened the brethren, Staresmore, Browne, Prior, Troughton, Allen, Gilbert, Farre, Goodal, and others, to a meeting, at which he explained to them the nature of a Christian Church. A day of solemn fasting and prayer was appointed, and at the close of the exercises of devotion, each of the brethren made open confession of his faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and then, standing together, they joined hands and solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as He had revealed, or should further make known unto them. Mr. Jacob was then chosen pastor, by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of deacons, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands.

A series of documents were prepared and published on the behalf of the Church by Jacob, in justification of their proceedings. In their "Confession and Protestation" (1616), they assign the reasons of their dissent from the "public ecclesiastical order and doctrine," in twenty-eight several articles. Whilst ready to exercise Christian charity towards their Christian brethren in the Church of England, they say, "By no means may we dare to be of no visible ministerial church, if but two or three, where we live, can be gotten to consent, and join together in the name of Christ, and in the freedom of God's Word."

The "pastor's maintenance" under the gospel should be "free, yet honest, liberal and plentiful,"

and "gifts" should form part of the service every Lord's-day. After a full exposition of their principles, they state emphatically, "We are all simply commanded to enjoy and use an independent church exercising spiritual government, a free congregation according as is before described, that we may obey God and keep his commandment given in these places of Scripture." "This direct and ordinary means of hope and faith, of grace and salvation, we ought to prefer before our life." "Now, therefore, we demand, what false things have we here affirmed? What on our part is evil? What is wicked in all this? If nothing, as we are persuaded in our souls there is nothing, then we pray and earnestly entreat, in the bowels of mercy in Jesus Christ, every one to pardon our consciences in that, thus doing, we stand to give actual obedience to our heavenly Lord and Saviour in his own commandments and ordinances."

In a petition to the King, they ask "that peaceably and quietly they may worship God and serve Him in your Highness's dominions where they dwell;" assigning, amongst other reasons, that the "contrary way unto us, the way of the Lord Bishops and their followers, is such as *giveth great and most apparent advantage to the Papacy and Church of Rome, and which leadeth many in this land thither back again.*" But "his Highness" was deaf to all such appeals; he said he had already gone too far in listening to them.

CHAPTER VII.

Restrained by public authority from continuing the controversy on Church Reformation, the Conforming Ministers in the Mother Country devoted themselves assiduously to their pastoral, according to their limited opportunities, and to the work of evangelizing the ignorant and vicious population. In that most needful service they furnished, in their judgment, the best answer to those who charged them with temporizing inconsistency.

Apology of the Conforming Puritans.

William Bradshaw contended that having once subscribed to the articles of the Church of England under more propitious circumstances, they were not responsible for the restrictions now imposed; and that as Christian ministers, it was their duty to make the best provision in their power for the spiritual necessities of the people. John Sprint, in an able treatise to prove the necessity of Conformity, insisted that separation had led only to religious declension and ruinous divisions. "The Papists," he said, "rejoice, the godly are much grieved, the libertines do much more triumph, and so are like to do, as they have all the more cause, to behold the gospel interrupted, the truth obscured, the

church weakened, the ministers of God thrown out, the flock of Christ scattered, and the visible kingdom of Christ divided and dissolved, than they would be to behold some inconvenient ceremonies. These greater things of the law remaining entire, whereby Antichrist and sin is daily discovered and wasted, and by the which truth and piety do more increase and prevail. What a decay of grace and backsliding of many most forward professors of religion. What increase of Popery and all profaneness in every corner of the land, and even in places where the deprived ministers were placed, have ensued this their suffering of themselves to be thus put beside their ministry; and being deprived, *what good have they done unto the Church? or what goodᵘse have they employed their talent in, more than to some few families wherein some of them have exercised?*"

Robinson and his coadjutors were not insensible to the serious considerations submitted to them by their brethren in England anxious for the spiritual welfare of their countrymen. Nothing gave them more pain than the thought that people were left as sheep without a shepherd, and that their energies, which might have been devoted to the direct work of the ministry, were often wasted in vexatious controversies. They had taken their full share in work assigned to them as men "set for the defence of the gospel;" but they painfully felt the necessary limitation of the local sphere of their operations.

Thomas Drake, a Puritan minister in Essex, who had spent his early life at sea, with characteristic bluntness gave them this challenge:

"Whether it were not the Separatists' best course to return again to God's true church and people, from whom upon some conceited hard dealing they have made an unlawful rent, and there to confer with the best learned, and if still their conscience be somewhat tender, to supplicate for some favour and liberty; or if they will not take this course, whether it were not good for them for the avoiding of scandal, and in expectation of some prosperous success by the permission of our noble King and council, *to remove to Virginia, and make a plantation there, in hope to convert infidels to Christianity.*"

Challenge to the Separatists to go out on a Mission.

William Euring replied: "Show us the true form and fashion of your church, and lay you apart all wrath and envious anger, that so we may together, in peace and love, you with us, and we with you, take a view, and consider of your church, and compare the form and fashion of the true and visible church of Christ, as it is described unto you in the Scripture. And if this good and godly course may be accomplished, not only myself, but all of us that are now separated from you would much more willingly and gladly return again, and labour to plant ourselves again in the meanest part of England, to enjoy peace with holiness, and to follow the truth in love among our kindred and friends in our native country than either to continue where many of us now live, or to plant ourselves in Virginia, or in any other country in the world upon any conditions, or hope of anything in this life whatsoever. Yet even for Virginia thus much, where some of ours desired to have

Reply of Euring.

planted ourselves there, with his Majesty's leave, upon these three grounds: first, that they might be the means of replanting the Gospel among the heathen; secondly, that they might live under the King's Government; thirdly, that they might make way, and unite with others what in them lieth, whose consciences are grieved with the state of the Church of England; the bishops did, by all means, oppose them and their friends therein."

It was no light thing "to make a plantation in Virginia." The resources of the Company that had attempted repeatedly to accomplish this object were exhausted. Captain John Smith, in a letter to Lord Bacon, says:—"More than £100,000 hath been spent in Virginia and the Bermudas to little purpose."* Sir Ferdinand Gorges says:—"Before the unhappy controversy happened between those of the Virginia Company and myself, *they were forced* through the great charge they had been at, *to hearken to any propositions that might give ease and furtherance to so hopeful a business.* To that purpose it was referred to their considerations how necessary it was that *means might be used to draw into those enterprises some of those families that had retired themselves into Holland for scruple of conscience, giving them such freedom as might stand with their liking.*"

The pilgrims in Leyden, for some time, had seriously entertained the idea of change. The practical question considered by them was that of some suitable place to "pitch upon and prepare for."

Virginia, the large tract in America, then so

* S. P. Colonial.

called, had the preference in their estimation; but "it was objected, that if they lived among the English which were there planted, or so near them as to be under their government, they should be in as great danger to be troubled and prosecuted for the cause of religion as if they lived in England, or it might be worse. And if they lived too far off, they should neither have succour nor defence from them." The question considered.

They resolved "to live as a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia; and by their friends, to sue to his Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them *freedom of religion;*" and that this might be obtained, they were put in good hope by some great persons of good rank and quality that were made their friends. Two of their number were deputed to confer with the Virginia Company in England; but it was found that the King would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably—but to allow or tolerate them by his public authority, under his seal, they found it would not be." The pilgrims hesitated, but receiving general assurances from the Virginia Company that they might venture without fear of molestation, the negotiations, entrusted to Robert Cushman and John Carver, were: to make the best of their ecclesiastical position, and to avoid as far as possible the suspicion of "Brownism," the delegates furnished the following brief statement:— Negotiation with Virginia Company completed.

"Touching the ecclesiastical ministry, namely, of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, and dea-

cons for distributing the church's contributions, as also for the two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, we do wholly and in all points agree with the *French Reformed churches*, according to their public confession of faith.

"The oath of supremacy we shall willingly take, if it be required of us, if that convenient satisfaction be not given by our taking the oaths of allegiance.

"JOHN ROBINSON.
"WILLIAM BREWSTER."

The following Articles were sent from the church at Leyden:—

"1. To the Confession of Faith published in the name of the Church of England, and to every Article thereof, we do, with the Reformed churches where we live, assent wholly.

"2. As we do acknowledge the doctrine of faith there taught, so do we the fruits and effects of the same doctrine to the begetting of saving faith in thousands of the land (Conformists and Reformists) as they are called, with whom also, as with our brethren, we do desire to keep spiritual communion in peace, and will practice on our parts all lawful things.

"3. The King's Majesty we acknowledge for supreme governor in his dominion, in all cases and over all persons, and that none may decline or appeal from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but that in all things obedience is due unto them—either active, if the thing commanded be not against God's Word; or passive if it be, except pardon can be obtained.

"4. We judge it lawful for his Majesty to appoint bishops and overseers, or officers in authority under him, in the several provinces, dioceses, congregations or parishes, to oversee the churches, and govern them civilly according to the laws of the land: unto whom they are in all things to give an account, and by them to be ordered according to godliness.

"5. The authority of the present bishops in the land we do acknowledge, so far forth as the same is indeed derived from his Majesty unto them, and as they proceed in his name, whom we will also therein honour in all things, and him in them.

"6. We believe that no synod, classes, convocation, or assembly of ecclesiastical officers, hath any power or authority at all, but as the same by the magistrate is given them.

"7. Lastly, we desire to give unto all superiors due honour, to preserve the unity of the Spirit with all that fear God; to have peace with all men, what in us lieth, and wherein we err to be instructed by any.

"Subscribed by JOHN ROBINSON and
"WILLIAM BREWSTER." *

Sir Edwin Sandys, on the part of the Virginia Company, expressed his cordial satisfaction. "The agents of your congregation," he writes (Nov. 12, 1617), "have been in communication with divers select gentlemen of his Majesty's Council for Virginia; and by the writing of seven Articles, subscribed with your names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward your desire in

* S. P. Colonial, vol. i., art. 43.

the best sort that may be for your own and the public good."

This promising beginning was followed by checks and hindrances that for a long time prevented the completion of the necessary arrangements. The hostility of the bishops to Brewster was occasioned by publications issued by him from the press at Leyden, in relation to the Kirk of Scotland, giving a report of the "Perth Assembly." The author of the work visited Leyden, and was well entertained by the pilgrims, and soon after the obnoxious work appeared in print.

Brewster was at the time in London, but he was suspected in the matter. Sir Dudley Carleton, in a letter to Secretary Naunton, dated at the Hague, July 17, 1619, writes, "I have seen within these two days a certain Scottish book, called 'Perth Assembly,' written with much scorn and reproach of the proceeding in that kingdom concerning the affairs of the Church. It is without name, either of author or printer, but I am informed it is printed by a certain English Brownist of Leyden, as are most of the Puritan books sent over of late days into England."

All the agents of the Government were directed to discover the hiding-place of Brewster, and to take him prisoner. Brewer, the principal of the printing establishment in Leyden, was found, and sent in mistake for Brewster to the English embassy, but the "elder," of whom the authorities were in quest, marvellously escaped. The following brief memoranda, occurring in the State Papers, show that the search for him was fruitless :—

Aug. 1, 1619. "Brewster frighted back into the Low Countries by the bishops' pursuivants. Sir Robert Naunton will follow him with his letters to Dudley Carleton."

Aug. 3. "Brewster's son, of his father's sect, this half year now comes to church. Sir R. Naunton hath received a note from him to his son, and committed the deliverer close, until he discover where his father is."

Other persons connected with the business of the Pilgrims in London were in similar danger. The discovery of a "conventicle" in London, at which Sabin Staresmore, a deacon of the church in Southwark was present, led to his imprisonment, and Richard Masterson, one of the deacons of the church at Leyden, who was also present, had a narrow escape.

A succession of difficulties and discouragements arose from the conflicting interests of different parties, and various complications that naturally caused the Leyden delegates in London much anxiety and depression of spirit. After the recital of their experience by "one of their messengers to the church in Leyden," Bradford tells us, "they had a solemn meeting, and a day of humiliation to seek the Lord for his direction; and their pastor took this text (1 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4): '*And David's men said unto him, See we be afraid in Judah: how much more if we come to Keilah against the host of the Philistines? Then David asked counsel of the Lord again*,' etc. From which text he taught many things very aptly, and befitting their present occasion and condition, strengthening them against their fears and perplexities, and encouraging them in their resolutions. After which, they concluded both what number and what persons should prepare themselves to go with the first, for all that were willing to have gone could

not get ready for their other affairs in so short a time; neither if all could have been ready, had there been means to have transported them altogether. Those that stayed behind, being the greater number, required the pastor to stay with them. And, indeed, for other reasons, he could not then well go, so it was the more easily yielded unto. The other then desired the elder, Mr. Brewster, to go with them, which was also condescended unto. It was also agreed on, by mutual consent and covenant, that those that went should be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that stayed; seeing in such a dangerous voyage, and a removal to such a distance, it might come to pass that they should, for the body of them, never meet again in this world; yet, with this proviso, that as any of the rest came over to them, or of the other returned upon occasion, they should be reputed as members without any further dismission or testimonial. It was also promised to those that went first, by the body of the rest, that if the Lord gave them life, and means, and opportunity, they would come to them as soon as they could." Efforts were made to obtain for the Pilgrims the services of a minister, but without success. Cushman says of Mr. Crab, who was invited, "He hath promised to go with us, yet I tell you I shall not be without fear until I see him shipped, for he is much opposed, yet I hope he will not fail." We hear no more of Mr. Crab.

"At length," Bradford tells us, "after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship (the *Speedwell*), of some sixty tons, was bought and fitted in Holland, which

was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country, and attend upon fishing, and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another ship was hired at London, the *Mayflower*, of about nine score, and all other things got in readiness. So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra, viii. 21: '*And there at the river of Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of Him a right way for us and for our children, and for all our substance,*' upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably, and suitable to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears, and the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a town sundry miles off, called Delft Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years; but they knew they were PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them, and sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and so take leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse, and other real expressions

Departure from Leyden.

of love. The next day, the wind being fair, they went aboard, and their friends with them, when truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to see what sighs, and sobs, and prayers did sound among them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced every heart, that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide, which stays for no man, calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord, and his blessing, and then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they took leave of one another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

Winslow gives other particulars: "When the ship was ready to carry us away, the brethren that stayed having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, and we further engaging ourselves mutually as before, they, I say, that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large, where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and, indeed, it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this, they accompanied us to Delft Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again; and after prayer, performed by our pastor, where a flood of

Delft Haven.

tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only going aboard (the ship lying to the quay and ready to set sail, the wind being fair), we gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits He carried us through." "Mr. Robinson, on their departure from him to begin the great work of plantation in New England, amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations, used these expressions, or to the same purpose.

" We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again. But whether the Lord had appointed or not, he charged us before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth *out of his Holy Word.** He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and go no further than the instruments of their reformation. As, for example, the

Parting advice.

* Calvin says, Instit. 4, 9, 8, " We shall never be able to discriminate between the numerous councils, which dissent from and contradict each other, unless we examine them all by the Word of God, which is the universal standard for men and angels."

Lutherans, they could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them, a misery much to be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living, saith he, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our church covenant, at least that part of it whereby we promise and covenant with God and with one another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us *from his written Word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth*, and well to examine *and compare it and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth* before we receive it. For, saith he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"Another thing he commended to us was, that we should use all means to avoid and *shake off the name of Brownists*, being a mere nickname and brand to make religion odious, and the professors of it, to the Christian world. And to that end, said he, I should be glad if some godly minister would go over with you before my coming; for, said he, there will be no difference between the unconformable ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the ordinances out of the kingdom, and so

advised us by all means to endeavour to close with the godly party of the kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz., how near we might possibly without sin close with them, than in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loathe to take another pastor or teacher, saith he; for that flock that hath two shepherds is not endangered but secured by it."

"Thus hoisting sail, July 22, 1520," says Bradford, "with a prosperous wind they came in short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready, with all the rest of their company."

"At their parting, Mr. Robinson wrote a letter to the whole company, as also a brief letter written at the same time to Mr. Carver, in which the tender love and godly care of a true pastor appears." Letters of Robinson.

"My dear Brother: I received enclosed in your last letter the note of information, which I shall carefully keep and make use of as there shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexity of mind and toil of body; but I hope that you, who have always been able so plentifully to administer comfort unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for yourself, as that far greater difficulties than you have yet undergone, though I conceive them to have been great enough, cannot oppress you; though they press you, as the apostle speaks. The spirit of a man, sustained by the Spirit of God, will sustain his infirmity, I doubt not so will yours. And the better when you shall enjoy the presence and help of so many godly and wise brethren for the bearing of part of your burden; who also will not admit into their hearts the least thought of suspicion of any the least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you; whatsoever they think in others. Now what shall I say or write

unto you and your good wife, my loving sister? Even only this, I desire and always shall, unto you from the Lord as unto my own soul: and assure yourself, that my heart is with you, and that I will not foreslow my bodily coming at the first opportunity. I have written a large letter to the whole, and am sorry I shall not rather speak than write to them; and the more, considering the want of a preacher, which I shall also make some spur to my hastening after you. I do ever commend my best affection unto you, which if I thought you made any doubt of, I would express in more, and the same more ample and full words. And the Lord in whom you trust, and whom you serve ever in this business and journey, guide you with his hand, protect you with his wing, and show you his salvation in the end; and bring us in the meanwhile together in the place desired, if such be his good will, for Christ's sake. Amen. Yours, etc.,

"*July*, 27, 1620. "J. R."

This was the last letter that Mr. Carver lived to see from him, the other follows:—

"Loving Christian Friends; I do heartily and in the Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am present in my best affection, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willingly, and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the meanwhile as of a man divided in myself with great pain, and as, natural bonds set aside, having my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisdom, you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation unto them, who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty. And first, as we ought daily to renew our repentance with God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses, so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you; to a both more narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight; lest He, calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us or un-

repented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or other: whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up unto a man's conscience by his Spirit; great shall be his security and peace in all dangers: sweet his comforts in all distress, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.

"Now, next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lieth—especially with our associates—and for that watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence when given by others. Woe be unto the world for offences, for though it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption, that offences come; yet woe unto the man or woman by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ (Matt. xviii. 7). And if offence in the unseasonable use of things, in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the apostle teacheth (1 Cor. ix. 15), how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded? Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they be given by others. For how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures speak. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailty; or lastly, are gross, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth (Matt. vii. 1, 2, 3): as indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found who sooner give offence than such as easily take it: neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies which have nourished this touchy humour. But, besides these, there are divers motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way: as first, you are many of you strangers as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest where such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them; which doth require at your hands

much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasions of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causelessly or easily at men's doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God Himself, which yet we certainly do so often as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith He pleaseth to visit us. Store up, therefore, patience against the evil day, without which we take offence at the Lord Himself in his holy and just works.

"A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, to wit, that with your common employments you join common affections truly bent upon the general good; avoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and special comfort, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected in any manner of way: let every man repress in himself and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God, which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

"Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest to be chosen by you into office of government; let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will promote the common good; but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations: not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; not being like the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coat than either the virtuous mind of the man or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority which the magistrate beareth is honourable, in how mean persons soever. And this duty you both may the more

willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are, at least for the present, to have only them for your ordinary governors which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

"Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned, in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers among you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend unto your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the Lord, that He who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children, for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we also, for and with you, may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare-you-well, in Him whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

"An unfeigned well-wisher of your happy success in this hopeful voyage, "JOHN ROBINSON."

"All things being now ready," adds Bradford, "and every business dispatched, the company was called together, and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all, and after-fruit with many." The *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell* sailed in company from Southampton. The *Speedwell* sprang a leak, and put into the romantic bay of Dartmouth for repairs. Cushman, writing to his friend Edward Southworth on the occasion (August 17), says:—"Loving friend, my most kind remembrance to you and your wife, with loving S. M., etc., whom in this world I never look to see again. For, besides the imminent dangers of this voyage, which are no less than deadly, an infirmity of body hath seized me, which

Sail from Southampton.

will not, in all likelihood, leave me till death. Friend," he adds, "if ever we make a plantation, God works a miracle, especially considering how scant we be of victuals. Pass my weak manner, for my head is weak, and my body feeble; the Lord make me strong in Him, and keep both you and yours."

Things were not improved when the ships sailed from Dartmouth. The disasters of the *Speedwell* compelled them to put in at Plymouth. The Pilgrims received much kindness from the Christian people there during the time of their detention. The *Speedwell* was again examined, and her ailment was pronounced to be that of a "general weakness." It was determined to prosecute the voyage with the *Mayflower* alone, and to give an opportunity for those who desired it to return. About twenty persons availed themselves of the option given. Some of these, however, had members of their family in the *Mayflower*, and went in the next ship, the *Fortune*, from London. Finally, the *Mayflower* left the shores of England on the 6th of September, to encounter the terrible gales of the Atlantic, with 101 passengers. Her condition was far from being sound. At one time, one of the main beams of the ship gave way, and a serious consultation was held whether they should go forward or return. A great iron screw, brought by the Pilgrims out of Holland, raised it to its place, and, with a post under it, the cracked girder was set firm in the lower deck.

Plymouth.

The fragile bark held on, under the care of Providence, to its destination. On the 9th of November the storm-tossed Pilgrims first sighted land at

Cape Cod. The prospect before them was cheerless in the extreme. "Which way soever they turned their eyes," says Bradford, "save upward to the heavens, they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weather-beaten face, and the whole country, full of woods and thicket, represented a wild of savage hue." Cape Cod.

On the discovery of their position at Cape Cod, "after some deliberation had among themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about, and resolved to stand for the southward, the wind and weather being fair, to find some place about Hudson River for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves to be in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did." Being thus arrived in a good harbour, and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees, and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element."

On the 11th of November, in conformity with their original purpose to "form a body politic," and to suppress rising disaffection, the following constitution was adopted and signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*:— Frame a constitution.

"In the name of God. Amen.

"We, whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread and Sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc., having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honour of our King and country, a voyage, to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, the Eighteenth, and of Scotland Fifty-fourth. Anno Domini, 1620."

Bradford gives us to understand that the adoption of this famous compact was hastened from the mutinous speeches of *strangers who had joined their company*. They said, "When they came ashore they would use their own liberty, for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belongs to another government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do."

Though the *Mayflower* had cast anchor, the Pilgrims had not reached a place convenient for settlement. For several weeks exploring parties, amidst snow-storms and all the perils of an unknown and dangerous coast, went in quest of a proper place of abode. The "heart of winter" was upon them, the

stores of provisions were rapidly diminishing, and the captain of the *Mayflower* was impatient to return. After severe suffering, and narrow escapes from death by sea and by land, the pioneers reached a landing-place.

"It was very dark, and rained sore, yet in the end (Dec. 8) they got under the lee of a small island (Clarke's Island), and remained there all night in safety." They knew not that the place was an island until morning. Some of their number hesitated to land for fear of the Indians. The rest came on shore, and with difficulty made a fire (all things being so wet), and the rest were glad to come to them, for after midnight the wind shifted to the north-west, and it froze hard. But though it had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing, as usually He doth to his children; for the next day was a fair sun-shining day, and they found themselves to be on an island, secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces, and rest themselves, and gave God thanks for his mercies in their manifold deliverance. And this being the last day of the week, Dec. 9, they prepared to keep the Sabbath."

Clarke's Island.

The sacred day, since they left the shores of England, had been spent on board the *Mayflower;* now, beneath the shelter of a gray rock, they met for worship. That memorable rock still remains situated near the ridge, on the eastern slope of the island. Its highest point on the downhill side is twelve feet from the ground. The western side slopes gradually toward the rising ground, easily accessible to the

platform on the summit, which commands a view of the bay and its surrounding shores, the island lying in the midst, Gurnet and Manomet and the ocean beyond, and sometimes the far distant bluffs of Cape Cod. Here was the sentinel stationed, whilst the remainder of the party, shielded from the cold northly and easterly winds by the rock, and on the west by the rise of the hill, lay safely under the warm southern lee."

On Monday, the 11th of December, 1620, they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land, and found divers cornfields and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation—at least it was the best they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the 15th of December, they weighed anchor to go to the place they had discovered, and came within two leagues of it, but were fain to bear up again; but the sixteenth day the wind became fair, and they arrived safe in the harbour, and afterwards took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling. And the twenty-fifth day they began to erect the first house for common use, twenty feet square;—"to receive them and their goods."

Land at New Plymouth.

Their ranks were soon thinned by sickness and mortality. Bradford, Standish, Allerton, and Winslow, were all left widowers in the course of a few weeks. Six died in December, eight in January,

seventeen in February, and thirteen in March. Fifty in all, out of 101, fell in the course of the winter. So many that their graves were smoothed, that the Indians might not count their number.*

In the extremity of their distress, there were but "six or seven sound persons," who did "all the homely and necessary offices" for the sick; the "living were scarce able to bury the dead;" the condition of the ship's crew was little better. On the return of spring, the Pilgrim settlers were a little revived; but they had renewed attacks of sickness, and the thatch of their "common house" was burnt. The ship would have left them, but for the enfeebled condition of the crew.

Return of the *Mayflower*.

The captain, on the 5th of April, 1621, gave the command to return. The testing time was come, and the little colony of Plymouth stood firm. The church in the wilderness was planted, and not a man returned.

Robinson, on receiving the tidings of their sad bereavement, wrote to them the following letter, breathing the fervent sympathies of his loving heart:—

"To the Church of God in Plymouth, New England.

"Much beloved Brethren,—Neither the distance of place nor distinction of body, can at all either dissolve or weaken that bond of true affection in which the Lord by his Spirit hath tied us together. My continual prayers are to the Lord for you. My most earnest desire is unto you, from whom I will not longer keep, if God will, than means can be procured to bring with me the wives and children of

Letter from Robinson.

* On an elevated mound called the "Burial Hill," in that old colony, not far from the "Rock" where the old Pilgrims landed, may still be seen the flattened hillocks which cover the earthly remains of these sainted dead.

divers of you and the rest of your brethren, whom I could not leave behind me without great injury both to you and them, and offence to God and all men. The death of so many, our dear friends and brethren; oh! how grievous hath it been to you to bear, and to us to take knowledge of, which, if it could be mended with lamenting, could not sufficiently be bewailed, but we must go unto them, and they shall not return unto us. And how many, even of us, God hath taken away here, and in England, since your departure, you may elsewhere take knowledge. But the same God has tempered judgment with mercy, as otherwise, so in sparing the rest; especially those by whose godly and wise government you may be, and I know are so much helped. In a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die; it is thought well for a side if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if not too many or too great. God, I hope, hath given you the victory, after many difficulties, for yourselves and others; though I doubt not but many do, and will remain for you and us all to strive with.

"Brethren, I hope I need not exhort you to obedience, unto those whom God hath set over you in Church and Commonwealth, and to the Lord in them. It is a Christian's honour to give honour according to men's places; and his liberty, to serve God in faith, and his brethren in love, orderly, and with a willing and free heart. God forbid! I should need to exhort you to peace, which is the bond of perfection, and by which all good is tied together, and without which it is scattered. Have peace with God first, by faith in his promises, good conscience kept in all things, and oft renewed by repentance; and so one with another, for his sake, who is, though three, One; and for Christ's sake who is one, and as you are called by one Spirit to one hope. And the God of peace and grace, and all goodness be with you, in all the fruits thereof plenteously upon your heads now and for ever. All your brethren remember you with great love, and a general token whereof they have sent you.—Yours ever in the Lord,

"Jno. Robinson.

"Leyden, Holland, June 30, anno 1621."

Moderate in spirit as Robinson was, some of the adventurers were strongly averse to his being sent out with the remnant of his flock. Brewster was

unwilling to take upon himself the office of pastor, and to administer the Lord's Supper. Mr. Shirley, their faithful friend in the Company, writing from London, Jan. 25, 1623-4, says, "We have some amongst us which undoubtedly aim more at their private ends, and the thwarting and opposing of some here, and other instruments of God's glory elsewhere than at the general good and furtherance of this noble and laudable action. Yet again we have many others, and I hope the greatest part, very honest Christian men, whose ends and intents I am persuaded are wholly for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the propagation of the gospel and hope of gaining those poor savages to the knowledge of God."

Letter of Shirley.

Reports to their injury from disaffected persons reached the Company. In reference to them Mr. Shirley writes: "These are the chief objections which they, that are now returned make against you, and the country. I pray you consider them, and answer them by the first convenience."

Objections raised against the Pilgrims.

We find the following particulars given in their reply.

"1. Objection. Was diversity about religion.

"Answer. We know no such matter, for here was never any controversy or opposition, either public or private, to our knowledge, since we came.

"2. Ob. Neglect of family duties on the Lord's day.

"Ans. We allow no such thing, but blame it in ourselves and others: and they that thus report it, should have showed their Christian love the more

if they had in love told the offenders of it, rather than thus to reproach them behind their backs. But, to say no more, we wish themselves had given better example.

"3. OB. Want of both the sacraments.

"ANS. The more is our grief, that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might enjoy them; for we used to have the Lord's Supper every Sabbath, and baptism as often as there was occasion of children to baptize.

"4. OB. Children not catechised nor taught to read.

"ANS. Neither is true, for divers take pains with their own, as we can; indeed, we have no common school for want of a fit person, or hitherto means to maintain one; *though we desire now to begin.*

"When the answers to these objections above mentioned were sent over, at the return of the ship the aforesaid letter came in, the objectors were so confounded, as some of them confessed their faults, and others denied what they had said, and eat their own words; and some others of them have since come over again and have tried to convince themselves sufficiently both in their own and others' judgments." *

In the midst of their sad vicissitudes this want of pastoral care was a great discouragement to the Pilgrims. "We would not have you discontent," said their friends in the Company in London, "because we have not sent you more of your old friends, and in special, him on

Advice of friends.

* Plymouth Church Records, vol. i. 27.

whom you most depend. Let it not be grievous unto you that you have been instruments to break the ice for others who come after with less difficulty, the honours shall be yours to the world's end.

"We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your safety as their own, as we ourselves both do and ever shall, that the same God which hath so marvellously preserved you from seas, foes, and famine, will still preserve you from all future dangers and make you honourable amongst men, and glorious in bliss, at the last day. And so the Lord be with you all and send us joyful news from you, and enable us with one shoulder so to accomplish and perfect this work, as much glory may come to Him that confoundeth the mighty by the weak, and maketh small things great, to whose greatness, be all glory for ever and ever."

Pilgrim life.

The pilgrims were few in number; at one time there were only nineteen men in the settlement they had to guard against the attacks of the Indians. Their meeting-house in consequence had the appearance of a small fort. "Upon the hill," says Isaack de Rasieres, "they have a large square house, with a flat roof made of thick sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach, and on Sundays and the usual holidays they assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of

the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the governor in a long robe; beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side-arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him: thus they are constantly on their guard night and day."

The feeble settlement was exposed to many perils. They were brought to the verge of famine, and the vessels from England from which they expected help, brought no provisions; conspiracies were excited amongst the Indians; and the daring impetuosity of Standish, in marching against them in sanguinary conflict, enhanced their danger, and awakened great concern in Robinson when he heard of his destructive raid.

"Oh! how happy a thing it had been," he said, "if you had converted some before you had killed any; besides, where blood is once begun to be shed, it is seldom staunched of a long time after. Let me be bold to exhort you seriously to consider of the disposition of your Captain, whom I love, and am persuaded the Lord in great mercy and for much good hath sent you him if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you, and towards all in ordinary course. But now, if this be merely from a human spirit, there is cause to fear that by occasion, especially of provocation, there may be wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which is meet. It is also a thing

more glorious in men's eyes than pleasing in God's; or convenient for Christians to be a terror to poor barbarous people; and indeed, I am afraid lest by these occasions others should be drawn to affect a kind of ruffling course in the world."

Sinister reports were raised and mischievous agencies employed to prevent the growth of the colony. John Lyford said, "They have no ministry since they came, whatsoever pretences they make." "The more is our wrong," they replied, "that our pastor is kept from us by these men's means, and then reproach us for it when they have done. Yet have we not been wholly destitute of the means of salvation, as this man would make the world believe, for our reverend elder hath laboured diligently in dispensing the Word of God unto us before he came, and since hath equal pains with himself in preaching the same: and be it spoken without ostentation, he is not inferior to Mr. Lyford (and some of his betters) either in gifts or learning, though he would never be persuaded to take higher office upon him."

The Company of Adventurers became divided. Some of them said of the Pilgrims, "Though they deny the name of Brownists, yet they practise the same, and therefore we shall sin against God in building up such a people. Mr. Robinson should not go over to the plantation, unless he and they will reconcile themselves to our Church by a recantation under their hands." The French discipline they contended should be strictly observed. The Pilgrims replied: "In binding us to the French discipline in every circumstance, you derogate from the liberty we

have in Christ Jesus. The Apostle Paul would have none to follow him in anything but wherein he follows Christ, much less ought any Christian or church in the world to do it. The French may err, we may err, and other churches may err, and doubtless do in many circumstances. That honour therefore belongs only to the infallible Word of God and pure Testament of Christ, to be propounded and followed as the only rule and pattern for direction herein to all churches and Christians. And it is too great arrogancy for any man, or church, to think that he or they have so sounded the Word of God to the bottom as precisely to set down the church's discipline without error in substance or circumstance, as that no other without blame may digress or differ in any thing from the same. And it is not difficult to show from themselves that the reformed churches differ in many circumstances."

The members of the Company, friends to the Pilgrims, wrote, 18th Dec., 1624:—

"To our Loving Friends:—Though the thing we feared be come upon us, and the evil we strove against hath overtaken us, yet we cannot forget you, nor our friendship and fellowship which together we have had for some years: wherein, though our expressions have been small, yet our hearty affections towards you, unknown by face, have been no less than to our nearest friends—yea, to our own selves. As there hath been a faction and siding among us now more than two years; so now there is an utter breach and sequestration amongst us; and in two parts of us a full desertion and forsaking of you, without any intent or purpose of meddling more with you. And though we are persuaded the main cause of this their doing is want of money, for need whereof men use to make many excuses, yet other things are pretended, as that you are Brownists, etc. Now, what use you or we ought to make of these things, it re-

Company divided.

maineth to be considered; for we know the hand of God to be in all these things, and no doubt He would admonish something thereby, and to look what is amiss. And although it be now too late for us or you to prevent and stay these things, yet it is not too late to exercise patience, wisdom, and conscience in bearing them, and in carrying ourselves in and under them for the time to come.

"And as we ourselves stand ready to embrace all occasions that may tend to the furtherance of so hopeful a work, rather admiring of what is than grudging for what is not, so it must rest in you to make all good again. And, if in nothing else you can be approved, yet let your honesty and conscience be still approved, and lose not one jot of your innocency amidst your crosses and afflictions. And surely if you, upon this alteration, behave yourselves wisely, and go on fairly, as men whose hope is not in this life, you shall need no other weapon to wound your adversaries: for when your righteousness is revealed as the light, they shall cover their faces with shame that causelessly have sought your overthrow.

"Let us all endeavour to keep a fair and honest course, and see what time will bring forth, and how God, in his providence, will work for us. We still are persuaded you are the people that must make a plantation in those remote places, when all others fail and return. And your experience of God's providence and preservation of you is such as we hope your heart will not fail you, though your friends should forsake you; which we ourselves shall not do whilst we live, so long as your honesty so well appeareth. Yet, surely, help would arise from some other place whilst you wait on God with uprightness, though we should leave you also.

"And lastly, be you all entreated to walk circumspectly, and carry yourselves so uprightly in all your ways, as that no man may make just exceptions against you. And more especially that the favour and countenance of God may be so toward you, as that you may find abundant joy and peace even amidst tribulations, that you may say with David, 'Though my father and mother should forsake me, yet the Lord would take me up.'"

The secret of the desertion of the Plymouth colony by the adventurers was the known purpose

of the authorities to supplant the settlers by another party more subservient to the ecclesiastical authorities. The King issued a proclamation (May 13, 1624), declaring his full resolution that the government of Virginia should depend immediately on himself, and not be committed to any company or corporation.*

Cause of desertion.

A sermon was preached by Donne, Dean of St. Paul's (printed in 1624), before the Company of Virginia planters, in which he says:—"If those that govern there would establish such a government as should not depend on this—or if those that go thither propose to themselves an exemption from laws, to live at their liberty—this is to be king, to divert allegiance, to be under no man." Donne, with many other divines, anticipated glorious results. "You will make this island," he said, "but as the suburbs of the old world—a bridge, a gallery to the new—to join all to that world that shall never grow old." But he had more hope from respited convicts than from "Brownists."

The apprehension that Robinson would influence the settlement of New England in the direction of the Separatists was removed by his death, March 1, 1625—6. Roger White, in a letter to Bradford, dated Leyden, April 28, 1625—6, announcing the event, writes:—

"These are to give you to understand that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears your and our loving and faithful pastor and my dear and reverend brother, Mr. John Robinson. He fell sick the twenty-second of February, and departed this life on the first of March. He had a continual inward ague, but, I thank the Lord,

Robinson's death.

* Young's Chronicles, 485.

was free of the plague; so that all his friends could come freely to him; and if either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his work which the Lord had appointed him here to perform, he now rests with the Lord in eternal happiness: we wanting him and all church governors, not having one at present that is a governing officer among us. Now, for ourselves here left (I mean the whole church), we still, by the mercy of God, continue to hold close together in peace and quietness, and so I hope we shall do; though we be very weak, wishing, if such were the will of God, that you and we were again together in one, either there or here: but seeing it is the will of the Lord thus to dispose of things, we must labour with patience to rest contented till it please the Lord otherwise to dispose of things."

The church at Leyden, so bereft, wrote to their brethren at Plymouth:—

"To our most dear and entirely beloved brethren, Mr. William Bradford and Mr. William Brewster, grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied from God our Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"MOST DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:—As it is no small grief unto you, so is it no less unto us, that we are constrained to live thus disunited each from other; especially considering our affections each unto other, for the mutual edifying and comfort of both in these evil days wherein we live, if it pleased the Lord to bring us again together: than which, as no outward thing could be more comfortable unto us, or is more desired of us, if the Lord see it good; so we see no hope of means of accomplishing the same, except it come from you; and therefore must with patience rest in the work and will of God, performing our duties to Him and you asunder; whom we are not any way able to help, but by our continual prayers to Him for you, and sympathy of affections with you, for the troubles which befall you, till it pleaseth the Lord to reunite us again. But, our dearly beloved brethren, concerning your kind and respective letter, howsoever written by one of you, yet as we continue with the consent (at least in affection) of you both; although we cannot answer your desire

Letter from Leyden.

and expectation, by reason it hath pleased the Lord to take to Himself out of this miserable world our dearly-beloved pastor: yet for ourselves, we are minded, as formerly, to come unto you, when, and as the Lord affordeth means; though we see little hope thereof at present, as being unable of ourselves, and that our friends will help us, we see little hope. And now, brethren, what shall we say further unto you? Our desire and prayer to God is, if such were his good will and pleasure, we might be re-united for the edifying and mutual comfort of both, which, when He sees fit, He will accomplish. In the meantime, we commit you unto Him, and to the word of his grace, whom we beseech to guide and direct both you and us in all his ways, according to that his word; and to bless all our lawful endeavours for the glory of his name and the good of his people. Salute, we pray you, all the church and brethren with you, to whom we would have sent this letter, if we knew it could not be prejudicial unto you, as we hope it cannot; yet, fearing the worst, we thought fit either to direct it to you, our two beloved brethren, leaving it to your goodly wisdom and discretion to manifest our mind to the rest of our loving friends and brethren as you see most convenient. And thus entreating you to remember us in your prayers, as we also do you, we for this time commend you and all our affairs to the direction and protection of the Almighty, and rest,

"Your assured and loving friends, and brethren in the Lord,

"Francis Jessop, "Thomas Blossom,
"Thomas Nash, "Roger White.
"Richard Maisterson.

"Leyden, Nov. 30th, A.D. 1625."

Report of Captain Standish.

Captain Standish, on his return from England, brought these sad tidings. He also reported the death of their "ancient friend," Mr. Cushman. "He wrote," Bradford says, "to the Governor, but some few months before, of the sore sickness of Mr. James Shirley, who was a chief friend to the plantation, and lay at the point of death, declaring his love and helpfulness in all

things; and much bemoaned the loss they should have of him, if God should now take him away, as being the stay and life of the whole business. As also his own purpose this year to come over and spend his days with them. But he that thus wrote of another's sickness knew not that his own death was so near. It shows, also, that a man's ways are not in his own power, but in His hands who hath the issues of life and death. Man may purpose, but God doth dispose.

"All which things being well weighed and laid together, it could not but strike them with great perplexity; and to look humanly on the state of things as they presented themselves at this time, it is a marvel it did not wholly discourage and sink them. But they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped them, whose work they had in hand, as now when they were at the lowest, they began to rise again, and being stripped in a manner of all human helps and hopes, he brought things about otherwise, in his divine providence, as though they were not only upheld and sustained, but their proceedings both honoured and imitated by others, as by the sequel will more appear."

The brethren at Leyden, in this crisis, were uncertain as to the continuance of the Plymouth colony.

"I entreat you," writes Roger White, Dec. 1st, 1625, "at your best leisure, to write to me, how you think it will in all likelihood go with your church and civil state; whether there be hope of the continuance of both or either; or whether you fear any alteration to be attempted in either. The reason of this my request

Uncertainty of the Brethren at Leyden.

is, the fear of some amongst us (the which, if that hinder not, I think will come unto you), occasioned partly by your letter to your father-in-law, Mr. May; wherein you write of the troubles you have had with some who it is like, having the times and friends on their sides, will work you what mischiefs they can: and that they may do much many here do fear; and partly by reason of this King's proclamation. I desire you to write your thoughts of these things for the satisfying of others. For my own part and some others, we durst rely upon you for that, who we persuade ourselves would not be thus earnest for our pastor and church to come to you if you feared the danger of being suppressed."

CHAPTER VIII.

The hope of the Puritans for the amelioration of their condition rested chiefly in the Lower House of Parliament. For twenty years the Commons had been engaged in a struggle to restore their own liberties and the constitutional rights of the people. Though often thwarted, they asserted their power in restraining the usurped prerogative of making laws by proclamation, and in the exercise of the ancient right of impeachment. The King began to fear the rising tide of freedom, and continued the negotiation to secure an alliance for his son in the Court of Spain. Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, reported the breach between the Sovereign and the representatives of the people. "It is certain," he writes, "that the King will never summon another Parliament as long as he lives, or at least not another composed as this was. It is the best thing that has happened in the interests of Spain and the Catholic religion since Luther began to preach heresy a hundred years ago. The King will no longer be able to succour his son-in-law, or to hinder the Catholics. It is true that the people are desperately offended against him, but they are

Struggle in Parliament.

Spanish Alliance.

without union amongst themselves, and have neither leaders nor strong places. The King seems at times distressed at the resolution he has taken to attach himself to Spain. Yet he sighs deeply, and says that if he acts otherwise, these Puritan malcontents will cause him to die miserably."* The Ambassador had proof of his unpopularity in the insults offered to him personally, as he passed in his litter through Fenchurch Street. "Who goes there?" said a City "'prentice" to his companion. "The devil in a dung-cart," he replied, with a laugh. One of the Ambassador's suite said, "Sir, you shall see the Bridewell ere long for your mirth." "What," rejoined a third apprentice, "shall we go to Bridewell for such a Spanish dog as thou?" and then gave him a box on the ear, and struck up his heels. The offender was ordered to be tied to the cart-tail and whipped, but when the cause of the sentence was rumoured, three hundred people collected at Temple Bar to rescue him, and they "beat the Marshal's men sore."†

The current of public sentiment deepened. On the accession of Charles I. (1626), and the advancement of Laud to the primacy, the conflict between the abettors of tyranny and the advocates of freedom fairly set in. The Anglican clergy stood by the King in his most oppressive acts. He proposed to dispense with the formality of asking the sanction of Parliament in order to replenish the Exchequer, and to levy tribute

Charles I. and Laud.

* Gondomar to the Infanta Isabella.—Simanca MSS., $\frac{\text{Dec. } 22\text{-}23}{\text{Jan. } 1\text{-}2}$ 1621-2.

† Harleian, 389, 48, 94.

in the form of a forced loan. Dr. Sibthorp preached a sermon in support of the plan from Rom. xiii. 7, in which he inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience to all the royal commands. Dr. Roger Mainwaring, in two sermons before the King and Court at Whitehall, went further, and declared that "the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties," and that all were obliged "to pay this loan upon pain of eternal damnation."

Naturally, thoughtful and patriotic men were alarmed, and began to consider the duty of resistance. The debates in Parliament became more exciting, and the resistance to unconstitutional measures more determined; yet the speeches of the boldest members on the side of freedom referred to the King with the profoundest respect, and cast the blame of his policy on his unprincipled advisers. The Commons, in stating their grievances on religion, June 17, 1628, said:—

Grievances on Religion.

"We think it a meet and most necessary duty, being called by your Majesty to consult and advise of the great and urgent affairs of the Church and Commonwealth, finding them at this time in apparent danger of ruin and destruction; faithfully and dutifully to inform your Majesty thereof, and with bleeding hearts and bended knees to crave such speedy redress therein as to your own wisdom, unto which we most humbly submit ourselves and our desires, shall seem most meet and convenient.

"We most humbly entreat your Majesty, first and especially, to cast your eyes upon the miserable condition of this, your own kingdom, of late so strangely impoverished and dishonoured; that unless through your Majesty's most gracious wisdom, goodness, and justice, it is speedily raised to a better condition, it is in no little danger to become a sudden prey to the enemies

thereof; and from being the most happy and flourishing, to be the most miserable and contemptible nation in the world. *There is a general fear in your people of some secret working and combination to introduce into your kingdom some innovation and change of our holy religion, more precious unto us than our lives and whatever this world can afford.* Those of the Popish religion do find extraordinary favours and respect at Court from persons of great quality and power there, whom they continually resort unto; and in particular to the Countess of Buckingham, who, herself openly professing that religion, is a known favourer and supporter of the same. Their numbers, power, and insolency daily increase in all parts of your kingdom. Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud are justly suspected to be unsound in their opinions that way, and it being now generally held the way to preferment and promotion in the Church, many scholars do bend the course of their studies to maintain these errors. Their books and opinions are suffered to be printed and published; and on the other side the imprinting of such as are written against them, and in defence of the orthodox religion, are hindered and prohibited, and, which is a boldness almost incredible, this restraint of orthodox books is made under colour of your Majesty's proclamation; the intent and meaning whereof, we know, was quite contrary. And further, to increase our fears concerning innovation of religion, we find that there hath been no small labouring to remove that which is the most powerful means to strengthen and increase our religion; and to oppose the contrary, which is the diligent teaching and instruction of the people in the true knowledge and worship of Almighty God. And, therefore, means hath been sought out to depress and discountenance pious, painful, and orthodox preachers, and *how conformable soever*, and peaceable in their disposition and carriage they be, yet the preferment of such is opposed; and, instead of being encouraged, they are molested with vexatious courses and pursuits, and hardly permitted to lecture, even in those places where are no constant preaching ministers; whereby many of your good people, whose souls in this case we beseech your Majesty to commiserate, are kept in ignorance, and are apt to be easily seduced to error and superstition."

Mr. Sherland said, "I am persuaded that the

greater part of the nobility, clergy, and gentry are firm, but it is the desire of some few that labour to bring in a new faction of their own; and so they drop into the ears of his Majesty, that those that oppose them oppose his Majesty, putting him upon designs that stand not with public liberty; and tell him that he may command what he listeth, and do as he pleaseth with our good lives and religion; whereby *they have involved all good, true-hearted Englishmen and Christians, under the name of Puritans*, and make their quarrels to be his Majesty's, which is treason in the highest degree and quality." Partial and temporary concession on the part of the King encouraged some to hope for amelioration; but, exasperated by the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, the royal master set all classes at defiance, imprisoned the sentinels of liberty, dissolved the Parliament, resolved to rule without consulting the representatives of the people, and also to raise money by the fiat of his personal authority. The die was cast, and the most moderate and conciliatory of statesmen felt that there could be no withdrawment from a contest in which every leader would be called to hazard his life.

Sir John Eliot.

Sir John Eliot was one of the first to weigh well the problem, how far it was proper to go in defence of right. In his prison meditations in the Tower of London, he says:—"No difficulties may retard us, no troubles may divert us, no exception is admitted to this rule. But where the greatest good is extant, the duty and office there is absolute, without caution or respect; that greater good appearing, nothing may dissuade us from the

work; no respect of ease, no respect of pleasure, no respect of the troubles we may meet." That these were no idle words, we have proof in the Christian fortitude with which he endured the privation and suffering that terminated his life when a prisoner in the Tower.

In a letter to Knightley, he says, "I have not in all these trials that are past felt the least disturbance yet within me. No day has seemed too long, nor night has once been tedious, nor fears nor terrors, nor opposed power or greatness, has affrighted me. No outward crosses or losses have been troublesome; no grief, no sadness, no melancholy has oppressed me. But a continued pleasure and joy in the Almighty has still comforted me; the influence of his grace has enriched me. His power, his greatness, has secured me. His all-sufficiency has given me both a boldness and a confidence in Him that no attempt could move it. Consider this and the weakness of your friend, than whom there is none who has more infirmity, and judge what blessing he has had. Add but the incessant practice of the adversaries, and weigh how little power of resistance is in me. And then give me your opinion, on the whole, whether I have not been compassed about with mercy on every side. This, dear friend, does so affect me, that I want expression for my joy."

Writing to his two sons, who were entrusted to the care of Hampden, he says, "Amongst my many obligations to my Creator, which prove the infinity of his mercies, that like a full stream have been always flowing on me, there is none concerning this life, wherein I have found more pleasure and vantage

than in these trials and afflictions (and I may not limit it so narrowly within the confines of this life, which I hope I shall extend much further), the operations they have had, the new effects they work, the discoveries they make upon ourselves, upon others, upon all. This happiness in all my trials has never parted from me. How great, then, is his favour by whose means I have enjoyed it."

Experience of this kind is utterly inexplicable to those who have no bounds for their detestation of the creed from which it sprung. It is needful, however, to take note of the inward strength and the calm resolve of the men who, at this time, were the first to enter upon the momentous struggle, and who fell in the breach.

In the event of failure in their serious undertaking, they were concerned to provide, if not for themselves, yet for their families, a place of safe retreat. Eliot, at the request of J. Hampden, furnished him with the draft of a plan for this object, endorsed the project for New England for Mr. Hampden, "The Grounds of settling a Plantation in New England—objections and replies thereto."*

Project for New England.

1. *The Grounds of settling a Plantation in New England.*

1st. "The propagation of the Gospel to the Indians, wherein first the importance of the work, tending to the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and winning them out of the snare of the devil, and converting others of them by their means.

2nd. "The possibility of attaining it. God having by his Word manifested his will for the spreading of the Gospel to all

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceed., 1864-5. 417.

nations, and intercourse of trade having opened a passage, and made a way for commerce with the East and West Indies, and divers plantations of the Dutch and English being settled in several parts of those countries, and the *ill condition of the times being likely to furnish those plantations with better members than have usually undertaken that work in former times.*"

Thirdly, for motives.

1. "The consideration of our own condition like unto theirs in times past.

2. "The advantages and benefits we may receive from those parts challenging the rendering of spiritual things for their temporal .

3. "1. The diligence of the Papists in propagating their religion and superstition, and enlarging the kingdom of Antichrist thereby, with all the manifest hazards of their persons, and deep engagement of their estates.

"2nd ground. Charity to our neighbours impoverished by decay of trade, and left destitute of hope of employment in time to come, who may be comfortably sustained by their labours and endeavours in this country, yielding them sufficient matter of employment and means of recompense, as corn, both of our kinds, which prosper well in those parts, and of the country, which is far better for use, than ours, and may be set yearly after our grains are sown, and consequently without hindrance of our ordinary course."

The means of effecting the work.

1. "The raising of a sufficient stock to the value of £10,000 by the adventurers of such voluntary persons as God shall be pleased for the former weighty ends to move to the forwarding of the work; wherewith might be transported 200 carpenters, masons, smiths, coopers, turners, potters, husbandmen, fowlers, vine dressers, saltmakers, fishermen, and other labourers, with 100 kine and bulls, 25 horses and mares, by whose labours in three years, space may be provided at least for a thousand persons, dwellings, and means of livelihood, besides £2000 or £3000 of stock, there will remain £10,000 for trade.

2. "The free adventurers of particular persons, of whom many

will be ready to engage their persons and estates for furthering this design."

Some *general conclusions*, showing that a person employed here in public service may yet be transplanted for the propagation of the Gospel in New England.

1. "It is granted by all that this intended plantation is a work both lawful and honourable.

2. "It must be advanced by persons gifted for such a work.

3. "Every one that is fit hath not a mind to the work, and no bond of conscience can ordinarily be imposed upon him that hath no desire to it.

4. "The service of raising or upholding a particular church is to be preferred before the comfort of some part of a church already established.

5. "The members of that church may in time be of better use to their mother here than those whom she shall keep still in her own bosom. When the woman in the Revelation xii. was persecuted by the dragon, and forced to fly into the wilderness, her son was taken up into heaven, where it might seem she had greatest need of him, to be reserved there for future service.

6. "The exercise of an office of less consequence for God and for his church, whereinto any is put by ordinary calling, may be left upon the like call to some other office of greater consequence, especially where there follows no violation of the rule of righteousness, and that the difference is such between the execution of an ordinary place of magistry in this land and the supportation of this plantation, is easily to be determined.

7. "It may be instanced in divers persons, both magistrates and ministers who, sometimes for private respects, have forsaken the place where they have been settled to good use, and their changes approved and blessed.

8. "The taking off a scandal from a whole church and religion itself is to be preferred before the good of any particular church. It is a reproach to our religion that when we profess an intention of converting these Indians, we send not persons meet for such a work, but such only as we can well spare; and commonly those that are a burden to ourselves, while the

Papists out of a false zeal to draw them to their superstition, stick not to employ their most able and useful instruments.

9. "Our approved practice in matters of like nature must be a rule in this. In all foreign expeditions we employ our best statesmen, and we grudge not to want their service here though never so useful, when they are in such employment for the good of the churches."

Hampden, in sending for the document conveyed to him at a particular window of the Tower, wrote the following note:—

"Noble Sir,—I hope this letter is conveyed to you by so safe a hand that yours will be the first that shall open it. For if not, yet since you enjoy as much without a contradiction you may the liberty of a prison, it shall be no offence to wish you may make the best use on't. God may find you as much his now that you enjoy the benefit of secondary helps as you found him yours by deprivation of all others. You were cast upon his immediate support. This is all I have, or am willing to say; but that the paper of considerations as concerning the plantation might be very safely conveyed to me by this hand, and, after transcribing, should be as safely returned if you vouchsafe to send it me. I beseech you, present my service to Mr. Valentine, Mr. Long, my countryman, if with you, and let me be honoured with the style of your faithful friend and servant,

"Jo. Hampden,

"Hampden, Dec. 8, 1629."

The minds of others were directed to the subject, conferences were held, plans arranged, and the capital furnished for the plantation of a great Puritan colony: first by the Dorchester Company, under the direction of John White; and, subsequently, by the Company of Massachusett's Bay. The "propagation of the Gospel," they said, was their principal aim. Arthur Hildersham advised the ministers who

John White. Company of Massachusetts.

should commit themselves to the enterprise to determine the form of ecclesiastical polity that should be adopted in the new plantation; but to do this was not then deemed convenient.

A fine opportunity presented itself for "making a plantation" on principles different from those of the Plymouth colony. A fishing-station "by Cape Ann," originally held by the Pilgrims, had been obtained by a few persons opposed to their views. Roger Conant, who was entrusted with the work, after various experiments, resolved to take up a position at Numkeag. Mr. White wrote to him "not to desert the business," promising that "if himself with three others—John Woodberry, John Balch, and Peter Palfrey—would stay there he would furnish them with all requisite supplies." "Yet it seems," we are told, "before they received any return, according to their desires, the three last-mentioned began to recoil, and, repenting of their engagement to stay at Numkeag for fear of the Indians and other inconveniences, resolved rather to go all to Virginia; especially because Mr. Lyford, their minister, upon a loving invitation was thither bound. But Mr. Conant, though never so earnestly pressed to go along with them, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place where now they were, yea, though all the rest should forsake him; "not doubting," as he said, "but if they departed he should soon see more company." The three waverers yielded to the brave pioneer; and Lyford, happily for all parties, went in quest of better fortune elsewhere.

Roger Conant.

On the 20th of June, 1628, Captain Endicott with

his companions Gott, Davenport, Trask, and Ralph and Richard Sprague, sailed from Weymouth for Numkeag, to take charge of the new settlement: they arrived on September 6, and, having adjusted some differences with the "old planters there, they gave it the name of Salem."

Endicott and his companions.

It was the design of the promoters of this scheme of colonization to bring together the elements of a well-ordered religious community, as far as possible of one mind, and disposed gradually and with care to advance the course of church reformation freed from the restraints of the mother country. In their general letter "to the governor and council for London plantation in Massachusetts Bay in New England;" dated "Gravesend, 17th of April, 1629," the Company say:—

Design of the Company.

"We also send you the particular names of such as are entertained for the Company's service among which we hope you will find many discreet and well-ordered persons, which you must set over the rest, dividing them into families, placing some with the ministers and others such as, being honest men (and of their own calling as near as may be) may have care to see them well educated in their general calling as Christians, and in particular according to their general trades, or fitness in disposition to learn a trade. And whereas amongst such a number, notwithstanding our care to purge them, there may still remain some libertines, we desire you to be careful that such, if any be, may be forced, by inflicting such punishment as their offences shall deserve (which is to be as near as may be according to the laws of this kingdom), to conform themselves to good order; whom, after admonition given, if they amend not, we pray you to proceed without partiality to punish them as the nature of their fault shall deserve: and the like course you are to hold both with planters and their servants, for all must live under a government and a like law.

"Nevertheless, we desire, if may be, that errors may be reformed with lenity or mild correction; and if any prove incorrigible and will not be reclaimed by gentle correction, ship such persons home by the *Lion's Whelp*, rather than keep them to infect or to be an occasion of scandal unto others. We being fully persuaded that if one or two be so shipped and certificate sent home of their misdemeanours, it will be a terror to the rest and a means to reduce them to good conformity. And above all, we pray you be careful that there be none in our precincts permitted to do any injury in the least kind to the heathen people; and, if any offend in that way, let them receive due correction.

"We have in the former part of our letter certified you of the good hope we have of the love and unanimous agreement of our ministers, they have declared themselves to us to be of one judgment, and to be fully agreed of the matter how to exercise their ministry, which we hope will be by them accordingly performed. Yet, because it is often found that busy persons, led more by their will than by any good warrant out of God's word, take opportunity of moving needless questions to stir up strife; and, by that means, to beget a question and to bring men to declare some different judgment, most commonly in things indifferent, from such small beginnings great mischiefs have followed. We pray you and the rest of the council, that if any such disputes shall happen among you, that you suppress them, and be careful to maintain peace and unity."

Zealous and persevering efforts were made by White and his friends to find suitable emigrants, and to provide for them acceptable pastors. Few ministers were inclined to undertake the untried and arduous service. At a meeting of the council of the Company, 23rd of March, 1628-9, intimation was given by Nowell, by letters from Mr. Isaac Johnson, that Mr. Higginson, of Leicester, an able minister, was willing to go to their plantation, and his services were secured.

Samuel Skelton, of Clair Hall, Cambridge, a highly esteemed preacher in Lincolnshire also

offered his service to the Company. Francis Bright, a Conformist minister, joined the party in their voyage. Three ships, conveying the intended settlers, sailed from the Isle of Wight about the 1st of May, 1629. When they came to the Land's End, Mr. Higginson called his family and other passengers to the stern of the ship to take a farewell of England. He said, "We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell Babylon, farewell Rome'; but we will say, 'Farewell dear England, farewell the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there!' *We do not go to New England as Separatists* from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America." He then offered up a fervent prayer for a blessing on all whom they were leaving behind, and for a successful issue to the enterprise in which they were engaged.

Departure of Puritan Emigrants.

Notwithstanding this anxious disclaimer of identity with the Separatists, a company of that despised people were quietly accommodated in the ship on their way to join the Pilgrim Church at New Plymouth, and with them Ralph Smith, a Separatist minister. He was only permitted to join the planters on condition that he would not exercise his ministry within the limits of the Patent without the express leave of the governor on the spot. Another band of Puritan emigrants was collected in the West of England, and amongst them two ministers, John Maverick and John Warham. This interesting com-

pany, prior to their embarkation, formed themselves into a Christian Church in the New Hospital at Plymouth, and invited the ministers associated with them to accept their pastoral oversight. White, of Dorchester, preached on the occasion. They chartered two vessels to convey them to New England. The first party sailed on the 20th March, 1629-30, and arrived at Nantasket, May 30, 1630, under the care of Captain Squeb. He had agreed to take them to Charles River, but he would go no further, and after many weary wanderings, they found a place named Mattapan by the Indians, which they called Dorchester.

At a General Court of the Company, Cradock read certain propositions, July 28, 1629, viz., "that for the advancement of the plantation, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons therein contained, it is expedient to *transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the Company here as now it is.*" This important proposition, after due deliberation, was adopted, and in conformity with it, twelve gentlemen of property and influence, who had met in Cambridge to consider the matter, engaged to go to New England. The old officers of the Company resigned, and their places were filled by persons intending, for the most part, to emigrate. A fleet of seventeen ships, to convey fifteen hundred planters, was prepared, and in honour of Lady Arbella Johnson, the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, one of the passengers,

Transfer of the Government.

the name of the Admiral's ship was changed from the *Eagle* to the *Arbella*.

The first fleet of four ships, the *Arbella*, the *Ambrose*, the *Talbot*, and the *Jewel*, rode at anchor at Cowes, March 29, 1630. The *Charles*, the *Mayflower*, the *William* and *Francis*, the *Hopewell*, the *Whale*, the *Success*, and the *Trial*, were at Southampton preparing to follow. Cradock, the late Governor, was saluted by the captain of the *Arbella*, on bidding them farewell, with "four or five shot."

At Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, an address was issued, April 7, 1630, by John Winthrop, the new Governor, and his companions, entitled:—

"The humble request of his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Governor and Company, late gone for New England; for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions."

Winthrop's Address.

"Reverend Fathers and Brethren,—The general rumour of this solemn enterprise, wherein ourselves, with others, through the providence of the Almighty are engaged, as it may spare us the labour of imparting one occasion unto you, so it gives us the more encouragement to strengthen ourselves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lord's faithful servants. For which end we are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom God hath placed nearest his throne of mercy; which as it affords you the more opportunity, so it imposeth the greater load upon you to intercede for his people in all their straits.

"We beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your help, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather amongst us, for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world: yet we desire *you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it an honour to*

call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there. As members of the same body we shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her; and, while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus.

"Be pleased, therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand; which, if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious. Howsoever, your judgment is with the Lord, and your reward with your God. It is an usual and laudable exercise of your charity to commend to the prayers of your congregations the necessities and straits of your private neighbours. Do the like for a church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will be a most prosperous gale in our sails; and provide such a passage and welcome for us, from the God of the whole earth, as both we which shall find it, and yourselves, with the rest of our friends who shall hear of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returns of thanksgivings as the specialities of his providence and goodness may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul to make continual mention of the church at Philippi, which was a colony from Rome. Let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, who are a weak colony from yourselves: making continual request for us to God in your prayers. What we intreat of you that are the ministers of God, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our brethren: that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the throne of grace. If any there be, who, through want of clear intelligence of our course, or tenderness of affection toward us, cannot conceive so well of our way as we could desire, we would entreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections;

but to consider rather that they are so much the more bound to express the bowels of their compassion toward us; remembering always that both nature and grace doth ever bind us to relieve and rescue, with our utmost and speediest power, such as are dear unto us, when we conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

"What goodness you shall extend to us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ Jesus shall labour to repay, in what duty we are, or shall be able to perform; promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give Him no rest on your behalfs, wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wildness; overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope unprofitably befal us. And so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest your assured friends and brethren,

"John Winthrop, Gov., "Richard Salstonstall,
"Charles Fiennes, "Isaac Johnson,
"George Philips, etc., "Thomas Dudley,
"William Coddington, etc."

It did not escape the observation of those who were unfriendly to the movement that emigrants had embarked for New England whose principles were more decidedly opposed to the Anglican establishment, than those of the great Puritan party. John White in his "Planter's Plea," found it necessary in 1630 to meet the objections raised.

White's "Planter's Plea."

"I persuade myself," said White, "*there is no one Separatist known unto the governors*, or if there *be any that it is far from their purpose as it is from their safety to continue him amongst them.* Yea, but they do not separate, yet they dislike our discipline and ceremonies, and so they prove themselves semi-Separatists, often ashamed that it is their intention in removing from us, that they may free themselves from our government. *We do, and ought, to*

put a great difference between Separation and Nonconformity. The first we judge evil in itself; so that whosoever shall deny us to be a church either of our own men, or strangers of another nation, we cannot bear it, but other churches that conform not to our orders and ceremonies, we dislike not, only we suffer it not in our own. *Not that we adjudge the disusing of ceremonies simply evil,* but *only evil in our own men, because we conceive it is joined with some contempt of our authority, and may tend to a rent in our church:* but yet neither can the imputation be charged justly on our New England colony; if the men were scanned, I conceive it may be, with good assurance maintained, that at least three parts of the four men planted, are able to justify themselves to have lived in a constant course of conformity unto our church goverment and orders.

"Yea, but they have taken ministers with them that are known to be unconformable, and they are the men that sway in the orders of the church. Neither all, nor the greatest part of the ministers are unconformable. But how shall we prevent it? What minister among us well seated in a good living, or in a fair expectation of one, will be content to leave a certain maintenance to expose himself to the manifold hazards of so long a journey to rest upon the providence of God, when all is done for provision for himself and family? Pardon them if they take such ministers as they have, rather than none at all. Hath any conformable minister of worth, and fit for that employment tendered his service, whom they have rejected? There is great odds between peaceable men, who out of tenderness of heart forbear the use of some ceremonies of the church (whom this state in some things thought fit to wink at, and it may be would do more, if it were assured of their temper) and men of fiery and turbulent spirits that walk in a cross way out of distemper of mind."

The three ships conveying the company of Puritan settlers under the care of Higginson and Skelton, entered the harbour of Numkeag (now called Salem), on the 29th of June, 1629. About this period, also to the great joy of the Pilgrims, at Plymouth thirty-five

Arrival of the ships at Salem.

of their long-desired friends came from Leyden. Near this time also they tell us "several godly persons, some whereof had been Mr. Lothrop's church in England,* and others also came to us out of England, so that we became through the goodness of God pretty numerous."

Meeting of the Pilgrims and Puritans.

The Pilgrim Separatists of the Plymouth colony were brought into friendly relations with the Puritan emigrants, from the need they had of help and counsel, and an interesting correspondence arose between Governor Endicott of Salem, and Fuller, a deacon in the Pilgrim Church, that led to a good understanding between them, and close assimilation in church polity. Fuller also had conference with the settlers at Dorchester, commending himself to the newly-arrived company by his kind attention and medical skill. Difficulties existed in the minds of some not easily removed, but the tendency on the whole in these isolated communities, was to closer unity than could have been realized in the mother country. In their eagerness to conciliate the Puritan leaders, the Pilgrim representatives rather neglected the poor Separatist minister who had sailed with them from England; Bradford in reference to his case, says: "There was one Mr. Ralph Smith, and his wife and family, that came over into the Bay of the Massachusetts, and sojourned at present with some straggling people that lived at Nantasket; there being a boat of this place putting in there on some occasion, he earnestly desired that they would give him and his people passage for Plymouth, and

* The Church in Southwark, formed by Henry Jacob.

such things as they could well carry; for he was weary of being in that uncouth place, and in a poor house that would neither keep him nor his goods dry, so seeing him to be a grave man, and understanding he had been a minister, they brought him, and he was kindly entertained and housed."

As the result of mutual explanations, Charles Gott wrote to Governor Bradford from Salem, 30th of July, 1629, to apprize him of their church organization:—

"Notwithstanding all opposition," he says, "that hath been here and elsewhere, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to his Word in everything. The 20th of July it pleased God to move the heart of our Governor, to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher; the former part of the day being spent in prayer and teaching, the latter part was spent about the election, which was after this manner: the persons thought on, who had been ministers in England, were demanded concerning their callings; they acknowledged there was a twofold calling: the one an inward calling, when the Lord moved the heart of man to take that calling upon him, and fitted him with gifts for the same; the second, the outward calling, was from the people, when a company of believers are formed together in covenant, to walk together in all the ways of God, every *member, being men, are to have a free voice in the choice of their officers:* how, we being persuaded that these two were so qualified as the Apostle speaks to Timothy, where he saith, 'a bishop must be blameless, sober, apt to teach,' &c. I think I may say as the Eunuch said unto Philip, 'What should let him from being baptised, seeing there was water and he believed:' so these two servants of God, clearing all things by their answers, and being thus fitted, we saw no reason but that we might freely give our voices for their election after this trial. Their choice was after this manner: every fit member wrote, in a note, his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom

Formation of the Church at Salem.

they would have for teacher; so the most votes were for Mr. Skelton to be pastor, and Mr. Higginson to be teacher; and they, accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the Church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson. Then there was proceeding in election of elders and deacons, but they were only named, and laying on of hands deferred, to see if it pleased God to send us more able men over; but since Thursday, being as I take it, the 5th of August, is appointed for another day of humiliation for the full choice of elders and deacons, and ordaining them. Now, good sir, I hope that you and the rest of God's people (who are acquainted with the ways of God) with you, will say that there was a right foundation laid, and that these two blessed servants of the Lord came in at the door and not at the window."

They appear to have had a second ordination service, to which they invited the representatives of the Church at Plymouth. Higginson prepared "a Confession of Faith" and the following covenant:—

"We covenant with our Lord and one with another: and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as He is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed Word of truth; and do explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

"We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ and the Word of his grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation, resolving to cleave unto him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in his worship.

"We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord

Jesus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as He hath taught us.

"In public or private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the Church, but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

"We will not in the congregation be forward either to show our own gifts in speaking or scrupling, or there discover the weakness or failings of our brethren; but attend an orderly call thereunto; knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured and his Gospel and the profession of it slighted by our distempers and weakness in public.

"We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard to those that are within or without; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote; and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

"We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us, in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord that they should have encouragement in their places by our not grieving their spirit through our irregularity.

"We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness as the bane of the State, nor will we deal hardly or oppressively with any wherein we are the Lord's stewards.

"Promising also unto our best ability to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God and of his will, that they may serve Him also, and all this, not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name."

The 6th of August was kept as a day of fasting and prayer, in which, after the sermons and prayers of the two ministers, at the end of the day, thirty persons, each having a copy of the Covenant and Confession, did solemnly profess their consent thereunto, and then proceeded to the ordaining of Mr

Skelton, pastor, and Mr. Higginson, teacher: then Mr. Bradford, the Governor of Plymouth, and some others with him, coming by sea, were hindered by cross winds, that they could not be there at the beginning of the day; but they came into the assembly afterwards, and gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity and blessed success unto such good beginnings.

It must not be inferred from these amenities of the Pilgrims and Puritans in the wilderness that they had become strictly identical in their principles of church government. The form of the church at Salem was Congregational; but it was maintained in the spirit of a State Establishment. "It was desired of Mr. Higginson to draw up a Confession of Faith and in Scripture language, which being done was agreed upon. And because they foresaw that this wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore they did put in one article into the Confession of Faith on purpose about the duty and *power of the magistrate in matters of religion.*"

It was to this effect: "We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in Church or Commonwealth; knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits through our irregularities."

Enforcement of order in the community was strict and peremptory, and the occasion soon arose

on which the governor asserted his right to check "irregularities."

"Some of the passengers that came over at the same time, observing that the ministers did not at all use the Book of Common Prayer, and that they did administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons by a personal application of the Word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble. Of these Mr. Samuel Brown and his brother were the chief—men of estates, and men of parts and port in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the Book of Common Prayer was read unto such as resorted thither. The governor, Mr. Endicott, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the Church of England, that they were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists, etc.; but for themselves they would hold to the orders of the Church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists, *they did not separate from the Church of England*, nor from the ordinances of God there; but only from the corruptions and disorders there, and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their nonconformity in their native land, and therefore being

in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governor, and council, and the generality of the people did well approve of the minister's answer; and therefore finding the two brothers to be of high spirit, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them that New England* was no place for such as they, and therefore he sent them both back for England at the return of the ships the same year."

It was understood that Skelton was more inclined to the Congregational order of the Pilgrims than Higginson, his colleague. When the report of the proceedings at Salem reached England, John Cotton wrote to Skelton in terms of severe reproof. "You went hence," he says, "of another judgment, and I am afraid your change hath sprung from New England men, whom I esteem as godly and loving Christians; yet their grounds which they have received for this tenet from Mr. Robinson, do not justify me; though the man I reverence is godly and learned."

A larger company from England was known to be on their way, and in anticipation of their arrival pioneers were sent to select a suitable location on the Charles River. In the summer of 1628, Ralph Sprague, with his brothers, Richard and William (Dorsetshire men), together with three or four more, undertook a journey from Salem, and, after travelling to the westward through woods about twelve miles, they lighted upon a place

Winthrop's Company.

* Morton's New England Memorial, p. 264.

deemed suitable. Upon surveying, they found it was a neck of land, generally full of stately timber, and the country round about an uncouth wilderness. The peninsula was inhabited by Indians who called themselves Aberginians. Their chief, John Sagamore, gave the new comers a free consent to settle about the hill. One white man, Thomas Walford by name, a smith, they found living alone in a house that was "thatched and palisaded."

John Winthrop and his party landed at Salem on the 14th of June, 1630,* and began to make arrangements for the permanent settlement of fifteen hundred passengers who were expected to arrive in a few weeks. The immediate prospect was cheerless, eighty out of about three hundred settlers in the colony had died in the first winter, and many of the survivors were in a most enfeebled condition. The supply of food was small and extremely precarious. Three or four months only were left to them in which to provide shelter against the severity of winter.

After giving less than a week to repose and investigations at Salem, Winthrop and two or three others went in quest of some more attractive place of settlement. He traced the Mystic river a few miles from its mouth, and after a three days' exploration returned to Salem to keep the Sabbath. In a few days the company began to pitch their tents in the place assigned to them; sickness invaded their number (and one after another they fell beneath its influence), combined with the want of suitable accommodation and of sufficient nourishment. Henry, the beloved son of Winthrop was drowned, and in his first letter to his

Removal to Charlestown.

* "We went on shore." Winthrop, 1, 32.

wife at Groton, he had to convey the sad intelligence. "We have met," he said, "with many sad and discomfortable things, as thou shalt hear hereafter; and the Lord's hand hath been heavy upon myself in some very near to me. My son Henry! my son Henry! Ah, poor child! Yet it grieves me much for my dear daughter. The Lord strengthen and comfort her heart, to bear this cross patiently. I know thou wilt not be wanting to her in this distress. Yet, for all these things, I praise my God, I am not discouraged; nor do I see cause to repent or despair of those good days here, which will make amends for all. My most sweet wife, be not disheartened; trust in the Lord, and thou shalt see his faithfulness."

Amidst all these cares and sorrows, preparation was actively made to receive the passengers as they arrived in succession; the main body of them mustered on the hill-side near Charles River, in the clearance made for them by Sprague and others.

"They pitched their tents within the shadows of the primeval forest, and laid themselves down on the cold and dewy ground to sleep. They had had a long passage over the Atlantic; some of the ships were seventeen and some eighteen weeks in coming. But the hearts of all were so rejoiced by the safe arrival of their fleet, that the 8th of January was set apart in the different plantations for general thanksgiving. When the PILGRIMS approached the coast of Plymouth, they found it clad with all the terrors of a northern winter—

> 'The sea around was black with storms,
> And white the shores with snow.'

"The Massachusetts company arrived at the height of summer; the beauty and bloom of the year had passed, the sun was hot in the heavens. The soil was parched, and the hand of man had not yet taught its secret springs to flow from their fountains, the wasting disease of the heart-sick mariner was upon the men, and the women and children thought of the pleasant homes of England as they sank down from day to day, and died at last from the want of a cup of cold water in the melancholy land of promise." Lady Arbella Johnson survived her arrival only a month. "She came from a paradise of plenty to a wilderness of wants." Her husband was overwhelmed with grief. Winthrop in a letter to his family in England says: "The Lady Arbella is dead, and good Mr. Higginson, my servant, old Waters of Nayland, and many others. Thus the Lord is pleased still to humble us; yet He mixes so many mercies with his corrections, as we are persuaded He will not cast us off, but in his due time will do us good, according to the measure of our afflictions. He stays but till He hath purged our corruptions, and healed the hardness and errors of our hearts, and stripped us of vain confidence in the arm of flesh that He may have us rely wholly upon Himself."

The Pilgrims evinced towards the new comers the most friendly spirit, and though they did not dictate to them the course they should pursue in ecclesiastical matters, it is evident that the free communication of their view exerted a decisive influence.

Edward Winslow and Samuel Fuller write:—

"Being at Salem the 25th of July, being the Sabbath after the evening exercise, Mr. Johnson received a letter from the governor, Mr. John Winthrop, manifesting the hand of God to be upon them, and against them at Charlestown, in visiting them with sickness, and taking divers from amongst them, not sparing the righteous, but partaking with the wicked in these bodily judgments. It was, therefore, by his desire taken into the godly consideration of the best here, what was to be done to pacify the Lord's wrath. And they would do nothing without our advice: I mean those members of our church there known unto them, viz., Mr. Fuller, Mr. Allerton, and myself, requiring our voices as their own. When it was concluded, that the Lord was to be sought in righteousness; and to that end, the sixth day, being Friday, of this present week, is set apart, that they may humble themselves before God, and seek Him in his ordinances; and that there also such godly persons that are amongst them, and known to each other, may publicly, at the end of their exercise, make known their godly desire, and practise the same, viz., solemnly to enter into covenant with the Lord, to walk in his ways. And since they are so disposed of in their outward estates, as to live in three distinct places, each having men of ability amongst them, there to observe the day, and become three distinct bodies; not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers, or the admitting of any other to their society than a few—to wit, such as are well known unto them, promising after to receive in such, by confession, as shall appear to be qualified for that estate; and as they desired to advise with us, so they earnestly entreat that the church at Plymouth would set apart the same day, for the same end; beseeching God, as to withdraw his hand of correction, so to establish and direct them in his ways; and though the time be very short, yet since the causes are so urgent, we pray you be provoked to this godly work, wherein God will be honoured, and they and we undoubtedly have sweet comfort in so doing. Be you all kindly saluted in the Lord, together with the rest of our brethren: the Lord be with you, and his spirit direct you in this and all other actions that concern his glory, and the good of Him. Your brethren in the faith of Christ and fellowship of his gospel,

Church constituted.

"SAMUEL FULLER,

"Salem, July 26, 1630. "EDWARD WINSLOW."

The 30th of July was observed as a day of fasting and prayer. With appropriate exhortations, the following sacred engagement was adopted:—

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy, wise, and divine ordinances:

"We, whose names are hereunder written, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts; and desirous to unite unto one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom He hath redeemed and sanctified to Himself; do hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, so near as God shall give us grace.

"Signed, "JOHN WINTHROP, "ISAAC JOHNSON,
"THOMAS DUDLEY, "JOHN WILSON."

On the 1st of August, Increase Nowell and four others united with the church, and signed the document, and soon their number amounted to sixty-four men and half as many women. Fuller, in a letter to Bradford, dated Charlestown, August 2, 1630, reports the proceedings, and adds: "Here are divers honest Christians that are desirous to see us: some out of love which they bear to us, and the good persuasion they have of us. We have a name of holiness and love to God and his saints. The Lord make us more and more answerable, and that it may be more than a name, or else it will do us no good."

Another fast was observed on the 27th of August, and the church duly organized. Wilson was chosen teacher, Nowell ruling elder, and Gager and Aspinwall deacons. These were all severally set apart to

their offices by the imposition of hands; with the explicit statement and understanding, however, that it do not imply, so far as Wilson was concerned, the repudiation of the ordination he had received in England.

Francis Higginson, teacher, of Salem, closed his career, 6th August, 1630, at Salem. After preaching to a company of emigrants on their arrival, from Matt. xi. 7, he was confined to his bed, gradually sinking from hectic fever. He died in the forty-third year of his age, leaving to the care of Providence a widow and eight children.

Roger Williams was invited to become the successor of Higginson, but the authorities at Boston demurred. Shortly after his arrival, Feb. 5, 1631, he had given utterance to opinions that were objectionable to the principal men of the colony, and under their influence his settlement at Salem was prevented. In the month of November, 1630, the seat of government was removed from Charlestown to Boston, and the people had to cross the river "to hear the word and enjoy the sacraments before they could be otherwise supplied."

Dudley's Report.

Thomas Dudley, in a letter to the Countess of Lincoln, dated "Boston in New England, March 12th, 1630-31," writes:—"Receiving advertisements of some French preparations against us, we were forced from our present shelter to plant dispersedly: some at Charles Town, which standeth on the north side of Charles River; some on the south side thereof, which place we named Boston; some of us upon Mistick, which we named Meadford; some of us westward on Charles River,

four miles from Charles Town, which place we called Watertown; others of us two miles from Boston, in a place we named Rocksbury; others upon the river of Sawgus, between Salem and Charles Town; and the western men four miles from Boston, at a place we named Dorchester. This dispersion troubled some of us; but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a town upon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer, lest the winter should surprise us before we had builded our houses.

"The ships being now upon their return—some for England, some for Ireland—there was, I take it, not much less than a hundred, some think many more; partly out of dislike of our government, which restrained and punished their excesses; and partly through fear of famine, not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves, which returned back again; and glad we were to be so rid of them."

Wilson left for England in March, 1631,* and for a short time the care of the church devolved upon the governor, his deputy, and the ruling elder, until the arrival of John Eliot, who accepted the pastoral charge. On the return of Wilson, May 26, 1632, a voluntary contribution of £120 was raised to erect a meeting-house in State Street, with mud walls and a thatched roof. The members of the church from Charlestown finding much difficulty in crossing the river in the severity of winter, were formed into a distinct church, under the care of Thomas James, a minister from Lincolnshire. The record, as given in the Church Book, appears as follows:—

* Winthrop's History of New England, 60, 61.

"The names of those who did enter into the covenant first:—

"Increase, Parnel, Nowell—Tho. Christian, Beecher—Abra, Grace, Palmer—Ralph, Jone, Sprague—Edward, Sarah Convers—Nicolas, Amey Stowers—Ezek. Susan Richeson—Henry, Elizabeth, Harewood—Robert, Jone, Hale—George, Margeret, Hucheson, etc."

The Separatists in London, under constant surveillance, continued their meetings after the departure of the *Mayflower*. Henry Jacob removed to America in 1624, and was succeeded by John Lothrop,* who had been a clergyman at Egerton, near Charing, in Kent. Samuel Eaton (son of the Vicar of Great Budworth, in Cheshire, and educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge), for a time was associated with him in the care of the voluntary Christian societies in the Metropolis. Often interrupted by violence, they removed from place to place, to avoid detection. William Kiffin says:—"Being then in the heat of the bishop's severities, we were forced to meet very early in the morning, and continue together till night."

Eaton and Lothrop.

Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, alarmed at the growth of the Separatists, writes to Laud, June 11, 1631: "Right reverend and honourable, with my best services. I was hoping last week to give your lordship information of a busy and ignorant schismatic lurking in London. Since which time I hear to my grief that there are eleven congregations (as they call them) of Separatists about the City, furnished with their idly-pretended pastors, who meet together in brewhouses and such other places of

* "It is said that Lothrop had Jacob's company in Leyden."—Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 13.

resort, every Sunday. I do well know your Lordship's zealous and careful vigilance over that populous world of men. So far as I am assured, your Lordship finds enough to move your sorrow and holy fervour in the cause of God's Church. Neither do I write this as to inform your Lordship of what you know not, but to condole the misery of the time. *Deus meliora.*"*

Laud himself was already on the alert. Forty-two persons were surprised by his pursuivant on the 9th of August, 1632, at a meeting held at the house of Humphrey Barnet, in Blackfriars. Twenty-four of the number were thrown into prison, and brought up for examination, May 2, 1632. John Lothrop did not appear. The "man of the house where they were taken" was first called. He was asked when he was at his parish church.

Imprisonment and examination of Separatists taken at Blackfriars.

"He answered that he was then at his parish church when they were in his house, and that he useth to go to his church, but that his wife will not."

Archbishop of York. "Will you suffer that in your wife?

The King's Advocate. "These persons were assembled last at this man's house in Blackfriars, and were there unlawfully holding a conventicle, for which there are Articles exhibited in this court against them. I pray that they may be put to answer upon their oaths to the Articles, and that they set forth what exercise they used, and what were the words spoken by them: and as for you, Mr. Dod, you might well have forborne, seeing you have been warned heretofore, and passed by upon your promise of amendment."

Henry Dod. "Good Mr. Advocate, spare that."

Being asked "whether he useth to come to his parish church," he replied, "I come to the parish church as often as I can; but my endeavour is to hear the most powerful ministry."

* S. P. Dom.

LAUD. "Therefore you hear Mr. Lothrop. What ordination hath he?"

HENRY DOD. "He is a minister."

LAUD. "Did you not hear him preach and pray? Nay, you yourself and the rest take upon you to preach and to be ministers."

HENRY DOD. "No."

LAUD. "Yes, you do; and you were heard preach and pray."

HENRY DOD. "I shall be ready in this particular to confess my fault, if I am convinced to be in any."

Two of the prisoners were ordered to take the oath, but desired to be excused for this time, and that they might have some time to consider.

ARCHBISHOP ABBOTT. "You show yourselves most unthankful to God, to the King, and to the Church of England; that when, God be praised, through his Majesty's care and ours, you have preaching in every church."

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. "You do show yourselves the most ungrateful to God, and to his Majesty the King, and to us the fathers of the Church. If you have true knowledge of God, it hath come through, and by us, or some of our predecessors. We have taken care, under God, to give milk to you babes and younglings, and strong meat for the men of understanding. You have the Word of God to feed you, the Sacraments to strengthen you, and we support you by prayer: for all this, what despite do you return us? You call us abominable men, to be hated of all; that we carry the 'mark of the beast;' that we are his members. We do bear this patiently, not because we have not law to right us, but because of your obstinacy. But for your dishonouring of God, and disobeying of the King; it is not to be endured when you have reading, preaching, singing, teaching: you are your own ministry: the blind lead the blind. Whereas his Majesty is God's vicegerent in the Church. The Church is nothing with you, and his ministers not to be regarded. You run into woods *as if you lived in persecution.* Such an one you would make the King, to whom we are so much bound for his great care for the truth to be preserved among us; and you would have men believe that he is a tyrant; this, besides your wickedness, unthankful-

ness, and ungraciousness toward us, the fathers of the Church. *Therefore, let these men be put two and two in several prisons.*"

LAUD. "It is time to take notice of these. Nay, this is not the fourth part of them about this city. You see these came of set purpose: they met not by chance: they are desperately heretical: they are all of different places; out of Essex, St. Austin's, St. Martin's-le-Grand, Botolph, Aldgate, Thisleworth (Isleworth), St. Saviour's: let these be imprisoned. Let me make a motion. There be four of the ablest men of them; let these four answer, and be proceeded against; and the while if the rest will come in, they shall be received; but if they will not, I know no reason why four or five men should answer for all."

On the 8th of May, 1632, the Separatists "taken in Blackfriars" were again brought to the Court of High Commission at the "Consistory in Paule's," under the custody of the keeper of the New Prison.

The case of Sarah Jones, of the parish of Lambeth, was first called:—

LAUD. "Do you come to the church?"

SARAH JONES. "None accuseth me to the contrary."

LAUD. "Where were you upon Sunday was seven-night?"

SARAH JONES. "When I have done evil, and my accuser comes, I will answer."

KING'S ADVOCATE. "I do accuse you; take the oath, and you shall know your accusation."

SARAH JONES. "I am afraid to take God's name in vain. I know no other worship than God hath appointed. That which is of God is according to God's Word, and the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain."

SARAH JACOB, MARK LUCAR, of St. Austin's parish, JOHN IRELAND, of "Mary Maudlin's," in Surrey, TOBY TALBOT, WILLIAM PICKERING, MABELL MILBOURNE, and WILLIAM ATTWOOD were called up in succession; but, notwithstanding the menaces of Laud, all declined the oath.

SIR HENRY MARTIN. "The law is that those that are taken at these conventicles and remain obstinate, that they shall be made to abjure the kingdom; and if they return or obey not, it is

felony. Therefore, friends, take heed to yourselves, and know that you have more favour than you deserve."

WILLIAM PICKERING. "I trust I have done nothing against the law."

None of the prisoners would take the oath. The bishops foiled in their efforts became angry.

LAUD. "Henry Dod you are the obstinate and perverse leader of these folks; you had a fair admonition the last Court-day, and you have this day assigned you; so answer upon your oath."

HENRY DOD. "I hope we are not so impious. We stand for the truth, for taking the oath I crave your patience. I am not resolved upon it.

LAUD (to *Lothrop*). "Where are your orders?"

LOTHROP. "I am a minister of the Gospel of Christ, and the Lord hath qualified me."

LAUD. "Is that a sufficient answer? you must give a better answer before you and I part."

LOTHROP. "I do not know that I have done anything which might cause me justly to be brought before the judgment-seat of man. And for this oath I do not know the nature of it."

KING'S ADVOCATE. "The manner of the oath is—that you shall answer to that you are accused of—for schism."

YORK AND LONDON. "If he will not take his oath, away with him."

LOTHROP. "I dare not take this oath."

The Court ordered that they should be kept in straight custody, especially Lothrop.

SAMUEL EATON and SAMUEL HOW ("a young man") were pressed to swear, but firmly refused. Pemima How was next called.

LAUD. "Will you trust Mr. Lothrop and believe him rather than the Church of England."

PEMIMA HOW. "I refer myself to the Word of God."

"JOANE FERNE and ELIZABETH DEAN also refuse to swear"

ELIZABETH SERGEANT. "I must not swear but when I am before a magistrate."

LAUD. "Why now you are called before a magistrate here, are you not?"

"The book was then tendered to JOHN EGG, HENRY PARKER, and JOHN MILBOURNE, but without effect."

ELIZABETH MILBOURNE. "I do not know any such thing as a conventicle. We *did* meet to pray and talk of the Word of God, which is according to the law of the land."

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. "God will be served publicly, not in your private house."

THOMAS ARUNDEL, of St. Olaves' parish, was called, but asked time to "inform" himself. In the case of GRANGER the bishops seem to have been more sanguine.

LAUD. "Granger, you look like a man of fashion, will *you* take your oath to answer to the Articles according to your knowledge, and as far as you are bound by law."

GRANGER. "I desire to have some time to consider of it."

LAUD. "I would not have any of the standers by think that you, or any of those have not had time to consider of this. You rend and tear the Church, and you will not submit to the trial of the law. You must know that the justice of this Court is limited, and you may be driven to abjure the realm for your offence."

ROBERT BAGSHAW. "I desire to speak two or three words. If I have done anything against the law, let me be accused by the course of the law. If I thought this oath might be taken with a good conscience. I would take it; and I do for the present desire, though you do not pity me, yet to pity my poor wife and small children."

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. "Pity your wife and children yourself, and lay your obstinacy to your own conscience."

Another company of Separatists were surprised by the pursuivants, at their meeting for worship, in a wood near Newington, Surrey, much to the gratification of Laud. In a letter to Windebanke, dated Fulham House, June 13, 1632, "We took another conventicle of Separatists in Newington Woods upon Sunday last in the very

People at Newington Wood.

brake where the King's stags should have been lodged for his hunting the next morning."*

On the following day, June 14, 1632, Rawlins, Harvy, Arthur Goslin, Howland, Robert Bye, John Smith, Andrew Sherle, and the rest of their party were brought before the court of High Commission.

One of the prisoners, on declining the oath, said they had been examined before a lawful magistrate.

LAUD. "Your examination hath been sent to me, there is nothing in it; but that you met together to confer upon the Word of God, as far as you understand the same, and to pray, which you might answer here; but you tell this court that it is not a lawful power and authority: and of the same mind are those that were taken at Blackfriars; for they petitioned the King to be tried by his judges, by his lords, declining the ecclesiastical jurisdiction: this they tendered last Sunday. And your obstinacy will cause you to be proceeded against at the common law, and to be made to abjure the kingdom, and, if you return, to be hanged."

The prisoners were unyielding.

LAUD. "Let these, may it please your grace, be sent two and two to other prisons, and not to the new prison, because the keeper hath let some of the principal of the other company to escape."

Robert Bye came into the court. "The Bishop of London (Laud) spake kindly to him saying":—

"Come, thou lookest like a good fellow that will take the oath."

ROBERT BYE. "I am Christ's freeman. I owe obedience to God and the King, and those that are lawfully sent by Him; but to no others (laughter). I am indeed and in good earnest. I dare not take this oath. An oath is for the ending of a controversy; but this is made to be but the beginning of the controversy."†

* S. P. Dom. † Rawlinson MSS.

Eaton, as we learn from the following petition, added to his other offences by preaching in prison:—

"August, 1633.

"To the most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all England.

"Humbly sheweth:—The most humble petition of Francis Tucker, Bachelor of Divinity, and prisoner in Newgate for debt. That whereas there is one, Samuel Eaton, prisoner in Newgate, committed by your grace for a schismatical and dangerous fellow; that the said Eaton hath held divers conventicles within the said gaol, some whereof hath been to the number of seventy persons or more, and that he was permitted by the said keeper openly and publicly to preach unto them; and that the said Eaton hath oftentimes affirmed in his said sermons that baptism was the doctrine of devils, and its original was an institution from the devil; and oftentimes he would rail against your grace, affirming that all bishops were heretics, blasphemers, and Antichristian. That the said keeper, having notice hereof by the petitioner, who desired him to be a means that these great resorts and conventicles might be prevented, and that he would reprove the said Eaton for the same, and remove him to some other place of the prison. That, hereupon, the said keeper, in a disdainful manner, replied that the petitioner should meddle with what he had to do; and if he did dislike the said Eaton and his conventicles he would remove the petitioner into some worse place of the prison. That at this time there was a conventicle of sixty persons or more; that the said keeper coming into the room where the conventicle was, and the said Eaton preaching unto them and maintaining dangerous opinions, having viewed the said assembly, he said there was a very fair and goodly company; and staying there some season, departed without any distaste thereat, to the great encouragement of the said Eaton and the said persons to frequent the said place. That the said keeper had a strict charge from the said commission to have a special care of the said Eaton; and that since the said keeper hath several times permitted him to go abroad to preach to conventicles appointed by him, the said Eaton. That daily there doth resort to the said

Petition of Francis Tucker.

Eaton much people to hear him preach. That the petitioner reproving the said keeper for the said contempt, he thereupon abused him with uncivil language, and further, caused the said Eaton to abuse the petitioner, not only with most abusive words but also with blows."*

Finding that the people still continued to assemble for worship, Laud, with other members of the High Commission, issued a Proclamation, April 1, 1634, to all justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other his Majesty's officers to render help. "Taking with you a constable, and such other convenient assistance as you think meet, we require you to enter into any house or place where you shall have intelligence or probably suspect that any such private conventicles, meetings, or exercise of religion are held, kept, and frequented; and herein, and in every several room thereof you make diligent search for unlicensed books, and seize them in any place, exempt or not exempt."

The bishops were not less active in the provinces. For a series of years persistent efforts were made to eradicate the Separatists in Yarmouth. The example of Thomas Lad, a merchant of the town, and of Mr. Maunsell, their minister in resisting the oath, *ex officio*, and the noble defence of their cause by Nicolas Fuller left an influence not to be destroyed. Others "waxed confident" by their "bonds" and met together for Christian worship. The records of the Corporation though imperfect, show their inflexibility.

Separatists in Yarmouth.

The Earl of Dorset severely reproved the Corporation for their negligence in tolerating a company

* S. P. Dom.

of Brownists. After an apology, they employed all the forces at their disposal to take the ringleaders and suppress the meetings. The following names are given of Brownists in gaol "living on the basket:"—

"William Pring and his wife; Mabele Bishoppe; Andrew Parkins and his wife; William Barthal; Thomas Canne and his wife; Samuel Butler; Edmund Cannon and his wife; Mary Ladd, widow; Joan Balles; Jane Blogg; Jane Bridgwell; Ellen Tillet; Ann Trindle; widow March; Alice Witherall; Margaret Neave; Effa Wiseman; Alice Smith; Dyonis Springall; Valentine Porte; the wife of Robert Baffam; the wife of Thomas Parker; Ruth Burton; Ellen Smith; Marie Eunis; and of Adam Goodwin, of Caister, two miles distant from Yarmouth, who sometimes frequents them."

Much to the displeasure of the Bishop of Norwich, an order was given to the Sheriff of Norfolk to liberate some of the prisoners. This act of clemency so injudicious in his Lordship's opinion was perfectly unaccountable to him.

He wrote in consequence to the bailiff for explanation. Ludham, 15th July, 1624:—

"Salut in Christo

"After my hearty commendations, Mr. Bailiff, I am to give you thanks for your careful and diligent discharge of duties in discovering and surprising conventicles. I conceive it to belong to my duty, in my office, to crave the direction and authority of the reverend judges of our assizes, in this, so important a matter; and it hath pleased them to send their directions thereon. You bailiffs are then accordingly, first, to use all manner of care and circumspection for the apprehending, sending over unto me, under strong and safe guard of the constables, those parties whose names are written, with all speed; and I suppose that the Sabbath-day for finding will be most meet.

"Secondly. Because this ungodly company were found assembled in Cayne's house, and as my Lord Chief-Justice cannot remember who moved for Cayne's enlargement, I am to re-

quest you to send me direct word whether you, Mr. Bailiff, or any other by your authority, did move my Lord Chief-Justice for his enlargement; because it was undertaken that Cayne should either depart the town of Yarmouth or else conform himself; and it appears that all is clear contrary to promise; for that Cayne is noted by the judges to be head and leader of this wicked company, and took upon him to pray against you (the bailiff)." *

Lothrop and Eaton in Lambeth, who were under bond, were certified to be attached for non-appearance on June 12th, 19th, Oct. 9th, and Feb. 19th, 1634-5, and were ordered to be committed. Morton, Secretary to the Court of New Plymouth, tells us, that during the imprisonment of Lothrop, "his wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the bishop to visit his wife before her death, and commended her to God by prayer, who soon after gave up the ghost. At his return to prison, his poor children being many, repaired to the bishop to Lambeth, and made known unto him their miserable condition by reason of their good father, his being continued in close durance: who commiserated their condition so far, as to grant him liberty."

Sailing of Lothrop and his Company.

Lothrop, with thirty-two of his congregation, sailed in the ship *Griffin*, and arrived at Boston on the 18th of Sep., 1634. They removed to the Plymouth colony, and the first entry in the Church book is as follows:—

"Touching the Congregation and Church of Christ collected at Scituate. The 28th of Sept., being the Lord's day, I came to Scituate the night before, and on the Lord's-day spent my first labours

* Yarmouth Records.

—forenoon and afternoon. Upon the 23rd of Nov., 1634, our brethren at Scituate that were members at Plymouth were dismissed from their membership, in case they joined in a body at Scituate. Upon Jan. 8th, 1634-5, we had a day of humiliation; and then all *joined in covenant together, so many of us as had been in covenant before.*"

Church at Scituate.

James Cudworth writes to his uncle, Stoughton (Dec. 1634)—

"I desire that you will be as frequent in your letters as you may. We daily need some exhortation and consolation, both to provoke to the practice of holy things, and to support in the time of affliction and temptation, so that we may serve the Lord with the whole man; worshipping Him as He hath revealed in his Holy word, and walking in the way and order of the Gospel; standing for the purity of his ordinances, and as Moses would not part with nor leave a hoof behind—for of those he was to serve his God—so not to part with one of the ordinances; but to be ready to lay down our lives for them; for those we must serve our God. Although there be many difficulties to be undergone, I account it an excellent mercy that the Lord has brought me to see that which my forefathers desired to see, but could not:—many churches walking in the way and order of the Gospel. My house is the *Meeting-house*, because it is the biggest; but we are few as yet in number, not passing sixty persons." *

The ship in which Lothrop came brought over a commission from Laud to change the government of New England, and transfer it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and others: with power to settle "the clergy government or the cure of souls, and tithes, to appoint magistrates, levy fines, inflict penalties, and send home the refractory to England." This was a serious business, but at

* S. P. Dom.

a distance of three thousand miles the danger of losing their freedom was not immediate. All the ministers, with a single exception, met on the 19th of January following, to consider the question: "What ought we to do if a general governor should be sent out of England? They all agreed, that if a general governor were sent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions, if we were able, otherwise to avoid or protract."

Restraint on emigration.

Whilst Separatists and Puritans were diligently using all the means in their power to reinforce the plantations with Christian emigrants holding their own opinions, Laud was no less intent on counteracting their influence. Henry Dade, one of his commissioners, reports, Feb. 4, 1634: "Two ships, (the *France* and the *Elizabeth*) sail about the 10th of March with six score men in each," so he supposes them to be indebted persons or "discontented with the government of our church." Six hundred more, he hears, will shortly go over. "If such swarms," he adds, "go out of England, trade will be overthrown." "Mr. Ward (of Ipswich) causes this giddiness to go to New England." These ships and nine others were stayed immediately. Ward was reduced to submission, and orders given to harbour-masters throughout the kingdom to keep strict watch, in order to prevent the secret emigration of all who would not conform to the service of the Church in England. The following document is a specimen of these decrees:—

"An order sent to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and other haven towns by the Lords' Commissioners.

"After our hearty commendations to your good Lordships, etc. Whereas, it appeareth great numbers of his Majesty's subjects have been and are every year transported into those parts of America which hath been granted by patent to several persons, and there settled themselves, some of them with their families and whole estates, amongst which numbers there are many idle and refractory humours, whose only end is to live as much as they can without the reach of authority. We, having according to the power wherewith we were intrusted by his Majesty's commission for matters of plantation, seriously considering how necessary it is for weighty and important reasons, to take careful and effectual order for the stopping of such promiscuous and disorderly departing out of the realm, do therefore pray and require your Lordships to charge and command your several officers in the Cinque Ports, not to suffer any person, being a subsidy man, to embark himself in any of the same ports, or the members thereof, for any of the said plantations without licence from his Majesty's commissioners. Nor any person under the degree of a subsidy man without an attestation from a justice of the peace, living near the place where he dwelt last, or where he dwelt before, if he have dwelt a while there, that he hath taken the oath of supremacy and of allegiance, and the like testimony from the minister of the parish, of his conversation and conformity to the orders of discipline of the Church of England: and we do in the like manner pray and require your Lordships to return to us every half year, a particular list of the names and qualities of all those that have been in the meantime embarqued in the ports aforesaid, or the members thereof, for any the plantations before mentioned: and so we bid your Lordships heartily farewell. Your Lordships' very loving friends,

"From Whitehall,
Dec., 1634.

"Arb. B. COTTINGTON,
"Keeper, Mr. TREASURER,
"Treasurer, Mr. CONTROWLER,
"Private Seal, Sec. COOKE,
"Sec. WINDEBANKE,
"ARUNDELL,
"DORSET."

With these preventive measures, more direct methods were adopted to supersede the colonial

government in New England,* and to introduce another class of emigrants that would secure a constituency to support the intended episcopal regime. Sir Ferdinand Gorges busied himself in preparing a scheme for this purpose. He recommended that New England should be divided into provinces under local governors, and that all should be subject to a Lord Lieutenant, who should be assisted by our Lord Bishop, a Marshal, an Admiral, a Master of the Ordinance and a Secretary of State; with such councillors as should be thought necessary. This council of state should have power to erect courts of justice, and to appoint subordinate officers; they should be men "truly reverencing the 'Highrarchy' of the Church." "If some such course as this be neglected," he says, "all will fall to the ground, and the *sectaries find themselves capable to defend the liberty they have attained unto.*"

Scheme to supersede the New England Colonies.

In anticipation of the surrender of the patent of the Massachusetts Company, Sir Ferdinand suggested, Dec. 1634, that the books and seals of the Company should be called in to prepare the way for the new administration. The Council for New England met April 25, 1635, to resign the great charter.

Captain Robert Gorges was "made governor of those parts in person, and took an absolute seizure and actual possession of that country," but he was too late to turn back the advancing tide in the direction intended.

Hazard i., 347.

CHAPTER IX.

The Puritan ministers in England were slow to learn the impracticability of forming churches according to their own views whilst retaining their anomalous position within the Establishment. The process by which several of the more prominent of their number were compelled to relinquish their livings and to remove to New England was painful, and in some instances humiliating.

Trials of the Puritan Ministers.

John Cotton (Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge), on leaving the university, accepted the living of the cathedral-like church of Boston in Lincolnshire. He was greatly esteemed for his learning, piety, and pastoral diligence. After he had been settled there three or four years he felt serious objection to some of the ceremonies of the Anglican Church, and held a free conference with his diocesan on the subject. He wrote to the bishop, Jan. 31, 1624, to thank his lordship for the "gentleness" with which he had been treated, and confessing the "shallowness" of his own judgment, to ask for further extension of time. He was soon after reported "conformable." The wound in his clerical conscience was not per-

John Cotton.

fectly healed, though he laboured with much success under the indulgent episcopate of the Lord Keeper Williams. But the time came when he could no longer conceal his deepening convictions. Laud, on his advancement to power, was not disposed to connive at Cotton's canonical irregularities, and he was compelled to leave Boston and to seek safety amongst his friends in London. John Davenport tells us, "Hiding places were provided for him. Some of us agreed together to improve that opportunity for a conference with him, about the grounds of his judgment and practice; whereby the Church was in danger to be deprived of him, and of the benefit of his precious gifts; hoping that God might bless the same, for the communicating of further light either to him or to us. Two points were the principal subject of our discourse.

"I. Touching the limitation of church power to matters commanded, not to things indifferent.

"II. Touching the office of bishops, whether the Scripture bishops be appointed to rule a diocese or a particular congregation."

Cotton met the objections to the Congregational system with admirable temper, and quoted authorities in support of his view with wonderful facility without the aid of books of reference. "I admired," Davenport says, "God's presence with him, and assistance of him, quickening his apprehension and invention, strengthening his memory, composing his mind, and governing his spirit far beyond what I had taken notice of in any man before him. The reason of our desire to confer with him rather than any other touching these weighty points, was our knowledge of

his approved godliness, excellent learning, sound judgment, and eminent gravity of spirit; whereby he could placidly bear those that differed from him in their apprehensions. All which, and more we found and glorified God in him, and for him."

It is interesting to compare the report of Davenport with the account given on a subsequent occasion by John Cotton himself.

"I received," he tells us, "letters from Mr. Goodwin, signifying that as, in our former conferences, we had debated much on the negative part of the Second Commandment, so he had meditated much and seriously of the affirmative part of it: the positive institution of God's worship in opposition to human inventions. Whereby, I plainly discerned that England, as the state of it then stood, could not hold him long. It is an usual thing with God, in times of reformation, to enlighten his servants, though far distant one from another, with the same beams of light of Divine truth; which the world interpreteth, they have learned one from another; but, indeed, all from the same spirit, who distributeth to every one as He will. But whether Mr. Davenport and Mr. Goodwin received ought from me, I do not know: sure I am I received much from them. For Mr. Goodwin to take up a way not only contrary to that wherein he hath been bred and brought up; but also discrepant from the judgments of so many godly and learned brethren, to the hazard of his ministry and to the smothering of himself in a cloud of calumny and obloquy; believe it who will, I cannot easily believe it that he took it up with very little ado. I cannot but believe it cost him many

prayers, and sighs, and groans, study, meditation, and conference before he could satisfy himself in such a course. To men of his spirit, 'loving and tender,' it is most unwelcome to offend reverend brethren by dissenting from them; and it is most usual with them to suspect their own judgment and ways when they go alone."

From the correspondence of Cotton with his wife, during these fraternal conferences, we learn that he stood "in jeopardy every hour." His course nevertheless was decided.

In a letter of resignation, May 7, 1633, after a candid statement of his difficulties, he requested his diocesan to accept the place as void. He escaped from England with difficulty, and, to avoid the pursuivants, went on board the ship *Griffin* at the Downs, and reached Boston, Sept. 4, 1653. On the following Sabbath, he was admitted, with his wife, to the fellowship of the Church. Cotton gave a simple statement of the views of Mrs. Cotton, and having expressed her consent to the Confession of Faith, she was received without any further personal confession.

On the 10th October, 1632, Winthrop tells us:—

"A fast was kept at Boston, and Mr. Leverett, an ancient, sincere professor, of Mr. Cotton's congregation in England, was chosen ruling elder, and Mr. Firmin, a godly man, an apothecary, of Sudbury, in England, was chosen deacon by imposition of hands: and Mr. Cotton was then chosen teacher of the congregation of Boston, and ordained by imposition of the hands of the Presbytery in this manner:—First, he was chosen by all the congregation testifying their consent by erection of hands. Then Mr. Wilson, the pastor, demanded of him if he did accept that call. He paused, and then spake to this effect: That howsoever

he knew himself unworthy and insufficient for that place, yet having observed all the passages of God's providence, which he reckoned up in particular, in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the pastor and the two elders laid their hands upon his head, and the pastor prayed. And then, taking off their hands, laid them on again, and, speaking to him by his name, they did henceforth design him to the said office in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him charge of the congregation, and did thereby, as a sign from God, endue him with gifts for his office, and lastly did bless him. Then the neighbouring ministers, which were present, did at the pastor's motion give him the right hand of fellowship, and the pastor made a stipulation between him and the congregation. When Mr. Cotton accepted of the office, he commended to the congregation such as were to come over who were of his charge in England, that they might be comfortably provided for."

Thomas Hooker.

The case of THOMAS HOOKER affords another illustration of the force of truth. On leaving Emanuel College, Cambridge, he went, on the invitation of Mr. Francis Drake, to Esher, in Surrey, near Kingston: "the living being a donative, and not a presentation endowment." Afterwards he became a curate to John Michaelson, and also lecturer at Chelmsford. In his discourses he called special attention to the nature of conversion—a subject greatly neglected amid the ecclesiastical controversies of the time. He was favoured to enjoy the friendship and co-operation of several excellent ministers in the county. John Rogers, of Dedham, whom he regarded as the "Prince of Preachers," John Eliot, his assistant for a time at Chelmsford, Thomas Wilde, at Tarling, and others of kindred spirit.

Amongst the hearers of Hooker were noblemen, and others of high standing in society. But the

more useful he became, the more he was exposed to peril, because of the attention drawn to him of the minions of Laud. Samuel Collins, vicar of Braintree, in a letter to Duck, Laud's Chancellor, writes, May 20, 1629 :—

"Since my return from London I have spoken with Mr. Hooker, but I have small hope of prevailing with him. All the favour he desires is that my lord of London would not bring him into the High Commission Court, but permit him quietly to depart out of the diocese. All men's ears are now filled with the obstreperous clamours of his followers against my lord. As a man endeavouring to suppress good preaching, and advance Popery, all would be here very calm and quiet if he might quickly depart. If these jealousies be increased by a rigorous proceeding against him, the country may prove very dangerous. If he be suspended, it is the resolution of his friends and himself to settle his abode in Essex, and maintenance is promised him in plentiful manner for the fruition of his private conference, which hath already more impeached the peace of our Church than his public ministry. His genius will haunt all the pulpits in this country, where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach. All regular and discreet men, especially that live in popular places, will be brought into that distaste and contempt among their people by their means, as their burden will become intolerable. There be divers young ministers about us that spend their time in conference with him, and return home and preach what he hath brewed. Our people's palates grow so out of taste, that no food contents them but of Mr. Hooker's dressing. I have lived in Essex to see many changes, and have seen the people idolizing many new ministers and lecturers; but this man surpasses them all for learning, and some other considerable parts, and gains more and far greater followers than all before him."

Collins writes again, June 3, 1629 :—

"On Monday I wrote to Chelmsford to speak with him (Hooker), but found him gone, and purposed to return to London to appear before my lord upon the first day of this term, at which time I cannot be at London.

"I pray God direct my lord of London in this weighty busi-

ness. This will prove a leading case, and the issue thereof will either much encourage or else discourage the regular clergy. All men's heads, tongues, eyes, and ears are in London; and all the counties about London taken up with plotting, talking, and expecting what will be the conclusion of Mr. Hooker's business. It drowns the noise of the great question of tonnage and poundage. I dare not say half that I hear: paper walls are easily broken open. But, hearing and knowing as much as I do, I dare be bold to say that if he be once quietly gone, my lord hath overcome the greatest difficulty in governing this part of his diocese: let him be as cautelous as he will, yet in his present course the humour of the people will undo him."*

Hooker appeared before the bishop, and a Mr. Nash of Much Waltham, was bound in the sum of fifty pounds for his re-appearance when called for.

In the year 1630 a spiritual court, held at Chelmsford, silenced Mr. Hooker for Nonconformity: this sentence was deeply regretted. A petition, signed by forty-seven conforming ministers, was presented to the Bishop of London in which they certified, "that they knew Mr. Hooker to be orthodox in his doctrine, honest in his life and conversation, peaceable in his disposition, and in no wise turbulent or factious." To this injunction of the spiritual court against Mr. Hooker's preaching the gospel was added a bond in the sum of fifty pounds to appear before the High Court of Commission. By the advice of his friends he forfeited his bond, and one of his hearers, who was his surety, paid it, and was afterwards reimbursed by several individuals in the vicinity.

After a short residence in retirement, kindly provided for him by his friend, the Earl of Warwick, he determined to leave his native country and seek a

* S. P. Dom.

home in Holland. His steps were watched by the vigilant pursuivants down to the moment of his embarkation; and they actually arrived on the shore in pursuit of him just after the vessel in which he sailed had got under weigh. During the passage they were in imminent danger of shipwreck; but Mr. Hooker expressed the utmost confidence that they would be preserved, and he was not disappointed.

The course of Hooker was by no means clear on his arrival in Holland. The appointment of ministers was peculiar, and required the sanction of the Dutch Classis, and that of the magistrates, as well as that of the people who had in part to contribute to their maintenance. Dr. Alexander Leighton was received by the Classis at Utrecht; but some difficulties arose about not preaching on holy days, and he left the place. The English "Classis" was disapproved by the Church for "two main reasons"—

I. "Because the ministers of England who come over hither are of several and inconsistent opinions, differing from one another and from all reformed churches; as expressly, some are Brownists, some Brownistically affected in particular opinions—1. In allowing private men to preach. 2. In denying forms of prayer. 3. In admitting Brownists to their congregations, not renouncing their Brownism. Some are Jacobists, who require a new covenant for members to make before they can commune, etc.

II. "Condemn the decisive and judging power of all classis and synods, and that they have only a power of counselling and advising, because every particular *congregation is a church, and that a complete church*, and that 'it is immediately given unto every congregation from Christ to be a simple and uncompounded policy.' These are the words of Mr. Jacobs and Mr. Barnes."

Hooker was invited by a letter to a church in Amsterdam, but he declined to come unless by a proper "call." John Paget dissuaded the church from giving such a call unless Hooker would satisfy him on various points. The elders nevertheless forwarded the document.

Paget determined to put Hooker to the test, and we have the result in the following "propositions" and "answers":—

QUESTION 1. "Whether it be lawful for any to resort unto public meetings of the Brownists and to communicate with them in the Word of God? *Negatur.*"

ANSWER. "To separate from the faithful assemblies and churches in England as no churches, is an error in judgment and sin in practice, held and maintained by the Brownists; and, therefore, to communicate with them either in this their opinion or practice is sinful, and utterly unlawful for a Christian both in their opinion and practice; but to hear occasionally amongst them, so to communicate with them in that part of God's Word, which I conceive to be the meaning of the first quære, is not so far as I yet see simply unlawful; but may prove occasionally offensive if either by going we should encourage them to go on in their course of separation; or else by our unwise expressions might serve to weaken ours, to like of it ourselves, and so to draw them to a further approbation of that way than was before meet. Whereupon it follows, if we give these occasions of offence, we sin if we do not abstain; but if these occasions of offence may be removed by our constant renouncing of their course of the one side, and by our free and open profession of our intents on the other side, that we go only to hear some saving point opened and to benefit by the gifts of some able minister that may come among them; if I say the giving of any just offence by these, or any other means may be avoided, I conceive then it is not a sin to hear them occasionally; and that some men may prevent such occasion, it is to me a very disputable question not having studied this point before.'

QUESTION 2. "Whether those members of the church which

sometimes hear them and stiffly maintain a liberty therein, are to be tolerated or rather censured?"

ANSWER. "For the practice of the members, according to the former caution and interpretation being taken up and maintained, though stiffly; which argument, because it is but questionable and disputable, before they be fully convicted of their sin, they ought to be tolerated rather than censured; and this moderation in things which are disputable and not absolutely necessary to salvation the apostle enjoins, Romans xiv. 3. Here also remember that the same degree of conviction is not so sufficient in one disposition as another."

QUESTION 3. "Whether such of the Brownists as have not renounced their separation from the Church of England, nor allow communion with the public estate thereof may lawfully be received for members of our church? *Negatur.*"

ANSWER. "The not renouncing separation from the faithful assemblies in England, and the non-allowance of communion with the public state of the Church of England, this mere opinion can in nowise make a man unfit to be received a member of this congregation. Unless we will say that such a man being in his judgment and life otherwise altogether unblamable, injudicious charity is not a visible Christian; which is a more rigid censure than the wisest of the separation would give way unto in a proportionable kind, and I suppose a pious heart dare affirm; and if in the judgment of reasonable charity he may be counted fit to be a member of a congregation; 1 Cor. i. 2. Besides, to judge a man unfit to be so for an erroneous opinion in such a kind, is to confirm the Brownists in that unsupportable and absurd censure which now they maintain touching those, who hold the churches in England, and profess they will occasionally communicate therein, for 'tis easy for them to infer thus, if we think them fit to be members of a true church, who hold against the Church of England. As equal reason, will they say, that we should think those unfit matter for a true church, who hold for the Church of England, since they judge that church to be as bad as any can judge these to be."*

Hooker remained three years in Holland as assistant to the ministers; but he was not at home

* Add. MSS., 6349, 67, 68.

in the country, and there was much in the state of the churches he deplored. He came, in consequence, to the conclusion to join the brethren in New England. "Mr. Hooker's Company," so called, preceded him, and constituted his church at Newtown near Boston, afterwards Cambridge, on Oct. 11th, 1633. Hooker was chosen pastor.

Thomas Shepard in a similar manner was prepared to go out to the wilderness. He was of the same college, with Cotton and Hooker, and on leaving, went to reside in the family of Thomas Welde, minister of Tarling, and received important aid in the prosecution of his theological studies. His ministerial brethren inclined to send him as lecturer to Coggleshall; but being young and inexperienced he resolved rather to accept an invitation to Earles-Colne. Among the most valuable fruits of his ministry, were the two sons of Mr. Harlakenden, Richard and Roger, who afterwards proved to be his most faithful friends. His ministry was so acceptable, that the people were anxious to secure his services beyond the three years, the usual term for the engagement of a lecturer. He was not suffered to continue here unmolested. On the 16th of December, 1630, he was summoned by Laud to appear before him in London.

Thomas Shepard.

"As soon as I came in the morning," Shepard relates, "about eight of the clock, falling into a fit of rage, he asked me what degree I had taken in the university. I answered him that I was Master of Arts. He asked of what college. I answered, of Emanuel. He asked how long I had lived in his diocese. I answered, three years and upwards. He asked who maintained me all this while, charging me to deal plainly

with him, adding, withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with, by some of my malignant faction, than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words he looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague fit, to my apprehension, by reason of his extreme malice and secret venom. I desired him to excuse me. He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying, 'You prating coxcomb, do you think all the learning is in your brain?' He then pronounced his sentence thus: 'I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, nor exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocese: for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.' I besought him not to deal so in regard of a poor town. And here he stopped me in what I was going on to say. 'A poor town! you have made a company of seditious, factious bedlams; and what do you prate to me of a poor town?' I prayed him to suffer me to catechise on the Sabbath day, in the afternoon. He replied, 'Spare your breath, I'll have no such fellows prate in my diocese. Get you gone; and now make your complaint to whom you will.' So away I went; and blessed be God that I may go to Him."

Though silenced and deprived of income, Shepard was not forsaken; the Harlakendens, with the people of Earles-Colne, showed him no small kindness. Shepard now began to study more closely the principles of Nonconformity. Laud would allow him no rest at Earles-Colne: after several narrow escapes from the officers of the Star Chamber, on the recommendation of Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley, in Yorkshire, he found occupation in the house of Sir Richard Darley, of Buttercrambe, in the same county. Though Sir Richard and his family befriended the Puritan cause, Shepard found them to his sorrow "profane." The servants "received the Word gladly," and the dejected minister found his

trials more than compensated in the case of Margaret Touteville, a relative of Sir Richard, and a very discerning Christian, to whom he was married.

Compelled to leave Buttercrambe, accompanied by Mr. Alured, one of his converts, Shepard went to Heddon, five miles from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and to some other places. Still pursued and deprived of the means of support, he turned his thoughts to New England, and made his way to Ipswich in the summer of 1634, finding there a friend in Mr. Girling, the master of the *Hope*, a vessel intending to sail to New England. He expected with his family to get away; but the ship was detained and for months he was in great jeopardy. On the 16th of October, he sailed from Harwich with other Puritan emigrants. A violent tempest arose, and to escape shipwreck, the passengers were put ashore at Yarmouth. Here he lost his only child: and, left stranded and destitute, he was glad to accept the hospitality first of William Bridge of Yarmouth, and then of Mrs. Corbet at Bastwick.

In this seclusion he passed the winter in peace, and wrote a little work entitled "Select Cases Resolved." With his Company, he reached Boston, October 2, 1635, and on the 1st of February organized themselves into a church at Cambridge.

JOHN DAVENPORT, also passed through various stages of discipline, preparatory to his emigration. His father at one time was Mayor of Coventry, and sent him to Brazenose College, Oxford. He commenced his ministerial

John Davenport.

duties at the age of nineteen. For a short time he officiated as chaplain at Hilton Castle, in the neighbourhood of Durham, and then removed to London, where his ministry—first as assistant in Old Jewry, and afterwards as lecturer in Coleman Street—attracted great attention. His ministerial fidelity brought him under the surveillance of the authorities. In October, 1624, when he was assistant to a minister in the Old Jewry, the Bishop of London wrote to Secretary Conway, to say that he had rereived orders from the King to call Davenport in question on some points of doctrine. He says, "He is a factious and popular preacher; he was chosen by a popular election to the living in Coleman Street, but stayed his admission that he might know his Majesty's pleasure."

Davenport, in explanation, writes:—

"May it please your honour, it hath been the will of God, against my natural desire of privacy and retiredness, to make my ministry for the space of this six years in London public and eminent, which hath caused some to look upon me with a squint eye, and hearken to my sermons with the left ear: and by all means to endeavour my discouragement and disgrace: insomuch that I am traduced, as I hear and fear, to his Majesty for a Puritan, or one that is puritanically affected."

Against this imputation Davenport earnestly defends himself, and adds: "I have persuaded many to conformity: yea, my own father and uncle, who are aldermen of the city of Coventry, and were otherwise inclined."*

Davenport was admitted to the living of Coleman Street, but subjected to the closest scrutiny.

* S. P. Dom.

William Kiffin speaks with thankfulness of the personal benefit he derived from his ministry. He was, however, soon brought under censure by Timothy Hood, his curate; who, in a long letter, complained of his irregularities in not wearing the surplice, omitting the sign of the cross in baptism, admitting strangers to the communion, and administering the cup to communicants without kneeling. With respect to the last-mentioned charge, Davenport explained that the parish contained 1400 communicants, and by reason of the smallness of the chancel, he was "constrained to administer it to them from pew to pew."

In reference to these troubles, he writes to his friend, Lady Mary Vere:—

"London, June 30, 1628.

Correspondence with Lady Mary Vere.

"MADAM:—Since my recovery out of a dangerous sickness, which held me for a week or a fortnight before Shrovetide to as long after Easter, for which I return most humble and hearty thanks to the God of my life, the Father of mercies, I have had divers purposes of writing to your honour, only I delayed in hope to write somewhat concerning the event and success of our High Commission troubles; but I have hoped in vain: for to this day we are in the same condition as before—delayed till the finishing of this session in Parliament, which now is unhappily concluded without any satisfying contentment to the King or Commonwealth, threatening the more speedily revived against us by the new Bishop of London, Dr. Laud. Even the next day after the conclusion of this session we expect a fierce storm from the enraged spirits of the two bishops. Ours, as I am informed, hath a particular aim at me upon a former quarrel; so that I expect ere long to be deprived of my pastoral charge in Coleman Street. But I am in God's hands, not in theirs; to whose good pleasure I do contentedly and cheerfully submit myself. If it be his will to have me laid aside as a broken vessel, his will

be done, and blessed be his name that He hath served Himself of me hitherto; if otherwise He be graciously pleased to continue me in my station and ministry, He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him; and I will wait upon his goodness, however things succeed on earth. If He will not deliver me out of the mouth of the lions, yet He will deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me to his heavenly kingdom. In the midst of these troubles the Lord hath not left me without many comforts, amongst which the remembrance of your former favours and the assurance of the present help of your prayers, which I know prevail much with God through Jesus Christ our Lord, doth exceedingly comfort me. I hope ere long to be in Norfolk with my Lord Horton." *

The crisis in the experience of Davenport came as in the case of many of his ministerial brethren, when his confidence in the cause of conformity, for which he had zealously contended, was shaken, as we find in a long letter he addressed to Lady Mary Vere. "Most noble, my much honoured Lady," he writes:—

"In the midst of my disquietude and tossing to and fro, it is some comfort that I have the assurance of the continuance of your favour towards me, and your remembrance of me in prayer. It hath pleased God to leave me in darkness and many difficulties, to unbottom me of the creature, and to reveal Himself more clearly and fully in all issues and events that befall me. Be not troubled, much less discouraged, good Madam, at any rumours you meet with concerning my present way. The persecution of the tongue is more fierce and terrible than that of the hand. At this time I have sense of both. But I can say it is for thy name's sake, O Lord, that I bear this reproach. But the injurious surmises of those by whom I should be comforted and supported, many that profess religion in a higher strain than some others doth most afflict me. I pray God it be not laid to their charge! The truth is *I have not forsaken my ministry, nor resigned up my place, much less separated from the Church; but am only absent awhile, to wait upon God for the settling and quieting*

* Birch MSS., 4275.

of things for light to discern my way; being willing to lie and die in prison, if the cause may be advantaged by it; but choosing rather to preserve the liberty of my person and ministry for the service of the Church elsewhere, if all doors are shut against me here. What I now do and suffer is not caused by any guilt of any practice or action done or intended by me, which may expose me to any just censure of authority; much less a desire of ease, as some give out, least of all by referring to my own private benefit anything committed to my trust for the public good. The only cause of my present suffering is *the alteration of my judgment in matters of conformity to the ceremonies established; whereby I cannot practise them as formerly I have done:* wherein I do not censure those that do conform, nay, I count many of them faithful and worthy instruments of God's glory, and I know that I did conform with as much inward peace as now I do forbear: in both, my uprightness was the same, but my light different. In this action I walk by that light which shineth unto me. I have done all which I have done hitherto and with desire of pitching upon that way wherein God might be most glorified. In his due time He will manifest it. I pray send by this bearer two or three sheets of gilded paper. I am now about to write to my Lord Keeper."

Davenport retired to Holland to find only a partial mitigation of his trials. A letter to Boswell, dated Amsterdam, March 18, 1634, the English ambassador, explains some of his difficulties. He writes:— Letter to Boswell.

"When I first came into these parts my purpose was to stay there but three or four months, and that time being expired to return to England, my native country, had not the sinister and slanderous information, whereof I complained in my last, exasperated the Archbishop of Canterbury against me in the High Commission, whereby my return is made much more difficult. The particulars wherein I have changed are no other than the same for which many worthy ministers, eminent for godliness and learning, have suffered loss of their ministry and liberty; some whereof are now in perfect peace and rest; others are dispersed in several countries, and some yet live in England as private

persons who were and are loyal and faithful subjects to their sovereign, and have witnessed against heresy and schism, and against all sectaries as Familists, Anabaptists, and Brownists: against all which I also witness in this place; whereunto I had not come if I could have been secure of a safe and quiet abode in my dear native country."

After repelling the accusations of an informer, who had reported one of his sermons, he adds in reply to a question from the ambassador:—

"Dr. Ames, his last work, entitled 'A Fresh Suit against Ceremonies,' is the only book that hath been published since my coming into these parts; that book with the preface was printed before I came from England, years before the author's death, who was buried before my arrival here. Nor have I dispersed any of them in England or in these countries, my profession of, and being still his Majesty's loyal and faithful subject is in simplicity and truth; neither shall they disprove it who traduce me. If they proceed according to those beginnings, I shall be constrained to declare mine innocency in an apology printed to the view of the world, the grounds whereupon my judgment and practice was altered, and the reason of my departure thence hither, with such observations as I have made in both places. But it is not my purpose so to do unless the continuance of injurious assertions make it necessary, in which case the law of God and nature bindeth me to such a vindication of their innocency as the case requireth. Oh, that the good hand of God would bring to pass that the ugly vizards of disloyalty and schism being pulled off, the persons that are besmeared and deformed with these obloquies might be represented to his Majesty in their own shape and colours—viz., in the tenderness of their conscience, in the peaceableness of their dispositions, and in the simplicity of their intention for the good of Church and Commonwealth."

Dr. Griffin Higgs writes to Boswell, April 19, 1634:—

"Mr. Davenport is still a Nonconformist to the Dutch churches, as to the English, upon any points whereupon the Dutch

ministers have silenced him (without conformity to their orders before the first of May), they do peremptorily reject him. It is manifest the Dutch ministers do mislike our Nonconformists, and would more easily entertain conformable men of learning, and good life, and moderate; for they do now profess at Amsterdam that they will not continue the stipends to any minister who comes against the King of England's pleasure."

For a short time Davenport acted as an assistant minister to Paget in Amsterdam; but a controversy on the promiscuous use of baptism causing a division in 1635, he retired two or three miles from the city and held a private meeting with his friends; but, finding no rest, he returned to England. He remained some time in concealment, but his movements were at length discovered.

An informer reports, in 1637, "Mr. Davenport hath lately been in these parts, Braintree, and at Hackney, not long since. I am told that he goeth in gray like a country gentleman." * Evidently he had no alternative but to join his brethren in New England. He arrived at Boston, in the ship *Hector*, 26th of June, 1637.

Other Puritan ministers gradually advanced to the same ecclesiastical position with Cotton, Hooker, and Davenport, and amongst them Thomas Welde, of Tarling, Essex, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; Samuel Stone, of Emanuel College, in the same university, minister of Towcester in Northamptonshire; Nathaniel Ward, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, rector of Standon Massye in Essex; Thomas Parker, of Magdalene College, Oxford, the son of Robert Parker, and a friend of Dr. Ames; James Noyes, assistant

Emigration of Ministers.

* S. P. Dom.

teacher at his school in Newbury, Berkshire; John Sharman, of Emanuel College, Cambridge; and Zechariah Symmes, rector of Dunstable.

The removal of so many Puritan ministers in constant succession, naturally caused considerable excitement in the people who had imbibed their principles. Discussion was raised on various points of Nonconformity by the letters received from the New England settlers to their friends in the mother country. Many ministers anxious to retain their position in relation to the Establishment, wrote a letter "to their reverend brethren in New England" requesting their judgment concerning their positions, in which they say with manifest feeling:—

Remonstrance of Puritan Ministers with the New England Brethren.

"While we lived together in the same kingdom, we professed the same faith; joined in the same ordinances; laboured, in the work of God, to gain souls unto his kingdom, and maintained the purity of worship against corruptions both on the right hand and on the left. But since your departure into New England, we hear, and partly believe, that divers have embraced certain opinions, such as you disliked formerly, and we judge to be groundless and unwarrantable, these, and other such like, which we omit to reckon up, are written and reported to be the common tenets in New England; which were received with great applause, maintained with great confidence, and applauded as the only church-way wherein the Lord is to be worshipped! And letters from New England have so taken with divers in many parts of this kingdom, that *they have left our assemblies*, because of a stinted Liturgy; and excommunicated themselves from the Lord's Supper because of such as are not debarred from it; and being turned aside themselves, they labour to ensnare others, to the grief of the godly, the scandal of religion, and the wounding of their own souls.

"Beloved Brethren, if you stood in our place we are well assured it would be no small grief unto you, to hear and see the people led aside, to the disgrace of the Gospel, upon weak and

groundless imaginations, and, in rash and inconsiderate zeal, to deal with that which is of God as it were of man. And if it be to us grief of heart, to hear that you have changed from that truth which you did profess, and embrace that for truth which, in former times upon sound grounds you did condemn as erroneous, we hope you will not be offended.

"How shall your brethren be able to stand up in defence of their innocency and the uprightness of their cause, when your example and opinion shall be cast in their dish? Must they leave you now, with whom they have held society? or *will you plead for separation*, which you have condemned as rash and inconsiderate.

"If you have just warrant from God to pull down what you have builded, and to build what you have pulled down, we desire you would lovingly and maturely impart it; for as yet we have seen none which we are not ready to prove, to show by the rule of truth, to be too weak to carry any burden. We adore, with you, the fulness of the Scripture, and we know 'the counsel of the Lord shall stand.' If you can show that you walk in the ways of God, we shall heartily rejoice to walk with you; but, if you have turned aside, we shall earnestly desire that you would be pleased seriously to consider the matter and speedily reform what is out of order."

In their reply, the brethren of New England write:

"Rev. and Beloved Brethren,—In these remote coasts of the earth, whereunto the good hand of God hath brought us, as we do, with much comfort of heart, call to mind the many gracious blessings which, both with you and from you, we enjoyed in our Christian and holy Communion—the memory and fruit whereof we hope shall never be blotted out; so we have, also, seen cause to look to our former administrations there, and to search and try our ways, that whereinsoever we have formerly gone astray, we might judge ourselves for it before the Lord. And, that seeing now God hath set before us an open door of liberty, we might neither abuse our liberty in the Gospel, to run out into any groundless, unwarrantable courses, nor neglect the present opportunity to administer, by the help of Christ, all the holy ordinances of God, according to the pattern set before us in the Scripture.

Reply of New England Ministers.

"In our native country, when we were first called to the ministry, many of us took some things to be indifferent and lawful, which, in after times, we saw to be sinful, and durst not continue in the practice of them here. Afterwards, some things that we bear as burdens, that is, as things inexpedient, though not utterly unlawful, we have no cause to retain and practise the same things here, which would have been not only inexpedient, but unlawful.

"Such things as a man may tolerate when he cannot remove them, he cannot tolerate without sin when he may remove them. Besides, some things we practised there, which we speak to our shame and grief, we never took into serious consideration whether they were lawful and expedient or not; but took them for-granted, and generally received, not only by the most Reformed Churches, but by the most godly and judicious servants of God amongst them; which, nevertheless, when we came to weigh them in the balance of the sanctuary, we could not find sufficient warrant in the Word to receive them and establish them here.

"Consider and look back upon the reason of this great enterprise undertaken by us, and the manner of our proceedings in it, with the admirable workings of God's providence, first and last, about it; and we think (though we were silent) they may easily satisfy themselves whether this was of God or man, a sinful neglect of the cause of Christ, or a manifest attestation to the truth, by open profession against corruptions of worship in use, and for the necessity of a reformation of the Church; and that confirmed by no small degree of suffering for the same. For was it not a time when human worship and inventions were grown to such an intolerable height, that the consciences of God's saints and servants (enlightened by the truth) could no longer bear them? Was not the power of the tyrannical prelates so great that, like a strong current carried all down stream before it, whatever was from the law, or otherwise set in their way? Did not the hearts of men generally fail them? Where was the people to be found that would cleave to their godly ministers in their sufferings, but rather thought it their discretion to provide for their own quiet and safety? Yea, when some freely, in zeal of the truth, preached or professed against the corruptions of the times, did not some take offence at it, judge it rashness, and to be against all rules of discretion, who since

are ready to censure us for deserting the cause? Many then thought, 'It is an evil time, the prudent shall hold their peace;' and might we not say, 'This is not our resting-place'? And what would men have us do in such a case? Must we study some distinctions to salve our consciences in complying with so manifold corruptions in God's worship? Or should we live without God's ordinances, because we could not partake in the corrupt administration thereof? Or content ourselves to live without those ordinances of God's worship and communion of saints which He called us unto, and our souls breathed after? Or should we forsake the public assemblies, and form together in private separated churches? How insufferable it would then have been, the great offence that now is taken at it is a full evidence. And if in cities or some such great towns that might have been done, yet how was it possible for so many scattered Christians all over the country? It is true, we might have suffered, if we had sought it; we might easily have found the way to have filled the prisons, and some had their share therein. But whether we were called thereunto, when a wide door was set open of liberty otherwise, and our witness to the truth (through the malignant policy of those times) could not be open before the world, but rather smothered up in close prison or some such ways, together with ourselves, we leave to be considered. We cannot see, but the rule of Christ to his apostles and saints, and the practice of God's saints in all ages, may allow us the liberty as well as others to fly into the wilderness from the face of the dragon. But if it had been so, that the godly ministers and Christians that fled to New England were the most timorous and faint-hearted of all their brethren that stayed behind, and that those sufferings were nothing in comparison of their brethren's (for why should any boast of suffering?), yet who doth not know that the Spirit, who gives various gifts, and all to profit withal, in such times doth single out every one to such work as He in wisdom intends to call to Himself. If the Lord will have some to bear witness by imprisonment, dismembering, etc., we honour them therein; if He will have others instrumental to promote reformation in England, we honour them and rejoice in their holy endeavours, praying for a blessing upon themselves and labours. And what if God will have his Church and the kingdom of Christ go up also in these remote parts of the world,

that his name may be known to the heathen, or whatever end He hath, and to this end will send a company of weak-hearted Christians, which dare not stay at home to suffer, why should we not let the Lord alone, and rejoice that Christ is preached howsoever and wheresoever? And who can say that this work was not undertaken and carried on with sincere and right ends, and in a holy and serious manner, by the chief and the body of such as undertook the same? The Lord knows whether the sincere desires of worshipping Himself according to his will, of promoting and propagating the gospel, was not in the hearts of very many in this enterprise; and He that seeth in secret and rewardeth openly, knows what prayers and tears have been poured out to God by many alone, and in days of fasting and prayer, of God's servants together, for his counsel, direction, assistance, blessing in this work! How many longings and pantings of heart have been in many after the Lord Jesus, to see his goings in his sanctuary, as the one thing their souls desired, and requested of God that they might dwell in his house for ever; the fruit of which prayers and desires, *the liberty of New England hath been taken to be, and thankfully received from God.*

"Yea, how many serious consultations with one another, and with the faithful ministers, and other eminent servants of Christ, have been taken about this work, is not unknown to some; which clears us from any rash heady rushing into this place, out of discontent, as many are ready to conceive. We will here say nothing of the persons whose hearts the Lord stirred up in this business; surely all were not rash, weak-spirited, inconsiderate of what they left behind, or of what it was to go into a wilderness. But if it were well known and considered, or if we were able to express and recount the singular workings of divine Providence, for the bringing on of this work, to what it is come unto, it would stop the mouths of all that have not a heart to accuse and blaspheme the goodness of God in his glorious works; whatever many may say or think, we believe aftertimes will admire and adore the Lord therein, when all his holy end, and the ways He hath used to bring them about shall appear. Look from one end of the heaven to another whether the Lord hath assayed to do such a work as this in any nation, so to carry out a people of his own from so flourishing a state to a wilderness so far distant,

for such ends, and for such a work. Yea, and in few years hath done for them as He hath done for his poor despised people.

"When we look back and consider what a strange power of spirit the Lord hath laid upon many of our hearts, we cannot but wonder at ourselves, that so many, and some so weak and tender, with such cheerfulness and constant resolutions against so many persuasions of friends, discouragements from the ill report of this country, the straits, wants, and trials of God's people in it, etc.; yet should leave our accommodations and comforts, should forsake our dearest relations, Christian friends, many of us at least came away, the Lord is witness. What shall we say of the singular providence of God bringing so many shiploads of his people, through so many dangers, as upon eagles' wings, with so much safety from year to year? the fatherly care of our God in feeding and clothing so many in a wilderness, giving such healthiness and great increase of posterity? What shall we say of the work itself, of the kingdom of Christ, and the form of a Commonwealth erected in a wilderness, and in so few years brought to that state, that scarce the like can be seen in any of our English colonies in the richest place of this America, after many more years' standing? That the Lord hath carried the spirits of so many of his people through all toilsome labour, wants, difficulties, losses, etc., with such a measure of cheerfulness and contentation? But, above all, we must acknowledge the singular pity and mercies of our God, that hath done all this and much more for a people so unworthy, so sinful, that by murmurings of many, unfaithfulness in promises, *oppressions*, and other evils, which are found among us, have so dishonoured his Majesty, *exposed* his work here to much *scandal* and obloquy, for which we have cause for ever to be ashamed, that the Lord should yet own us, and rather correct us in mercy than cast us off in displeasure, and scatter us in this wilderness, which give us cause with Micah vii. 18 to say, Who is a God like our God, that pardoneth iniquities, and passeth by the transgressions of the remnant of his heritage; even because He delighteth in mercy? Though we be a people of many weaknesses and wants, yet we acknowledge our God to have been to us a God of many mercies, in respect of that sweet peace which He hath taken away from so many nations, yet continuing the same to us; in respect also of that liberty we have in God's house, the blessed ministry of the

Word, the sweet unity and communion of God's churches and ministers, increase and multiplication of churches, Christian government in the Commonwealth, and many other mercies we enjoy, but especially the gracious presence of Christ to many of our souls in all these.

"But we will not insist much upon this subject, being persuaded it is in the consciences and hearts of many of our dear countrymen to think that we should be an object of love and tenderness to that state and people, by whose laws and unkind usages we were driven out into a wilderness, rather than to be judged as deserters of our brethren, and the cause of Christ in hand; with whom (excuse us if we now speak plainly) it had been far more easy unto many of us to have suffered than to have adventured hither upon the wilderness sorrows we expected to have met with all, though we must confess the Lord hath sweetened it beyond our thoughts, and utmost expectations of prudent men.

"But, passing by this, we must desire the reader to bear with us a little in removing that apprehension: that we are the great stumbling-block in the way of reformation, which (if it were true) it had been better we had been driven so far into this wilderness as never to have been heard of more.

"Concerning our affection to this blessed work of a public reformation of the nation in general, and the particular churches or congregations of the land in particular, as is best known to God, so we think it not unknown to men, not only here by our daily prayers for it, and sometime solemn seekings of God about it; but also we have given some testimonies thereof, both by private letters, and the public notions of some of God's eminent servants among us tending that way.

"We conceive two things specially in our doctrine and practice, that may seem to be stumbling-blocks in the way of this public reformation, a task we shall here remove. The first is our practice wherein we seem so much to differ from the Reformed Churches, in receiving to our churches only visible saints and believers.

"This we do freely confess, that our practice and judgment do evidence this to all, that *we think reformation of the Church doth not only consist in purging out corrupt worship and setting up the true; but also in purging the churches from such profaneness and*

sinfulness as is scandalous to the Gospel, and makes the Lord weary of his own ordinances.

"And, we doubt not, but this was in the hearts of many (if not most) of God's servants, to desire a separation of the precious from the vile, in the dispensing of God's ordinances; and if the charity of some be of larger extent herein than others, this hinders not agreement in the main.

"This day hath discovered what kind of people are to be found everywhere in the parishes of England. Can light and darkness, Christ and Belial, agree together? Popish, Episcopal enemies, in habits of all godliness and reformation cleave together in one Church of Christ with the saints of God?

"Yet, neither our doctrine nor practice do prescribe and teach the way of attaining this reformation, whereby any should justly, from our example, stand off from concurring in such a public work.

"It is true, where *there is no Church relation, but a people are to begin a new constituting of churches, reformation is to be sought in the first constitution: this is our case.* But where corrupt churches (such as we conceive the congregations of England generally to be) are to be reformed, then we conceive that such congregations should be called by able ministers unto repentance for former evils, and confessing and bewailing their sins, renew a solemn covenant with God to reform themselves, and to submit unto the discipline of Christ. By which means such as refuse so to do, exclude themselves; and others, by the severity of discipline, should be purged out, if falling into sin they remain impenitent in the same.

"The second stumbling-block may be our doctrine and practice about church government, when we give discipline as well as other ordinances to particular churches, not subjecting them to any government out of themselves, but only to take the brotherly counsel and help of one another.

"But how this should hinder a general reformation we see not, for if every church so reform themselves (as is aforesaid) and have such officers over them as the rule of the New Testament requires (1 Tim. iii., Tit. ii.,) we need not fear to betrust the church (having such officers) with that power which we conceive Christ hath given to the same, other churches watching over them, counselling and admonishing them in the Lord.

"But if there be not such a reformation of the churches, nor

such guides set over them, the *power of the keys in a Presbytery of such pastors as may not be according to the rule, may as much abuse them as a particular Church may do*, and it may be to the hurt of many who would use them better in their own congregations, than they can in a Classis, being over voted there. And we cannot conceive but *the care of reforming the matter of a church, and the recalling of the power of government to the church, tends much to further the work* of reformation, no way to hinder the same."

The founders of Massachusetts had to begin a new state of things both in the Church and in the Commonwealth under most peculiar conditions. They had made a decided approximation to the simple Congregational Polity, but they had not relinquished the idea of a State connection. John Cotton, whose judgment was highly esteemed, laid down the principles of a Scriptural Theocracy. "Whereas," he said, "the way of God hath always been to gather churches out of the world; now the world, or civil State, must be raised out of the churches." For the safety and growth of the feeble settlements in the wilderness, exposed not only to the irregular attacks of the Indians, but to encroachment by foreign enemies, it was needful that strict regulations made with the consent of the people should be maintained. To secure the best legislation they deemed it right to limit the franchise to men of consistent religious character, united in Church fellowship. The location of towns, the formation of churches, and the planting of schools came under the direct supervision of the central authorities. However peculiar and minute the rules enforced may appear, in the peculiar circumstances of the colony, they contributed

New England Theocracy.

to its growth and preservation. We have striking proof of this in the contrast furnished by the condition of Virginia.

In a remarkable document presented to Bishop Gilbert, the writer says:—

"Virginia contains above half as much land as England. It is divided into several counties; and those counties contain in all about fifty parishes, the families whereof are dispersedly seated upon the sides of rivers—some of which running very far into the country, bear the English plantations above a hundred miles, and being very broad, cause the inhabitants to be tested in several parishes. Every such parish is extended many miles in length upon the river's side, and usually not above a mile in breadth, backward from the river, which is the common stated breadth of every plantation, belonging to each particular proprietor, of which plantations, some extend themselves half a mile, some a mile, some two miles, some three miles and upward upon the sides of those rivers and creeks, which small rivers and creeks are seated after the manner of the great rivers. The families of such parishes being seated after this manner at such distances from each other, many of them are very remote from the House of God, though placed in the midst of them. Many parishes as yet want both churches and glebes, and I think not above a fifth part of them are supplied with ministers; where there are ministers the people meet together weekly but once upon the Lord's-day, and sometimes not at all, being hindered by extremities of wind and weather.

Virginia in contrast with New England.

"Long experience hath ascertained, and the before described manner of these plantations makes it evident, that whilst our planters in Virginia continue, as at this day (Sept. 2, 1661), dispersedly and remotely planted from the House of God, many will continue to rob God in a very great measure of his public worship and service in his house of prayer, which is the same sin the Jews were cursed for, and must needs put them under the same curse of God.

"But though this be the saddest consequent on their dispersed manner of planting themselves, yet this hath a very sad train of attendants, which are likewise consequent of their scat-

tered planting. For, hence is the great want of Christian neighbourhood, or brotherly admonition, or holy examples of religious persons, of the comfort of theirs, and their ministers' administrations in sickness and distresses, of the benefit of Christ and civil conference and commerce.

"Their almost general want of schools for the education of their children, is another consequent of their scattered planting.

"The heathen enter frequently into some of the remote dispersed habitations of the Christians, the premises considered, what can they see which should make them in love with their religion? They see their families disordered, their children untaught, the public worship and service of the Great God they own neglected; neglected upon that very day, which they hear called the Lord's-day, and to be by the Christians peculiarly set apart for it; yea, so far neglected, that some of the heathen have complained it was the worst of the seven to them, being then left at liberty, oft spent that day in visiting their Indian towns, to the disgust of the heathen, but certainly to the great scandal of the Christian religion, and little hopes have the poor heathen of redress, while they see that day so far neglected by the Christians, that in many parishes they see no public holy assemblies of our people, no churches erected and consecrated for such public sacred ministrations, or such in desolate places and so remote from any habitation that an ingenuous Christian would blush to tell a heathen that they are the houses of the Christian's great God."

The Puritan colonization, no doubt, had its drawbacks and inconveniences, but, on the testimony of their bitterest opponents, it gave a moral stamina to New England utterly wanting in Episcopal colonies.

The Theocratic rule, nevertheless, proved a failure, an injury to the cause it was intended to promote, and a source of ultimate discredit and weakness. The importance of the lesson demands that it should be exhibited with distinctness. "Every protected religion (except that protection, so-called, which is only another

Protection and Persecution.

form of oppression), has ended by persecuting, nay, even when oppressed, even when trodden under foot, it has persecuted. It has received as the price of its own liberty the power of trampling upon other liberties, which in their subjection could yet eclipse it. And in either case, whether free or in subjection, it has never refused to persecute; it has ever been found that every protected religion has persecuted; it will not merely consent to persecution, it will claim it as a right, and the chief of its rights; it will regard it as the seal of its protection; and it will only consider itself efficiently protected when it possesses the power to persecute. *Corruptio optimi pessima.* The more serious the religion, the more it is the result of conviction; the greater the importance attached by its followers to the knowledge and profession of its doctrines, the stronger will be the temptation." *

There was apparently no disposition in the first instance in the General Court of Massachusetts to act in an arbitrary manner. The Fathers of the Colony were held in veneration, and their counsels were acted upon as the dictates of sound judgment and matured experience. Churches were recommended to contribute voluntarily to the maintenance of their pastors, but failing to render proper support, a compulsory rate was enforced. The movements of the first emigrant parties were left free in adopting their ecclesiastical constitution, but gradually the rule was established that no church should be formed without the sanction of the magistrate, and the approval of a majority of the churches in the dis-

* Vinet.

trict. Discipline was observed in the several Christian societies without external interference, but when the censures of the church were disregarded, the State imposed the penalty of political disfranchisement, fine, or imprisonment. Legislation on ecclesiastical matters was at the outset tentative, variable, and in consequence often harsh and capricious. As the first settlements lost their homogeneous character, from the addition of different elements, resistance was naturally provoked to requisitions that were not based on equitable principles. In three notable cases prominent persons came into collision with the Theocratic rulers. Roger Williams, who, for a time, was pastor of the church at Plymouth, was invited to succeed Higginson at Salem. The Court at Boston demurred to his appointment, because of his peculiar views. He had refused to join with the congregation at Boston, because they would not make "public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the Church of England while they lived there, and, besides, had declared that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath. Soon after his removal to Salem, he declared himself against the King's patent." He protested moreover to his people "that he could not communicate with the churches in the Bay, neither would he communicate with them, except they would refuse communion with the rest." For these offences he was ordered to depart out of the jurisdiction within six weeks, and, neglecting to go away, two magistrates were empowered to send him out, "not to return any more without the licence of the Court." "It was laid to his charge, that being under ques-

tion before the magistracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions, viz., 1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace. 2. That he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man. 3. That a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, etc. 4. That a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat, etc. The said opinions were adjudged by all magistrates and ministers (who were desired to be present) to be erroneous and very dangerous. The ministers declared that he who should obstinately maintain such opinions (whereby a church might run into heresy, apostasy, or tyranny, and yet the civil magistrate could not intermeddle) were to be removed; and that the other churches ought to request the magistrates so to do."

"When," Williams says, "I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land, and wife and children (in the midst of a New England winter), at Salem, that ever-honoured governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Naragansett Bay and Indians, for many high and heavenly, and public ends, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a hint and voice from God, and, waving all other thoughts and motions, I steered my course from Salem (though in winter snow which I feel yet) unto these parts wherein I may say Peniel, that is, I have seen the face of God.

"I pitched, and begun to build and plant at Seekouk, now Rehoboth, but I received a letter from

my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then Governor of Plymouth, professing his and others' love and respect to me; yet lovingly advised me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loath to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water, and there, he said, I had the country free before me, *and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbours together.*" "These were the joint understandings of these two eminently wise and Christian governors and others in their day, together with their counsel and advice as to the freedom and vacancy of this place, which in this respect, and many other providences of the most holy and only wise, I called *Providence;* that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted and kindly visited me at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife, for our supply."

It would appear by the following missive that the Church at Salem continued to assert its independence, notwithstanding the removal of Mr. Williams:—

"To the Constable of Salem.

"Whereas we are creditably informed that divers persons, both men and women (within your town do disorderly assemble themselves both on the Lord's-day and at other times, contemptuously refusing to come to the solemn meetings of the Church there) or being some of them justly cast out, do obstinately refuse to submit themselves that they might be again received, but do make conventions, and seduce divers persons of weak capacity and have already withdrawn some of them from the Church, and hereby have caused much (not only disturbance in the Church, but also disorder and damage in the Civil State), these are therefore to require you forthwith to repair unto all such disorderly persons, and signify to them that said course is very offensive to the Government here, and may no longer be suffered,

and *therefore command them from us*, to refrain from all such disordered assemblies and pretended Church meetings, and either to conform themselves to the laws and orders of this Government, *being established according to the rule of God's Word*, or else let them be assured that we shall by God's assistance take some such strict and speedy course for the reformation of these disorders, and preventing the evils which may otherwise ensue, *as our duty to God and charge over his people* do call from us, and when you have given them this admonition, you shall diligently attend how it is observed, and certify us accordingly, as you will answer your neglect therein at your peril.

"From Boston,
"29th of 5th month, 1636.

"H. VANE, Governor.
"Jo. WINTHROP, Dept.
"THO. DUDLEY." *

Amidst the struggle for the preservation of self-government of the Colonies, new settlements were formed in districts remote from the original plantations. Hooker, with his people, after remaining at Cambridge two years and a half resolved to emigrate. Accordingly about the beginning of June, 1636, they set forth on their arduous and perilous enterprise, and before the close of the month reached Hartford, the place of their destination. There were of the company about one hundred souls; many of them accustomed to affluence and the ease of European life. "They drove before them numerous heads of cattle; and thus they traversed on foot the pathless forests of Massachusetts, advancing hardly ten miles a day through the tangled woods, across the swamps and numerous streams, and over the high lands that separated the several intervening valleys; subsisting, as they slowly wandered along, on the milk of the kine, which browsed on the fresh leaves and early shoots; having no guide through the nearly

* Backus, i. 78.

untrodden wilderness but the compass, and no pillow for their nightly rest but heaps of stones." *

The original notes of an Election Sermon, May 31st, 1638, preached by Hooker are still preserved:—

"TEXT. Deut. i. 13. '*Take with you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make rulers over you. Captains over thousands. Captains over hundreds, fifties, tens.*'

"I. *Doctrine.* That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance.

"II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humours, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

"III. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place to which they call them.

"*Reasons.* 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.

"2. Because by a free choice the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the person chosen, and more ready to yield obedience.

"3. Because of that duty and engagement of the people, the lesson taught is threefold:—

"(1.) There is matter of thankful acknowledgment in the (appreciations) of God's faithfulness towards us, and the permission of those measures that God doth command and vouchsafe.

* Bancroft.

"(2.) Of exhortation to persuade us as God hath given us liberty to take it.

"Lastly. Of exhortation as God hath spared our lives, and given us therein liberty to seek the guidance of God, and to choose in God and for God." *

Other companies were formed simultaneously as by a common impulse, and set out in congregational order to possess the land: the Dorchester people went to Windsor, and the Watertown company to Wethersfield. William Pynchon, with a band of associates in the spring of 1636 started from Roxbury to form a plantation in the district then known as Agawam, now Springfield—charmed at the end of their toilsome march by the beauty of the landscape; on the west wood-crowned heights, and before them a rich valley and a winding river.

On the 14th of May, 1636, they subscribed an agreement containing, amongst others, the following clauses:—

"We, whose names are underwritten, being by God's providence engaged, together to make a plantation at and over against Agaam on Connecticut, do mutually agree to certain articles and orders to be observed and kept by us and our successors, except we and every of us, for ourselves and in our persons, shall think meet upon better reasons to alter our present resolutions.

"I. We intend by God's grace as soon as we can, with all convenient speed, to procure some godly and faithful minister, with whom we propose to join in church covenant, to walk in all the ways of Christ.

"II. We intend that our town shall be composed of forty families, or if we think meet after to alter our purposes, yet not to exceed the number of fifty families, rich and poor.

* State Archives. Hartford, Conn.

"III. That every inhabitant shall have a convenient proportion for a house lot, as we shall see meet for every one's quality and estate."

New troubles arose at Boston.

Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother-in-law, John Wheelwright, gave great offence by the promulgation of opinions deemed heretical and injurious. The case was complicated by the support lent to the party by Cotton and Vane. It is certain that Mrs. Hutchinson manifested invincible pertinacity. Wheelwright preached a sermon at the fast, the manuscript of which was ordered to be brought into court. He had urged the people to be valiant for the truth, and reminded them that "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual"; but some allusions he made to "Barak and Jael" were thought to have a seditious tendency. "Let us have a care," said the preacher, "that we do show ourselves holy in all manner of good conversation, both in private and public. Let us not give occasion to those who are coming on, or are manifestly opposite to the ways of grace to suspect the way of grace: let us carry ourselves so that they may be ashamed to blame us. Let us deal uprightly with those with whom we have occasion to deal, and have a care to guide our families, and to perform the duties that belong to us; and let us have a care that we give not occasion to say that we are libertines or Antinomians." Other sentiments expressed by him were considered to be highly pernicious. The elders gave the opinion that "in all such heresies of church members as are manifest and dangerous to the State, the court may proceed to try and condemn without waiting for the Church."

On this principle Wheelwright was tried, and pronounced guilty of sedition and contempt, "for that the court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of differences, and he purposely set himself to enkindle them."

The "sedition" of Wheelwright and his associates must have been rather of a mild character. The members of the Boston church, who petitioned in favour of Wheelwright, March, 1637, say, "Whereas, our dear brother is censured of sedition, we beseech your worships to consider that either the person condemned must be culpable of some seditious fact, or his doctrine must be seditious, or must breed sedition in the hearts of his hearers; or else we know not upon what grounds he should be censured. Now, to the first, we have not heard any that have witnessed against our brother for any seditious fact; secondly, neither was the doctrine itself, being no other but the very expressions of the Holy Ghost Himself, and therefore cannot justly be branded with sedition; thirdly, if you look at the effects of his doctrine upon the hearers, it hath not stirred up seditions in us, not so much as by accident, we have not drawn the sword as sometimes Peter did rashly, neither have we rescued our innocent brother as sometimes the Israelites did Jonathan, and yet they did not seditiously."

The contention increased, and though Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends had not drawn swords, it was deemed expedient to disarm them. A synod was summoned, and spent several days in the confutation of "eighty three errors."

To guard the community from further contagion

a law was passed to prevent the habitation of any stranger in any town without a licence from the magistrate. Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheelwright were removed from the jurisdiction, and Vane returned to England.

In a calm retrospect of the whole matter Cotton said in reply to Baillie:—

"God hath not given me to this day (upon my best search) to discern any such dangerous fall into Antinomianism or Familism, as either hath, or might humble my spirit.

"It is true my spirit had much cause to be humbled (and so through mercy it was) upon many just occasions at that time, as first, that so many erroneous and heretical opinions should be broached in the country, and carried on with such arrogancy and censoriousness and guile of spirit.

2. "That the principal offenders in this kind were members of our own church, and some of them such as had near relation to myself.

3. "That myself should be so sleepy and unvigilant, as that these (not tares only, but briars) should be sown in our field, and myself not discern them till sundry persons up and down the country were leavened by them.

4. "That such as endeavoured the healing of these distempers, and seem to be transported with more jealousies, and heats and paroxysms of spirit than would well stand with brotherly love or rule of the gospel.

"The bitter fruits whereof do remain to this day. In the letters sent over that year from hence to England, whence also it came to pass finally that in the course taken for the cleansing of God's field, it seemed to me that some good wheat was plucked up with the tares. Some simple-hearted honest men, and some truths of God, fared the worse for the resemblance which the tares bare to them.

"Upon all which grounds, myself with our whole church thought it needful to set a day apart for public humiliation before the Lord, wherein these and the like, both in prayer and preaching, were opened more at large before the Lord and his people."

The influence of Davenport in the time of commotion was that of a peace-maker. He preached at the close of the Synod from Phil. iii. 16, and "showed the occasion of differences amongst Christians, and with much wisdom and sound argument persuaded the people to lenity." Many were anxious to retain him permanently amongst them.

Efforts were made to find a suitable section of land on which to make a plantation, but without success. They were compelled to turn their attention to Connecticut. Eaton and Davenport, in a joint letter, assign their reasons for removal:—

"It may please the worthy and much-honoured Governor, deputy, and assistants, and with them the present Court, to take knowledge that our desire of staying within this patent was real and strong, if the eye of God's providence (to whom we have committed our ways, especially in so important an enterprise as this, which, we confess, is far above our capacities) had guided us to a place convenient for our families and for our friends which, as our words have often expressed, so, we hope, the truth thereof is sufficiently declared by our almost nine months' patient waiting in expectation of some opportunity to be offered us, for that end, to our great charge and hindrance many ways. In all which time we have, in many prayers, commended the guidance of our apprehensions, judgments, spirits, resolutions, and ways unto the good hand of the only wise God, whose prerogative it is to determine the bounds of our habitations, according to the ends for which He hath brought us into these countries; and we have considered, as we were able, by his help, whatsoever place hath been propounded to us, being ready to have, with contentment, accepted (if by our stay any public good might be promoted) smaller accommodations, and upon dearer terms (if they might be moderately commodious) than, we believe, most men in the same case with us, in all respects, would have done.

"The season of the year, and other weighty considerations, compelled us to hasten to a full and final conclusion, which we are at last come unto, by God's appointment and direction, we

hope in mercy, and have sent letters to Connecticut for a speedy transacting the purchase of the parts about Quillypieck from the natives, which may pretend title thereunto. By which act we are absolutely and irrevocably engaged that way, and we are persuaded that God will order it for good unto these plantations, whose love so abundantly, above our deserts or expectations, expressed in your desire of our abode in these parts, as we shall ever retain in thankful memory, so we shall account ourselves thereby obliged to be any way instrumental and serviceable for the common good of these plantations, as well as of those which the Divine providence hath combined together in as strong a bond of brotherly affection, by the sameness of their condition, as Joab and Abishai were, whose several armies did mutually strengthen them both against their several enemies (2 Sam. x. 9, 10, 11), or rather they are joined together, as Hippocrates, his twins, to stand and fall, to grow and decay, to flourish and wither, to live and die together."

The Pilgrim company reached their destined home on the 14th of April, 1638. The next day being Sabbath, Davenport preached from Matt. iv. 1, "on the temptation in the wilderness." Dr. Bacon gives us a picture of the first Sabbath:—"Look out upon the smooth harbour of Quinnipiack. It lies embosomed in a wilderness. Two or three small vessels, having in their appearance nothing of the characteristic grace, lightness, and life of the well-known American vessels which are in these days found shooting over every sea, lie anchored in the distance. Here, along the margin of a creek, are a few tents, and some two or three huts with the boxes and luggage that were landed yesterday piled up around them; and here and there a little column of smoke, going up in the still morning air, shows that the inmates are in motion. Yet all is quiet; though the sun is up there is no appearance of labour or

business; for it is the Sabbath. By and by the stillness is broken by the beating of a drum; and from the tents and from the vessels, a congregation comes gathering around a spreading oak; the aged and the honoured are seated near the ministers, the younger and those of inferior condition find their places farther back; for the defence of all there are men in armour, each with his heavy, unwieldy gun, and one and another with a smoking matchlock. What a congregation this to be gathered in the wilds of New England! Here are men who have been accustomed to the luxuries of wealth in a metropolis and to refinements of a court; here are ministers who have disputed in the universities and preached under Gothic arches in London. These men and women have come into a wilderness, to face new dangers to encounter new temptations. They look to God, and words of solemn prayer go up, responding to the murmurs of the woods and of the waves. They look to God, whose mercy and faithfulness have brought them to their land of promise; and, for the first time since the creation, the echoes of these hills are wakened by the voice of praise. The Word of God is opened, and their faith and hope are strengthened for the conflict before them, by contemplating the conflict and the victory of Him, who in all things the example of his people was once like them, 'led forth by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.'"*

On the 14th of June all the free planters met in Mr. Newman's barn for the purpose of laying the foundations of civil government. Mr. Davenport

* Historical Discourses.

commenced the business by a sermon upon these words, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." (Prov. ix. 1.)

Davenport warned the people "not to be rash or slight in giving their votes to things they did not understand, but to digest thoroughly, and without respect to men, what should be proposed to them, giving such answers as they should be willing should stand upon record for posterity."

And thereupon it was propounded, in the first place, "Whether the Scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of men in their duties." This was assented to without an opposing voice.

The second question was, "Whether in the choosing of magistrates, the making and repealing of laws, and the dividing of lands, the planters would be governed by the rules which the Scriptures hold forth? This was assented to, and no man gainsayed it."

The third question had reference to the form of admission to the church.

The fourth was, "Whether they held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best secure peace of ordinances to them and their posterity?"

On the 22nd of August following, the church was constituted. "To prevent the blemishing of the first beginning of the church work, Mr. Davenport advised that the names of such as were admitted might be publicly propounded, to the end that they who were most approved might be chosen."

It was agreed "that twelve men be chosen,

that their fitness for the foundation-work may be tried, and that it be in the power of these twelve to choose out of themselves seven, that shall be most approved of the major part, to begin the church."

In the following letter, to Lady Mary Vere, Davenport relates his experience in the new settlement:—

"MADAM,—By the good hand of our God upon us, my dear child is safely arrived, with sundry desirable friends; as Mr. Fenwick and his lady, Mr. Whitfield, etc., to our great comfort. Theyre passage was so ordered, as it appeared, that prayers were accepted; and for they had no sickness in y^e^ ship except a little sea-sickness; they attained to the haven where they would be in seven weeks; theyre provisions at sea held good to y^e^ last. About y^e^ time when we gessed they might approach near us, we sette a day apart for publick extraordinary humiliation by fasting and prayer, in which we commended them unto y^e^ hands of our God, whom windes and seas obey; and shortly after sent out a pinnis to pilott them to our harbour, for it was y^e^ first ship that ever cast anchor in this place. But our pilott having wayted for them a fortnight grew weary, and returned home; and the very next night after, y^e^ ship came in, guided by God's owne hand, to our towne. The sight of y^e^ harbour did so please y^e^ captain of y^e^ ship and all y^e^ passengers that he called it the Fayre Haven. Since that another ship hath brought sundry passengers, and a third is expected daily. And, which is more, the Lord our God hath here bestowed upon us the greatest outward priviledge under the sun, to have and injoy all his ordinances purely dispensed in a church gathered and constituted according to his owne minde in all things, and hath promised that in every place where He shall so sett his name, He will come unto his people and bless them. And now, madam, my desire is that your La^p^ may be assured that whatever interest I have in Jesus Christ, and by Him in fellowship with his people at the throne of grace, is wholly for your advantage. If in any thing, I may express y^e^ reality of my thankfulness to your honour for many favours formerly received, and for your

helpfulness to my little one in carrying him in your coach to Sir Theodore Maherne for advise about his neck, and for your cost upon him in a coate, of which bounty and labour of your love my servant Ann hath made full report to us; the Lord recompense y^e^ same to your La^p^ and to your noble family an hundredfold. I hope, before this time, He hath rebuked y^e^ feavers and small poxe in your family, and will make the losse of Mr. St. Jo. a mercy to your daughter, whom I love and honour in the Lord. The Lord, y^e^ Holy One of Israel, our Redeemer, hath undertaken to teach his people to proffitt as well by his providences as by his ordinances, even by all his dispensations; accordingly I believe He will, and pray that He may be pleased graciously to make this loss her gaine; and these tryalls evidences of his fatherly love both to your La^p^ and her, that the mortality of earthly comfort, and the dissolubleness of the marriage bond with the creature may quicken us to secure our interest in the Everlasting God and our marriage with y^e^ Lord Jesus Christ by an everlasting covenant of his free grace w^ch^ nothing can dissolve. My wife presenteth her humble service with much thankfulness to your La^p^. We boath desire in like manner to salute my Lady Wake and all your noble daughters.

"Quinnipiack, y^e^ 28^th^ of y^e^ 7^th^ month, 1639."*

Additional, 4275, 49.

CHAPTER X.

There was little necessity for the continuance of rigorous coercion on the part of the bishops for the suppression of Nonconformity. The most influential of the Puritan ministers, as we have seen, had expatriated themselves to a country three thousand miles distant, and those who remained entreated that irritating controversy should be avoided. They would have been content with the quietest and most unobtrusive career. But ecclesiastical tyranny has no power of self-control. So determined were the Anglican party to root out every thing different from their system, that they imposed restraints upon the Protestant refugees who had been allowed from the time of Elizabeth, an asylum in London, Norwich, and other cities. Their congregations were narrowly watched, to prevent native Nonconformists from meeting in their places of worship. The strictest orders also were issued that no emigrants should be allowed to depart for the Bermudas, Virginia, or any other colony without an engagement to comply with the forms of the Anglican Church. Under these circumstances John Canne, in an able treatise, urged the nonconforming Puritans within the Establishment to take a more

Continued pressure.

decided and consistent position. "Can any one," he said "do less than separate, if his heart be tender against sin, seeing that they confidently affirm that the ministry and worship are from Antichrist, and that in the Church are swarms of Atheists, Papists, adulterers, liars," etc. "These are their own testimonies, and we know they are true; and, therefore, *in obedience to God*, and care of our precious souls, we have left our unsanctified standing in their assemblies, and through the Lord's mercy to us, do walk in the holy order of his gospel, though daily sufferers for it."

Canne's "Necessitie of Separation."

Some of the Puritans yielded to the force of these considerations. Henry Jessey was one of this number. He was a native of West Rowton, in Yorkshire, near Cleavland, where his father was minister. He spent six years at Cambridge, and graduated at St. John's College. In 1633 he settled at Aughton, nine miles from York, but the next year he was removed for not using the ceremonies and for taking down a crucifix, and was received to the house of Sir M. Boynton, of Barnestone, in Yorkshire, as chaplain. The Puritan Baronet was inclined to join the settlers in New England, but was prevented.

Henry Jessey.

In a letter to John Winthrop, junior, Jessey writes:—

"London, 6th month, 18th day, 1637.

"Sir Matthew Boynton having, by the good Lord's provision, obtained a most meet helper as one of the same heart, mind, and spirit, remaining this twelve months within twenty miles of London, in a place five miles from the parish church, and hath enjoyed great freedom, but now of late the clouds gather fast

towards a storm, their ship is likely to be filled with waves, but they seeking to awaken Christ for their help; as for me, the Lord having discovered the necessity and beauty of being under Christ's government, refrained some time, hoping the last spring to come with them to New England. Now seeing they are yet stayed, and are likely to stay, I know not how long, till they be satisfied, I could not be so content, though I enjoyed so great privileges there, bodily and spiritual; but having been sued into and provoked *by that society where Mr. Lothrop was*, and long sought, and at last obtained full satisfaction for uniting to them, the Lord removing divers lets, and providing so well for the place I supplied. I am now come to London to them, though not undertaking any office, though now urged to it, desiring first to hear from some in New England."

Separatists in Kent.

In other parts of the country the Brethren of the Separation formed themselves into distinct societies. "I must give your Majesty to understand," Laud reports in 1637, "that at and about Ashford, in Kent, the Separatists continue to hold their meetings, notwithstanding the excommunication of so many of them as have been discovered. Two or three of their principal ringleaders (Thomas) Brewer, Fenner, and Turner, have long been in prison, and it was once thought fit to proceed against them by statute of abjuration, not long since Brewer slipt out of prison." Brewer, here mentioned (the printer who escaped from Leyden), remained in prison fourteen years.

To destroy the press from which the books written by the Separatists were issued, Laud obtained an order of prohibition from the authorities of Amsterdam. Canne, for publishing his work on the "Necessitie of Separation," and other books, was brought up in 1638 before the Lord Commissary, and the following record was made on the occasion:—

"These works and pamphlets being condemned infamous and scandalous, and against all dignity or intent of his royal Majesty of Great Britain, and even in opposition to the prescription of the Right Honourable Lords of the General Estates of the Netherlands, dated Jan. 16, 1621. Of all this it is concluded that the said works are punishable, as likely to promote disorder against the majesty of Great Britain and his allies, and so the Commissary, etc., conclude that the publisher of the said seditious books is condemned to the confiscation of all the printed editions (which shall be burnt), and to pay the sum of £300—of 40 groats to the pound."

Suppression of Canne's Treatise.

The officers of the coast-guard were directed to prevent the conveyance of such books by the ships coming from Holland. Matthew Symmons reports, April 14, 1638 :—*

"All the shipmasters are engaged in this traffic. They strike upon the sands at Queenborough, and send the passengers, and deliver all their prohibited goods in some small boats, and then come off the sands without danger."

Edward Hurst, of Cambridge, on examination (Dec. 23, 1638) stated that at a house in Rotherhithe "he found twenty or eighty persons, men and women, all strangers to him—where they did all pray together, and disputed and exhorted one another, and there continued about two hours together, until the constables and officers of Rotherhithe came in, and took some of them away."†

Meeting in Rotherhithe.

* Domestic, S. P. O. † Idem.

The Primate gained no respite from his active opponents by these coercive measures. The Popish tendencies of the Court, and the assumption of the prelates, evoked the sternest hostility.

Alexander Leighton, John Bastwick, William Prynne, and Henry Burton, issued from time to time pamphlets against the bishops, and the tyranny of Laud in particular enkindled indignation in the minds of the people, that, though smouldering for a time, burst into the fiercest flame. Montagu, in a letter to Cosin says, "for my part, I look one day to be sacrificed."*

Pamphlets against the Prelacy.

Cosin writes to Laud, "The licentious libels lately printed without licence, and vented out into all parts against me, have made me the subject of every man's censure; and by them that either do not know, or do not affect me, I am, I know not how heavily and how hardly burdened. I most humbly beseech his sacred Majesty, the only supreme governor, to continue his gracious protection over me, and your lordship's goodness to be a means for the same. It is his gracious defence against the overgrowing factions, more than any private revenge, that I seek, against these two barking libellers (Prynne and Burton), whose chastisement I am bound to leave to their government and authority, that they have so notoriously and impudently also abused."

Burton, in a sermon for "God and the King," complains that the bishops "do all in their own names, and under their own seals, contrary to the law in that behalf. They labour by all means

* Surtees, lii., 137, 138.

possible to maintain this absolute and independent jurisdiction. They are grown so formidable of late (as if they were some new generation of giants), that the very notion of a prohibition against a prelate, or their proceedings in the High Commission, makes the Courts of Justice startle so as good causes are lost and innocents condemned, because none dare plead and judge their cause according to the King's laws, whereby we ought all to be governed."

Burton's Sermon.

"They have laboured to bring in a change in doctrine; in discipline; in the Civil Government; in the Prayer-Books set forth by public authority; in the rule of faith, and in the customs."

Appealing to the King, the Privy Council, and to judges, he said:—

"Shall we see religion overturned; the laws outlawed; our liberties captured; Christ's kingdom and the king's throne undermined, and Antichrist's throne exalted over us; and that by a faction of Jesuited poly-pragmatics; and we, like heartless doves, set trembling while the Hagards outdare us, as if we were made for nothing but for them to prey upon? What meaneth the bleating of the sheep, the grievous complaints of God's ministry in many places of this land, who are unjustly oppressed, suspended, excommunicated, outed of their livings, and so themselves and their families undone in their worldly estate? What meaneth that consternation of spirit among lawyers, that few, or none, can be found to plead a cause, be it ever so just, against an oppressing prelate; and are either menaced or imprisoned, if they do it? What meaneth that timidity in ministers and people, who choose rather to sit down with loss of all, even the cause of religion itself, than go to law against a prelate? What meaneth that lawless insolency and boldness of many prelates? What meaneth that Antichristian pride and lawless power, in vexing and conventing the King's good subjects, for observing the King's laws?"

The bishops answered the demands of Burton and his companions in agitation, by dragging them to the pillory in the Palace Yard of Westminster, to exhibit an exciting spectacle of barbarity in cutting off their ears, and then consigned them to perpetual imprisonment.

It was a great vexation to Laud, that the new attractions given to the Anglican service were not appreciated. With the aid of the needle, the chisel, and the brush, he hoped to make the "beauties of holiness" patent to all observers, and to lend a charm to ritual that should supersede every other, either in preaching or in worship. He was irritated beyond measure, when the choicest specimens of church decoration excited the ridicule of some and the hostility of others. The front of Salisbury Cathedral is crowded with fantastic sculptures, illustrative of monkish legends enough to satisfy the most ravenous appetite for the grotesque, but the promoters of the ritualistic revival supplied in stained windows an addition to these strange devices in a pictorial representation of the divine Creator. To quote a description of the artistic work given at the time. "In one window (of four panes) there were no less than seven pictures of God the Father, in the form of a little old man, clad in a blue and red coat, with a pouch by his side, about the bigness of a puppet; in one was represented God the Father creating the sun and moon, and squaring them out with a pair of compasses in his hand, as if he had formed them by some geometrical rules and the help of a compass." Some of the poor people regarded this work of sacred art

Church decorations.

with an excess of devotion not desired, even by the artist. "Emma Brown and other old women to these pictures made low curtsies, who, being demanded why they made such curtsies, answered that they made them to their Lord God and God the Father in this glass window."

Mr. Sherfield, the Recorder of Salisbury, erred in the opposite extreme, and in his iconoclastic zeal, put his stick through one of the panes of glass. He was brought up, Feb. 8, 1632, before the High Commissioners for the offence, and charged with irreverence, in striking the "Ancient of Days." The court sentenced him to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, to be removed from his recordership, and make acknowledgment of his fault in the Cathedral.

Penance for non-compliance with Episcopal Orders.

Penance in the presence of the congregation was a common mode of discipline with the Laudian school. We have a striking instance in the case of James Wheeler and John Fry, who were ordered to appear in this manner by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for not removing the communion table in the chancel of the parish church of Beckington. "In an audible voice," they were required to confess, "that we are heartily sorry for the same, and we do faithfully promise, never from henceforth to offend in the like again, but to demean ourselves as shall become good Christians and dutiful subjects, and we do ask God's forgiveness for this, our sin and offence; and you all here present for our evil example. And we desire you all to pray for us and with us to Almighty God, that it may please Him of his infinite goodness to

forgive us, of this our offence, and then humbly and penitently kneel down and rehearse the Lord's Prayer." To add force to the transaction, this penance was to be done three times, on the 25th of June, 1637, July 2nd, and July 9th.*

These freaks of sacerdotal consequence decided the course of many. All their interests were bound up with the Church of England, and connected with it were their dearest friendships and most sacred associations, but it was no longer possible to close their eyes to the abyss of superstition and of spiritual degradation to which they were tending, withdraw they must, at whatever temporal sacrifice.

Dr. Francis Cheynells, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, describes the course of ritualism and its effect in the growth of Nonconformity.†

"I know," he says, "between forty and fifty years ago, there were some followers of Browne, but in the latter end of King James his reign, the number of Brownists, properly so called, was *much decreased*, and it was a rare thing to meet a Brownist; but *when Bishop Laud began to sit astern* (and so he did while even in Archbishop Abbot his time) then the *number of Brownists began to increase; the reason was, because ceremonies began to be urged upon the conscience with so much earnestness as if they had been necessary to salvation;* and about six or seven years since, when the Archbishop was in his ruffe, and his priests began to surrogate it, preaching for doctrines, the commandments of

* S. P., Interregnum.

† Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism, 1648, 62, *et seq.*

men, and consequently worshipping God in vain, Matt. xv. 9; men of tender consciences (and those no weak ones either) began to fear, that they should transgress the commandments of God, by observing traditions, Matt. xv. 3; *and conceived it in vain to join with men in worship who worshipped God in vain.*

"Many were prevailed with by this reason, but *there were some of moderate temper, who, if they might have the liberty of their consciences, would, and did communicate even in parish churches;* but the Archbishop of Canterbury *began to lay greater burdens; crucifixes must be set up at the east end; that was too plain*; next, the *Communion Table to colour the design, or at least to add varnish to* it, *must be advanced into an altar, and men must by a tacit consent* (as we were informed at the visitation of Merton College) *express some outward reverence*, by *bowing towards the east*, the *altar*, the *crucifix, and choose* which you *please*, all, *if you will;* but *in* no *case must we be commanded to bow*, and *yet we must be censured as disobedient, if we refuse to bow.* This was interpreted by rational men as *asking our consent to bring in popery. By degrees there were so many innovations, both in point of doctrine, and external worship, that the Papists themselves thought those of greatest worth learning and authority in England, knew not well what religion to be of*, or *where to fasten. No marvel if the poor people cried out that England was turned Babylon, and began to separate.* The Archbishop was rather schismatical in imposing such burdens than the people in separating from external communion."

A few earnest and thoughtful men retired to

Holland, holding themselves in reserve for important service in the cause of truth at the impending crisis.

Jeremiah Burroughs.

Jeremiah Burroughs, a graduate of Cambridge, on leaving the university, was chosen colleague to Edmund Calamy, at Bury St. Edmunds. In 1631 he became rector of Titshall, in the county of Norfolk; but, upon the publication of Bishop Wren's Articles, he was suspended and deprived of his living. For a time he was sheltered beneath the hospitable roof of the Earl of Warwick. He was compelled, however, for safety, to flee to Holland. In justification of his removal, he gives the following statement:—

"For some months, living with my Lord of Warwick, with whom I found much undeserved love and respect, when I was in the midst of as great encouragement for staying in England as a man deprived and under the bishop's rage could expect, I set myself, in as serious a manner as ever I remember I did in all my life, to examine my heart about my staying in England, whether some carnal respects, that countenance I had from divers noble friends, the offers of livings, did not begin to prevail too far with me. My spirit was much troubled with these thoughts—Why do I still linger in England, where I cannot with peace enjoy what my soul longs after? Did I not formerly think, that if ever God took me clearly from my people, I would hasten to be where I might be free from such mixtures in God's worship, without wronging my conscience any more? Why do I therefore now stay? Am I not under a temptation? God knows these were the sad and serious workings of my spirit, and the workings of my heart were as strong as ever I felt them in my life. Now, whilst I was thus musing, thus troubled in spirit, and lifting up my heart to God to help me, and set me at liberty, leaning upon my chamber window, I espied a man in a citizen's habit coming in the court-yard towards my chamber; and on his coming near, I knew him to be formerly a citizen of Norwich, but at that time one of the church

of Rotterdam. This man comes and tells me that he came from Rotterdam, that he was sent by the church there to give me a call, to join with Mr. Bridge in the work of the Lord in that church. When I heard him say that, I stood awhile amazed at the providence of God, that at such a time a messenger should be sent to me about such an errand. My heart, God knows, exceedingly rejoiced in this call of his. I presently told him I saw God much in it, and dared not in the least to gainsay it—yea, that my heart did much close with it—yet desired to see God a little further in it; this only I required, that he should go or send to the church, and return my answer, with desire, that because most of them knew me, they should give me their call under their own hands, and then there would be nothing wanting that I knew—but I was theirs; and we parted. In this my heart was much eased, now seeing a clear hand of God taking me off from my temptations, that I was afraid might otherwise have stuck upon me; but this I kept to myself." *

William Bridge, Fellow of Emanuel College, under similar circumstances went into exile. After ministerial employment as lecturer at Colchester, rector of St. George's, Tombland, Norwich, in 1633, and rector of St. Peter's, Howgate, where he was silenced and excommunicated by Wren, he withdrew in 1637 to Rotterdam, and became pastor of the church of which Burroughs was teacher. The church under their joint care adopted the following covenant:—

William Bridge.

"We, whose names are hereunder written, having a long time found, by sad experience, how uncomfortable it is to walk in a disordered and unsettled condition, do renew our covenant in Baptism, and avouch God to be our God. We resolve to cleave to the true and pure worship of God, opposing to our power all false ways; we will not allow ourselves in any known sin, but will renounce it so soon as it is manifested from God's Word so to be; the Lord lending us power, we resolve to carry ourselves in our several places of government and obedi-

Church at Rotterdam.

* A Vindication of Mr. Burroughs against Mr. Edwards, 19, 20.

ence, with all good conscience, knowing we must give an account to God; we will labour for further growth in grace, by hearing, reading, prayer, meditation, and all other ways we can; we mean not to burden our hearts with earthly cares; which are the bane of all holy duties, the breach of the Sabbath, and the other commandments. We will willingly and meekly submit to Christian discipline, without murmuring, and shall labour so to continue, and will endeavour to be more forward, zealous, faithful, loving and wise in admonishing others; we will labour, by all our abilities for the furtherance of the Gospel as occasion shall be offered to us; we promise to have our children, servants, and all our charge taught the ways of God; we will strive to give no offence to our brethren by censuring them rashly, by suspicions, evil speaking, or any other way; lastly, we do protest not only against open and scandalous sins, as drunkenness, swearing, etc.; but also against evil company, and all appearance of evil, to the utmost of our power."

Sidrach Sympson, Bachelor of Divinity, of the University of Cambridge, followed the example of Burroughs and Bridge. For a time he was curate and lecturer of St. Margaret's, Fish Street, London, but with other ministers he was convented beforeLaud in 1635, and was glad to escape. On his arrival at Rotterdam he expressed a desire to be united in fellowship with the church, and made a statement of his personal experience. His father-in-law, Mr. Sydenham says:—"His desire was propounded to the church, and two things were required of him—a profession of his faith, and a confession of his experience of the grace of God wrought in him. Both which he did so excellently perform, that the hearts of all there present were much affected, professing that this had been the fruit of prayers and tears, and many were upon the wing for heaven—saying, 'Now, Lord, lettest Thou thy servants depart in peace,' the glory of church commu-

Sidrach Sympson.

nion being so brightly discovered, and the state of gracious souls so sensibly anatomised."*

Divergence on some points led to the formation of a second church at Rotterdam, under the care of Sympson, with the sanction of the authorities. "The place," he tells us, "wherein we met was in an open street, a noted place near the Exchange. The Public Act runs thus: 'To have such ministers from time to time, and such discipline as they conceive to be according to the Word of God, and to be protected in this with the same care and love as our own natives are.'"

Thomas Goodwin.

Dr. Thomas Goodwin, of Christ's College and Catherine Hall, Cambridge, was chosen lecturer at Trinity Church, Cambridge, but in 1634 relinquished his preferments from conscientious motives, and in 1639 retired to Holland, and became pastor of the English church at Arnheim.

Philip Nye.

Philip Nye, a student of Oxford, was curate in 1630, at St. Michael's, Cornhill, but also withdrew to Holland in 1633, and was associated in ministerial work subsequently with Goodwin. During this sojourn of these five ministers amongst the Dutch (as we learn from a narrative published after their return) they gave their best attention to the ecclesiastical questions agitated at the time.

Prior to their expatriation they saw only the "dark part"; "the evil of the superstitions" in the Anglican Church. But when freed from the turmoil, violence, and persecution endured in their own

* Surtees Society.

land, they began to look into the "light part," or the positive part of church worship and government, as exhibited in the example of the "primitive churches recorded in the New Testament"—that was the "sacred pillar of fire" by which they were guided. "We had," they say, "of all men the greatest reason to be true to our own consciences in what we should embrace, seeing it was for our conscience we were deprived, at once, of whatsoever was dear unto us. We had no new Commonwealth to rear, to frame church government unto, whereof any one piece might stand in the other's light; to cause the least variation by us from the primitive pattern. *We had no state ends, or political interests to comply with;* no *kingdoms in our eye to subdue unto our mould;* which yet will be co-existent with the peace of any form of civil government on earth; no preferment, or worldly respects, to shape our opinions; for we had nothing else to do but simply and singly, to consider how to worship God acceptably and so most according to his Word."

Occupation "of the Five Brethren" in Holland.

They were not committed to any continental system. "Although we consulted, with reverence, what the reformed churches held forth both in their writings and practice, yet we could not but suppose that they might not see into all things about worship and government, their intentions being most spent, as also of our first reformers in England, upon the reformation in doctrine." They observed, moreover, with pain, that though in a state of external peace, they were lacking in the practical part, the power of godliness. "We had

the advantage," they continue, "of all that light which the conflicts of our own divines, the good old Nonconformists, had struck forth in their times, and the drafts of discipline which they had drawn. We had, likewise, the fatal miscarriages and shipwrecks of the separation called Brownists, as landmarks to forewarn us of those rocks and shelves which they ran upon, which also did put us upon an inquiry into the principles that might be the causes of their divisions.

"Last of all, we had the later example of the ways and practices, and these improved to a better condition, and greater refinement, by all the forementioned helps, of those multitudes of godly men of our nation—almost to the number of another nation! And among them, some as holy and judicious divines as this kingdom hath bred; whose sincerity in their way hath been testified, by the greatest undertaking but that of our father Abraham, out of his own country, and his seed after him, a transplanting themselves many thousand miles' distance, and that by sea, into a wilderness, 'merely to worship God more purely.'

"We resolved not to take up our religion by or from any party; and yet to approve and hold fast whatsoever is good in any, though never so much differing from us, yea, opposite to us."

As the result of their experience, observation, and reflection, they arrived at certain simple principles of Church polity, which on their return from exile, had, as we shall find, to pass through the ordeal of the keenest and most protracted discussion in an assembly of the ablest divines of their age.

They required all the resources such training could give.

With fatal pertinacity, Laud continued to alienate the people from the government, and to drive the friends of constitutional freedom into closer combination. As yet there was no preparation for armed resistance in England, but in seeking to extend his arbitrary rule into Scotland, the infatuated prelate raised the storm he had no power to quell.

Storm raised by Laud in Scotland.

King James said, "The plain truth is, that I keep back Laud from all place of rule and authority, because I find that he hath a restless spirit, and cannot see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain, which may endanger the steadfastness of that which is in a good pass; God be praised. I speak not at random. He hath made himself known to be to such a one for when, three years since, I had obtained the assembly of Perth to consent to five articles of order and decency in correspondence with this Church of England, I gave them promise by attestation of faith made, that I would try their obedience no further anent ecclesiastical affairs, nor put them out of their own way, which custom had made pleasing to them, with any new encroachment. Yet this man hath pressed me to invite them to a nearer conjunction with the Liturgy and canons of this nation; but I sent him back again with the frivolous draft he had drawn. It seems I remembered St. Austin's rule better than he—*Ipsa mutatio consuetudimus, etiam quæ adjuvat utilitate novitate perturbat.* Yet

for all this he feared not mine anger, but assaulted me again with another ill-fangled platform, to make that stubborn Kirk stoop more to the English pattern. But I durst not play fast and loose with my word. He knows not the stomach of that people; but I ken the story of my grandmother, the Queen Regent, that after she was inveigled to break her promise made to some mutineers, at a Perth meeting, she never saw good day, but from thence, being much beloved before, was despised by her people."

Laud was now left to follow out his own bent, and the King, neither for conscience' sake nor in regard to State policy, scrupled to break his word. Stealthily at first, and gradually, the attempt was made to bring the Kirk of Scotland into the Anglican form. The work of ecclesiastical transformation in 1636 was nearly completed; the bishops appointed in Scotland had gained a majority in the Privy Council, and, to crown the design, Laud proceeded to impose on the Kirk a code of canons and a mode of worship in accordance with the new system.

The public introduction of the Liturgy in the cathedral of Edinburgh undeceived the promoters of the scheme. A ferment was caused, which spread through the country like a conflagration. On the 20th of September, 1637, Mr. Annan (Baillie tells us) preached before the Synod of Glasgow, on 1 Tim. ii. 1, in recommendation of the Liturgy. The Synod raised no objection; but in the town, "among the women," there was "a great din." John Lindsay was commanded by the bishop to preach on the next day. "At the ingoing of the pulpit, it is said that some of the women assured

Ferment in Edinburgh.

him, that if he should twitch his Service-book in his sermon, he should be sent out of the pulpit: he took the advice, and left that matter alone." Annan was assailed by hundreds of women in the streets, and his life endangered. "The book," all of them cried, "they would never have." In Edinburgh the tumult was, if possible, more alarming. An immense concourse from all parts of the country met in the city (Oct. 16, 1637), to protest against the innovations, and to offer armed resistance. The petitioners were dispersed and sent home; but in a month they returned in greater order, to organize a national opposition to the attempted change in their form of worship. Charles I., on Dec. 7, sent a peremptory refusal of their demands. The people were convoked to support their representatives, and on March 1, 1638, all ranks entered into a covenant to maintain before all men their rights, their faith, and their wishes. In six weeks all Scotland was confederated under the national banner. Charles I., to gain time, sent the Marquess of Hamilton to negotiate with the leaders of the insurrection. Twenty thousand Covenanters (assembled at Edinburgh for a solemn fast) went out to meet him (June, 1638), and seven hundred clergymen in their robes, stood on an eminence, singing psalms as he passed.

Hamilton counselled a temporizing policy, and on the 28th of June issued the following proclamation to the people of Scotland:—

"We neither were, nor are, by the grace of God ever shall be, stained with Popish superstition, but are resolved to maintain the true Protestant Christian religion, and we assure all men that we will not press the practice of the Book of Canons and Service-book, nor anything of that nature, but in such a fair

and legal way as shall satisfy all our loving subjects that we neither intend to innovate in religion nor laws. And to this effect have given orders to discharge all Acts of Council made thereanent; and for the High Commission, we shall so rectify it, that it shall never impugn the laws, nor be a just grievance to our loyal subjects'; and what is further fitting to be 'agitat' in General Assemblies and Parliament for the good of the Kirk shall be taken into our royal consideration in a free assembly and Parliament, which shall be called with our best conveniency. And we take God to witness that our true meaning is, not to admit of any innovations, either in religion or laws, but carefully to maintain the purity of religion already professed and established, and no ways to suffer our laws to be infringed."

Royal Proclamation.

Privately the King wrote to Hamilton, "I will rather die than yield to these impertinent and damned demands." In a letter to the Marquess of Hamilton, dated Greenwich, June 11th, 1639, the King writes, "I expect not anything can reduce that people to obedience but force only; I give you leave to flatter them with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against my grounds, and in particular that you consent not to the calling of Parliament, nor of General Assembly until the covenant be disavowed and given up. Your chief end being now to win time until I be ready to suppress them." *

The history of the resistance to the schemes of the hierarchy is given in a manuscript volume in the Stirling Library, Glasgow.

The national unity and courage in the struggle were most remarkable. "What," said the leaders, "shall our posterity and our children say of us, when they are pressed with the bondage and burden of popery and episcopal slavery, shall they not have cause to curse us,

National unity and courage.

* Rushworth ii. 752

if we lose this long-looked-for and blessed opportunity of seeking relief, to us and them by a lawful and laudable remedy, which our enemies cannot justly blame."

"Let every man draw near to Christ, and seek by all means to grow in communion with Him, so shall he find himself the nearer to Christ's cause and the followers of it."

The friends of the Reformation sent an earnest appeal exhorting them to steadfastness:—

"The eyes of all men," they said, "are fastened on you. Germany not now being any longer able to endure the tyranny of bishops, expects redress by your example; consider carefully in yourselves what you resolve to do. It is commendable to have begun, glorious to finish; but to succumb in the midst of the race, as it is more vile than vileness itself, so it is conjoined with the most certain ruin."

The Assembly held in 1638, in the Cathedral at Glasgow, was the grand test of courage and fidelity. In spite of the formal protestation of the bishops and the manœuvres of the King's Commissioners, every point was gained—the bishops were deposed, their arbitrary practices denounced, the Service-Book rejected, and the Kirk asserted its rights. Glasgow Assembly.

The Royal Commissioner on vacating the chair, said:—

'"I make a declaration that nothing done here in this assembly shall be of any force to bind any of his Majesty's subjects, and I, in his Majesty's name, discharge this Court to sit any longer.'

"While the Commissioner was in departing, the protestation against his departure was put in the clerk's hands, read, and

instruments taken of the protesting. The MODERATOR (Henderson) said, 'Albeit we have acknowledged the power of Christian kings for convening of assemblages, and his power in the assembly, yet that may not derogate from Church right, for He hath given Divine warrant to convocate assemblies, whether magistrates consent or not; therefore, seeing we perceive men to be so zealous of their master's commands, have we not as good reason to be zealous for our Lord to maintain the liberty and privileges of his kingdom. Ye all know that the work in hand has many difficulties. He has borne us through them all to this day, therefore it becometh us not to be discouraged now by anything that has intervened, but rather to double our courage where we seem to be deprived of human authority.' He desired some of the brethren should speak a word of encouragement and direction to the assembly, as God shall put in their heart for the time.

"Mr. DAVID DICK said: 'Ye all understand that the great work now in hand has been from small beginnings, for at the first we intended only to bear a testimony to posterity that we bear witness to Christ's oppressed cause. We thought the cause desperate when we were charged to buy the Service-Books under the pain of horning. God has led us on step by step, and keeping us still within the compass of his Word and laws of his kingdom. We have only followed our cause with humble supplication to our King, and protestation that we could not obey. It is evident that God has accepted our testimony for his hands are about us still; for if his eye had not directed us, and his hand had not guarded us, we had long since been confounded in our works, and could not have done for the compassing of his great work more nor young children, neither could we have continued in one mind till this day, if one spirit had not led us. A solemn decision is to be given by the Kirk of Scotland. Every man is to ask who is his God? And we have clearly represented unto us a lesson of fidelity to our Lord from our Lord Commissioner, for he hath stood punctually to the least point of his Commission; it becomes us to be also loyal to our God, seeing we are not restricted to particulars as he. We shall prove traitors both to God and our King if we be silent and pass from this Assembly. Let us go on putting every matter upon our Lord and Master, who shall answer for us at the court of Heaven.'

"The MODERATOR, in his closing speech, said: 'It becomes us to be thankful to the King's Majesty, under whose peaceable protection we have had the liberty to convene together, and truly I would recommend you, with your permission, two things—the one is, that ye would not cease from anything that is come, or can come, or is for to come, to pray more fervently, and to endure in prayer for our gracious Sovereign the King, whom God has ordained to be our supreme magistrate, and to pour out our hearts on his behalf, that it would please God to bless him with all royal blessings; and in all our preachings we would be careful to recommend his Majesty to the people. We ought, indeed, so to do it, for it is the Lord's will that we do it, and next unto Christ let him have the highest place. We should pray to Him who has the heart of kings in his hand, and the keys of all his senses that He would convey knowledge to his royal heart, that he may understand matters aright, and we put no question but when he understands our proceedings, which has been with respect to religion and loyalty to him, he will think so well of them, that he will vouchsafe his approbation and royal ratification to them in his own time, which God grant.'

"The MODERATOR called upon some of the brethren to speak a word of exhortation.

"Mr. DAVID DICK said: 'We know not how shortly the Lord may call us to trouble and suffering for his truth, for his Majesty hath keeped us still in suspense all this time, and as he has mingled our former steps with fear, so now he keeps us in the same temper, to the end our rejoicing might as it should be; but if we will continue to do as we have begun, in supplication to our God and our King, and set our face towards our Lord, and hold the rule of his word before our eyes, and make Himself our fear and our dread, we need not to think anything else, and acknowledge his sovereignty over all his creatures. This is the short cut and perfect rule by which our goings must be ordered, and if in this path we meet with hard trouble, sweet and solid comfort will be the upshot of them all, provided we could wait with patience on our Lord, because out of all doubt the assembly will be tried; therefore let us arm ourselves with the strength of our Lord to defend all our laudable constitutions, and withal bear with pity the misconstructions of the world, making use of our liberty and labour to walk in a

pure pointed-out light, wondering at all the passages of our Lord's providence, and admiring the large measure of reformation granted to this land; rejoicing to see the shame and confusion 'rowled' on the face of our 'adversaries.'"

The King and his advisers rejected with contempt the proposals of the Assembly, and resolved to bring the Scottish nation and the Kirk into subjection.

Report to the King.

The Report of the Glasgow Assembly, signed by "Alexander Henderson, Moderator," and "A. Johnston, Clerk" (Nov. 21, 1638), was duly presented to the King. To disarm his Majesty of all opposition to their proceedings, they express the most exuberant gratitude for being permitted to meet:—

"With all thankfulness of heart we acknowledge, with our mouths do confess, and not only with our pens, but with all power, are ready to witness to the world, to your Majesty's never-dying glory, how much the whole kingdom is affected, and not only refreshed, but revived with the comfortable sense of your Majesty's piety, justice, and goodness, in hearing our humble supplications for a full and free General Assembly. It hath been our greatest care and most serious endeavour, from the first hour of our meeting, to carry ourselves in such moderation, order, and loyalty as beseemed the subjects of so just and gracious a King—lacking nothing so much as your personal presence, with which, had we been honoured and made happy, we were confident to have gained your Majesty's royal approbation to our ecclesiastical constitutions—knowing that a truly Christian mind and royal heart, inclined from above to religion and piety, will at the first discern, and, discerning, be deeply impressed with the love of the ravishing and heavenly order of the house of God, they both proceeding from the same Spirit."

They relate the proceedings of the Commissioner, and express regret that he had acted in a manner so contrary from that which his Majesty

would have approved, confident that their proceedings would have the royal "allowance and ratification":—

"We doubled our diligence," they add, "and endeavoured more carefully than before, when your Majesty's Commissioner was present, in every point falling under our consideration, to walk circumspectly and without offence, as in the sight of God, and as if your Majesty's eyes had been looking upon us—to proceed according to the Word of God, our Confession of Faith, and national oath, and the laudable constitution of the lawful assemblies of this Church, and studying rather to revive and renew the old Acts made for the reformation of religion in the times of your Majesty's father, of happy memory, and extant in records (the which Divine Providence hath preserved, and at this time brought to our hands), than either to allow of such novations as the avarice and ambition of men, abusing authority for their own ends, had, without order, introduced—or to appoint any new order which hath not formerly been received and sworn to be retained in the Church. We humbly beg, and certainly expect, that from the bright beams of your Majesty's countenance shining on your Majesty's own kingdom, all our storms shall be turned into a comfortable, calm, and sweet sunshine; and that your Majesty's ratification in the ensuing Parliament, graciously indicted by your Majesty's royal proclamation, to be kept in May next, shall settle us in such a firmness and stability in our religion as shall add a further lustre under your Majesty's glorious diadem, and make us a blessed people under your Majesty's long and prosperous reign."

The King had other intentions, and in subsequent negotiations met the proposals of the Assembly and Commissioners in Scotland with contempt.

A Jesuit, writing to his Superior, says:—

"The King is about to raise an army in Ireland, not daring to trust the English, who are greatly irritated against him, by reason of the ship money. This counsel of raising an army in Ireland has been suggested by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Deputy of Ireland, who govern him entirely; for he has never yet opened his mouth upon the subject to his Council of State, but strives to

Jesuit's letter.

keep all close, which very much displeases them. They hold that the raising an army in Ireland is very dangerous; but I know not what better he could do, for in England everybody is discontented; and to raise an army here is to put a sword in their hand to defend themselves; for the party of the Puritans is so numerous, and has such correspondence with the Scotch, that they begin already to break down the altars which the archbishop had raised, bring accusations against the bishops, and demand the re-establishment of many silenced ministers, with a thousand other insolences. Such is the state of our little kingdom, which seems to be in profound peace, and flourishing; but *latet anguis herba*, and the least insurrection in Scotland would occasion great trouble in this country. Some think that in two or three months we shall see a revolt; but the difficulty is, that here they have neither soldiers nor commanders: in Scotland they have all."*

Preparation for war.

Both parties began to muster their forces. Scottish merchants were sent abroad to buy ammunition and arms; the covenant was sent to the Scottish troops on the Continent, and Alexander Leslie, one of their best officers, was invited in case of emergency to return home, and take the command of the insurgents. A correspondence was opened with parties in England likely to co-operate, and a declaration was issued to the English nation (Feb. 27), setting forth their just grievances; and in vindication of their course similar efforts were made on the side of the aggressors to enlist the aid of all willing to take part in the contest. Charles I., in a letter to the Corporation of London (Feb. 12, 1638-9), represented the urgency of the occasion. "The late disorder in our realm of Scotland," he writes, "began upon the pretence of religion, but now appearing to have been raised by factious spirits, fomented by some few ill and trai-

* S. P. Dom.

torously affected particular persons, whose aim hath been by troubling the peace of that kingdom to work their own private ends, and indeed, to shake off all monarchical government, though we have often assured them that we resolve to maintain constantly the religion established by the laws of that kingdom —is now grown to that height and dangerous consequence, that under those sinister pretences, they so far seduced many of our people there, as great and considerable forces are raised and assembled in such sort as we have reason to take into consideration the safety of this our realm of England, and therefore, upon due and mature consultation with the Lords of our Council, we have resolved to repair in our royal person, unto the northern parts of this our realm, there by the help of Almighty God, and the assistance of our good subjects, to make resistance against any invasion that may happen. And to the end that this expedition may be effectual as we desire to the glory of God, the honour and safety of us, and of this our said kingdom of England, we have directed that a considerable army both of horse and foot, shall be levied out of all the shires to attend us in this nation. Wherein we nothing doubt but the affection, fidelity, and courage of our people shall appear. In the meantime, we have thought fit hereby to give you notice of this our resolution, and of this estate of our affairs, and withal, that having done the like to all the nobility of this our realm, and required them to attend our royal person and standard at our City of York, by the first day of April next ensuing."*

* Corporation Records.

The clergy responded to the appeal by raising money for the campaign, and proposed to make a new test to pray for the success of the war.

There was little sympathy with the King and his advisers in the body of the people. It was discovered that in the Border Counties the Covenanters were in direct communication with Nonconformists, and a Commission was appointed to seize any persons found in league with them. An address was sent to the King, from some poor people, entreating him not to march against the Scots. "Those who are the cause of this proceeding," they said, "are the greatest enemies to the truth and to your royal person. We, your poor, yet true subjects, have many grievances which lie heavily on our states, which we cannot well bear. Yet our greatest cause of grief is that God's ordinances are taken away, and our ministers are taken away, or their mouths be stopped, and our souls likely to be starved. We have as much cause to stand as the Scots in this behalf. And now we look for our lives and posterity all to be a prey every hour as soon as your Highness is gone to Scotland."*

Sympathy of Nonconformists with the Covenanters.

The Scottish army advanced to the border and encamped upon a round trap hill, commanding a view into England, called the Law of Dunse. Baillie, though no fighting-man, was carried away with the excitement and describes the scene: "Those of the English that came to visit our camp," he says, "did gaze much with admiration upon these souple fellows with their

Encampment on Dunse Law.

* S. P. Dom.

plaids, targes, and dorlacks. Our captains for the most part barons and gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants almost all soldiers who had served over sea in good charges; every company had, flying at the captain's tent-door, a brave new colour stamped with the Scottish arms, and this blazon, for 'CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT,' in golden letters. The councils of war were kept daily in the castle; the ecclesiastical meetings in Roth's large tent; our 'sodgers' grew in experience of arms, in courage, in favour daily; every one encouraged another; the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors daily raised their hearts; the good sermons and prayers morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrances very frequent of the goodness of their cause, of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearly divine. Also Leslie, his skill and fortune made them all so resolute for battle as could be wished."

Happily in this campaign there was no bloodshed. Charles on seeing this grand array came to terms, but only to gain time and to strengthen his own position.

Baillie was much rejoiced at the proclamation in the camp of the Articles of Pacification (June 18, 1639). "Many," he says, "whereof I was one, was glad at their heart of this divine conclusion, and blessed God then, and ever since, for so rich a mercy to the prince and whole isle. Many secret motives there were on all hands that spurred on this quick peace. What to have done when we came to Tweedside we were very uncertain; the King might

Truce and pacification.

have been so wilful, as rather to have hazarded his person than to have raised his camp. Had he incurred any skaith, or been disgraced with a shameful flight, our hearts had been broken for it; and likely all England behoved to have risen in revenge. Divers of all ranks, of the best note in our camp, were beginning to be scrupulous in conscience to go into England, though their scruples had been 'exeemed,' yet no ordinary way for our safety did appear. Had we been but some days' journey in that land the bordering shores were so barren, and so exhausted with the King's leaguer, that few night's meat could have been gotten for us into them; from our own country we could neither have carriage, horses, nor strong enough convoys, for the hope of England's conjunction was small; for all the good words we heard long ago from our friends. Yet all this time, when their occasion was great to have kindled their affection both to us and their own liberty, there was nothing among them but a deep sleep or silence."

The war was only adjourned; the King repudiated the report of the conference given by the Scots Commissioners, and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman.

Public affairs in England were sorely disjointed. The collection of ship money brought many into the workhouse, and caused bitter discontent. In some cases it was resisted with open violence. Sir Thomas Jay, a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, informed the Council that in obedience to their order, he proceeded to the premises of Timothy Langley, in East Smithfield.

Ship Money.

with officers and constables, and having "made known his authority, and charged him to open the doors and suffer the officers to execute their office, the persons within thrust long pikes through the walls at them, and cast or squirted scalding liquor or lees upon them, whereby many of the officers were dangerously injured."

Bishop Hall, with the approbation of Laud, came to the rescue at this perilous juncture, in a treatise to prove the divine right of Episcopacy. "Can it be possible," he asks, "in such a kingdom as our happy England is, for every parish to furnish an ecclesiastical consistory, consisting of one or more pastors, a doctor, elders and deacons? What stuff would there be? Perhaps a young, indiscreet, giddy pastor; and for a doctor, who and what? John A. Noakes and John A. Styles the elders. Smug the smith a deacon." Idle scurrility of this kind was becoming effete, but the advocates of divine right, thought they had made a discovery "Part of the prayer prescribed by our Saviour," they said, "was composed of the forms of devotion then formerly used. And God's people ever since Moses, his days, constantly practised it, and put it over unto the times of the gospel under which it is said that Peter and John who went up to the Temple at the ninth hour of prayer. We know the prayer wherewith they joined was not of an extemporary and sudden conception, the former whereof are yet extant and ready to be produced." *

Bishop Hall on "Divine Right of Episcopacy."

Spurious claim for antiquity.

* "An Humble Remonstrance," p. 11.

They cite, "the Seder Tephiloth of the Jews of Portugal in the hands of Joseph Scaliger, Capellus in his Spicelegium and the Samaritan Chronicles, and Buxtorfius his Synagoga Judaicæ." * All this might be received as profound learning by "John A. Noakes and John A. Styles," but it could not deceive those who replied to the remonstrance under the pseudonym "*Smectymnus.*"

"We begin," they say, "with what he brings out of a Smectymnus Samaritan Chronicle. Joseph Scaliger had certainly but two Samaritan Chronicles, whereof that shorter is printed in his Emendat Temporum, lib. 7, which is found so absurd a thing that he calls it Ineptissimum, and there gives this censure of the Samaritans in point of antiquity. Gens est totius vestutatis, etiam quae ad ipsos pertinet ignorissima. They are a people most ignorant of all antiquity, even of that which doth most concern themselves. And more he would have said against it, if he had lived to know how much it varied from the Samaritan's own Pentateuch, as it is since discovered by that learned antiquary, Master Selden, in his preface *Ad Marmora Arundeliana.*

"This we know is not the Chronicle the *remonstrant* means; there is another which Scaliger had, of which himself writes thus: 'Habemus eorum magnum chronicon ex Hebraica lingua in Arabicam conversum, sed charactere Samaritano descriptum: is liber incipet ab excessu Mosis definit infra tempora Imperatoris Adriani,' etc. We have also their chronicle translated out of the Hebrew into the Arabic tongue, but written in a Samaritan character; which book begins from Moses' departure, and ends beneath the times of Adrian the Emperor, etc.

"Of which book Scaliger his own censure is, that though it hath many things worthy of knowledge, *yet they are crusted over with Samaritan devices.*

"But to this testimony, whatever it be, we oppose the testimony of a learned Jew, who is rather to be heard than a Sama-

* Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, 17, 18.

ritan. The famous Rabbi, Moses Maimonides, who pleaseth to read part of his first, second, and eleventh chapters in his Meshneh of the Law Halachah Tephillah, shall evidently find, that from Moses, his time, to Ezra (above a thousand years), *there were no stinted forms of prayers heard in the Jewish Church, but every man prayed according to his ability.* Secondly. That in Ezra, his time, eighteen short forms of prayer were composed for the scattered Jews which had lost the use of the holy language, because they thought it best to continue their prayers and worship of God in that sacred tongue. Thirdly. But not a word of any set forms which the Priests or Levites were to use, but only to help the ignorant Jews, to express themselves in prayer to God in the holy language, at the time or hours of prayer, which the men of the great synagogue had appointed. Peter and John went up together to the Temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour.

"Though we allege not this of Maimonides, as a testimony to command belief, yet we conceive it far more to be regarded than any Samaritan chronicle. Secondly. He hath some scraps of Jewish Liturgy out of Capellus, concerning which a short answer may serve; first, there is not one of the Jewish Liturgies now extant, which was made before the Jews ceased to be the Church of God, for besides the eighteen short forms before mentioned, there were no other made till *Rabbi Gamaliel*, his time, who, according to the judgment of learned critics, is that Gamaliel mentioned in the Acts (from whom Paul got such bitter principles against the Christian religion). But whensoever they began, Capellus would laugh, should he hear what a strange conceit this remonstrant had gotten from him, that the Jewish Liturgies were as ancient as the time of Moses, merely because he parallels some Jewish phrases which he found in them, with certain phrases in the Gospel, which the Jews retained by tradition from their fathers, and put into their Liturgies. But *Buxtorfius* would fall out with him, that he should so much abuse him as to say that he had affirmed that Maimonides took his creed out of the Liturgy: for the man is not guilty of any such gross mistake; he saith, indeed, that the articles of the Jewish Creed are printed in the Liturgies, but withal he tells the remonstrants that Maimonides was the first composer of them, whence therefore the Jews put them into their Liturgy. Thus

we leave his Jewish Liturgy, which the reader will easily see to be more Jewish than he would justly suppose our instance of William Rufus was, and that it affords him as little furtherance."

The popular ferment could not be allayed by learned argument. Confidence was lost on the part of the nation, and the King, left to pernicious influence at the Court and the councils of opposing parties, was soon involved in a serious dilemma.

The Scottish difficulty was unsettled, and the Presbyterian army crossed the Border. "Hot alarm" was felt in England. The forces of the King could not be mustered. Northumberland writes (June 13, 1640), "We are here in some apprehension of the Scots coming into England. Letters are sent to the Northern Counties to draw their trained bands together upon a short warning. The city of London, Kent, Surrey, Essex, Hertfordshire, Buckingham, and Bedford are so 'damnable restive' that I doubt we shall not get near our numbers of men from these places. June 16: Our troops are upon their march from some of the counties, but I hear they run fast away. June 17: It is hard to keep the soldiers where mustered. The trained band of Abingdon have mutinied. The people sheltered the fugitives."

Return of the Scottish Army.

The Scots advanced to Newcastle, then took Durham, Tynemouth, and Shields; then sent a supplication of seven demands to the King at York. He had no alternative but to yield. Commissioners were appointed and directed to proceed to London

for a formal settlement of their claims. It was determined at the same time to send with them some of their leading divines to give them counsel, and to exert their influence in favour of the long-desired Reformation.

"On Monday morning," Baillie writes to his wife (Nov. 18th, 1640), "we came that twenty miles to London before sun-rising; all well, horse and men, as we could wish, divers merchants and their servants with us, on little 'naigs'; the way extremely foul and deep, the journeys long and continued, sundry of us unaccustomed with travel, we took it for God's singular goodness that all of us were so preserved; none in the company held better out than I and my man, and our little noble naigs. From Kilwinning to London I did not so much as stumble; this is the fruit of your prayers. I was also all the way full of courage, and comforted with the sense of God's presence unto my spirit. We were by the way at great expenses; their inns are all like palaces. No marvel they extort their guests; for three meals, coarse enough, we would pay, together with our horses, sixteen or seventeen pounds sterling Some three dish of creevishes, like little partans, two-and-forty shillings sterling; our lodgings were taken in the common garden. The city is desirous we should lodge with them, so to-morrow I think we must flit. All things here go as our hearts could wish.

Journey of Commissioners to London.

"We were extremely welcome there. The Parliament has granted one hundred thousand pounds sterling, whereof we shall have near forty in present money, to pay our army six weeks. Burton, I hear, is come to town; Bastwick and Prynne are coming, as they were sent for. Leighton has been twice heard, and on Friday we hope shall be absolved. Lincoln on Saturday did sit in Parliament, and his petition to have his cause discussed in Parliament received. The King in his first speech did call us rebels; but much murmuring being at that style, he thought good, two days thereafter, to make a speech to excuse that phrase, and to acknowledge us his subjects, to whom he had sent his Great Seal, and with whom he was in treaty to settle a perfect agreement with their consent and approbation.

"On Tuesday last was here a fast; Mr. Blair and I preached to our commissioners at home, for we had no clothes for outgoing. Episcopacy is beginning to be cried down, a Covenant to be cried up, and the Liturgy to be scorned. It is thought good to delay it till the Parliament have pulled down Canterbury and some prince bishops.

"Nothing frayes all here so much as our quick agreeing with the King, and the disbanding of our army thereupon, which they mind to do so soon as the King has a little digested the bitterness of the lieutenant's censure. Huge things are here in working; the mighty hand of God be about this great work! We hope this shall be the joyful harvest of the tears that 'thir manie yeares hes been sawn in thir kingdomes.' All here are weary of bishops. This day, a committee of ten noblemen, and three of the most innocent bishops—Carlisle, Salisbury, Winchester—are appointed to cognosce by what means our pacification was broken, and who advised the King, when he had no money, to enter in war without consent of his State. Under God, they all everywhere profess that they are oughten to that army their religious liberties, Parliaments, and all they have; that if we take conditions for ourselves, they say they are undone. On Saturday, Burton and Prynne came through the most of the city triumphant. Never here such a like show. About a thousand horse, and, as some of good note says, above four thousand; above a hundred coaches, and, as many says, above two hundred; with a world of foot; every one with their rosemary branch. (Bastwick is not yet come from Scilly.) This galled the bishops exceedingly."

Brownist Petition for complete Toleration.

The ecclesiastical chiefs having met in London to consider the problems requiring practical solution on the downfall of the hierarchy, the "Brownists," the "sect everywhere spoken against," proposed that there should be a full and impartial "toleration." They say, "It may be objected that this toleration would breed a general confusion, but we believe the contrary; for the *establishing of only one*, and suppressing all

others, will breed in all a general discontent — jarring, railing, libelling—and consequently must needs follow a mighty confusion, where, contrariwise, if *all were permitted, all would be pleased, all would be in peace*, and their obligation and love would be far greater to the King and State for so great a benefit as the freedom of conscience, which to all men is the most grateful thing in the world; none more so for the better maintaining of peace with each other, differing in religion."

They ask for the toleration of all "Brownists," "Puritans," "Socinians," "Arminians," "Papists," etc. "We beseech you, give your consent, agree, vote for it—that *every man may have freedom of conscience.* LET THEM ALONE. We desire nothing but the truth by this freedom and connivancy. Truth will at last appear; that which is of men will be dissolved, that which is of God will continue and remain for ever. How many men are wavering what to follow—what to embrace! Neither will they be contented with anything that shall be established by Act of Parliament, were it never so good. Only freedom will in time cause the truth to shine upon them."

"The matter, therefore, of so great importance and consequence, we submit, leaving to your honours' profound and deep judgments, humbly requesting and imploring, again and again, that, *for the quiet of the State, for the comfort of the subject*, and *for the love of truth*, you cause and proclaim a *toleration*, that for religion *none shall be persecuted*, but *every one freely enjoy his own conscience.* This is every man's case. This would bring joy to all, discontent

to none. This would breed the heartiest love, loyalty, and affection to our dread Sovereign, our gracious King. This would cause all dutiful and loving respect to your right honourable and noble peers of the Upper Parliament; and no less to the most noble knights, citizens, burgesses of the honourable House of Commons, the careful, watchful, and painful labours and endeavours in this behalf for the good of the Commonwealth and the comfort of afflicted souls and consciences; grant, therefore, this petition, and you will eternize your names. And so praying to the Lord that He would endue your hearts with the spirit of true wisdom and clemency towards your poor servants and brethren in the Lord, and grant their humble petition, we cease."

The concession of this freedom would have prevented rivers of blood; but there was no disposition to recognize these principles. On the contrary, the advocates of toleration were denounced by all the parties ambitiously striving for supremacy. The discussion of the subject was unwelcome. The Convocation of 1640 published canons, in which they decreed that "no person shall import or print any of the books of Brownists, Separatists, and other Sectaries, on pain of excommunication, and of being further punished in the Star Chamber."

The Puritans now advancing to the front in the coming struggle, were strongly opposed to the doctrine of toleration, in their view the crowning heresy. One of their first objects was to secure the control of the press, as appears in the following petition:—

"To the Right Honourable the Lords assembled in the High Court of Parliament.

"Humbly sheweth:

"That whereas there have been in times past many books published containing in them divers unsound and dangerous doctrines, tending to the maintaining of Popery, Arminianism, superstition, and profaneness, by which many are infected with divers errors and heresies, to the great peril of their souls; and, on the contrary, divers godly treatises, tending to the vindicating of God's truth and furthering of godliness, have been either wholly rejected and suppressed, or so mangled by leaving out many most material passages—sometimes whole leaves or sheets together—that they have been made in a great part unserviceable to the ends for which they were written and intended by the authors; which evils have happened by the practice of the chaplains of the bishops; and some licensers of the universities to whom the power of allowing books for the people hath been committed, or hath been by them usurped—may it therefore please this Honourable House, for preventing like evils hereafter, to take such *speedy order* as in their wisdom shall be thought fit, *that the power of licensing books for the press may be committed to such orthodox and godly men as may take special care for the suppression of all such dangerous and poisoned treatises as tend to error and ungodliness;* and for the allowing of those that contain only sound and wholesome doctrine, or other matters for public use.

Puritan Petition for licensing the Press.

"And your Petitioners shall pray, etc.

"Edmund Staunton, George Walker, Stephen Marshall, Richard Bernard, Henry Paynter, Sim. Ash, John Barry, John Ley, Jo. Sedgwick, John White, William Rathband, Tho. Hodges, Thomas Edwards, Nathaniel Bugge, Robert Bettes, La. Seaman, William Janeway, Edm. Calamy.

"12 Martii, 1645." *

It was impossible, however, to prevent or materially to regulate the war of words. John Milton sent out in quick succession, without regard to licensing,

* House of Lords MSS.

a series of pamphlets against prelacy, and in furtherance of a more complete reformation. "When God commands to take a trumpet and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say or what he shall conceal."

Views of Milton.

"It was *not Episcopacy*," he says of the *martyrs of the English Reformation*, "that wrought in them the heavenly fortitude of martyrdom, as little is it that martyrdom can make 'good Episcopacy;' but it was Episcopacy that led the good and holy men through the temptations of the enemy, and the snare of this present world, to many blameworthy and opprobious actions. And it is still Episcopacy that before all our eyes worsens and slugs the most learned and seeming religious of our ministers, who no sooner advanced to it, but, like a seething pot set to cool, sensibly exhale and reek out the greatest part of that zeal and those gifts which were formerly in them."

After referring to the *primitive practice of the Christian Church*, he adds:—

"Thus did the spirit of lenity and meekness inspire and animate every joint and sinew of the mystical body, but now the gravest and worthiest minister, a true bishop of his fold, shall be reviled and ruffled by an insulting and only canon-wise prelate, as if he were some slight paltry companion; and the people of God redeemed and washed with Christ's blood, and dignified with so many glorious titles of saints and sons in the gospel, are now no better reputed than impure ethnicks and lay-dogs, stones, and pillars, and crucifixes have the honour and the alms due to Christ's living members; the Table of *Communion* now becomes a table of *Separation*, stands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the choir fortified with bulwark and barricade to keep off the profane touch of the laws, whilst the obscene and surfeited priests scruple not to paw and mammock the sacramental bread as familiarly as his tavern biscuit, and thus the people, vilified and rejected by them, give over the earnest study of virtue and godliness as a thing of greater purity than

they need, and the search of Divine knowledge as a mystery too high for their capacities, and only for churchmen to meddle with, which is that the prelates desire that when they have brought us back to Popish blindness we might commit to their dispose the whole managing of salvation; for they think it was never fair world with them since that time. But he that would mould a modern bishop into a primitive, must yield him to be elected by the popular voice—unreverenced, unlorded—and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchless temperance, incessant prayer, frequent preaching, and continual watchings in his ministry, which what a rich booty it would be, what a plump endowment to the many beneficed gaping mouth of a prelate.

"Think ye then our bishops will forego the *power of excommunication* on whomsoever? No, certainly, unless to compass sinister ends, and then revoke when they see their time. And yet this most mild, though withal dreadful and inviolable prerogative of Christ's diadem, excommunication was for nothing with them but to prog and pander for fees, or to display their pride and sharpen their revenge, debarring men the protection of the law, and I remember not whether in some cases it bereave not men of all right to their worldly goods and inheritances, besides the denial of Christian burial. But in the Evangelical and reformed use of this sacred censure, no such prostitution, no such Iscariotical drifts are to be doubted, as that spiritual doom and sentence should invade worldly possession, which is the rightful lot and portion even of the wickedest men, as frankly bestowed upon them by the all-dispensing bounty, as rain and sunshine. No, no, it seeks not to bereave or destroy the body, it seeks to save the soul by humbling the body, not by imprisonment, or pecuniary mulct, much less by stripes or bonds, or disinheritance, but by fatherly admonishment and Christian rebuke to cast it into godly sorrow, whose end is joy and ingenuous bashfulness to sin; if that cannot be wrought then as a tender mother takes her child and holds it over the pit with scaring words, that it may learn to fear where danger is, so doth excommunication as dearly, and as freely without money, use her wholesome and saving terrors. She is instant, she beseeches by all the dear and sweet promises of SALVATION, she entices and woos, by all the threatenings and thunders of the law and rejected gospel she charges and adjures. This is all her armoury,

her munition, her artillery. There she awaits with long-sufferance and yet ardent zeal. In brief, there is no act in all the errands of God's ministers to mankind, wherein passes more loverlike contestation between Christ and the soul of a regenerate man relapsing, than before, and in, and after the sentence of excommunication. As for the fagging proctorage of money with such an eye as struck Gehazi with the leprosy, and Simon Magus with a curse, so does she look, and so threaten her fiery whip against that banking den of thieves that dare thus baffle, and buy and sell the awful and majestic wrinkles of her brow."

It is curious to observe at this time that all Nonconformists or Separatists are classed under the common designation "Brownists." Milton refers to this change of appellation. On some account the term "Brownist" was regarded as the most expressive of contempt, and to this day we have amongst Congregationalists some who seem in their weakness to shrink from all relation to the people so described. There really never was a sect that recognized Robert Browne as their leader. His name was borrowed simply as one of reproach:—

"The Prelates, as they would have it," Milton says, "are the only mauls of schism. Forsooth, if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow. We shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the *word Puritan seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such are Brownists.* Do *they* keep away schism? If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an inactive blindness of mind, upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all; if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts be to keep away schism, they keep away schism indeed; and by this kind of discipline all Italy and Spain is as purely and politically kept from schism as England hath been by them, with as good a plea might the Dead Palsy boast to a man, 'Tis *I* that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone

all these would molest you.' The winter might as well vaunt itself against the spring: 'I destroy all noisome and rank weeds, I keep down all pestilent vapours.' Yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hide-bound frost; but when the gentler winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the earth thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil without thanks to your bondage."

In common with the Brownists, Milton advocated church independence:—

"Seeing that the Churchman's office is only to teach men the Christian faith, to exhort all to encourage the good, to admonish the bad, privately the less offender, publicly the scandalous and stubborn; to censure and separate from the communion of Christ's flock the contagious and incorrigible, to receive with joy and fatherly compassion the penitent; all this must be done, and *more than this is beyond any Church authority.* What is all this either here or there to the temporal regiment of weal public, whether it be popular, princely, or monarchical? *Where doth it entrench upon the temporal governor? Where doth it come in his walk? Where doth it make inroads upon his jurisdiction?* Indeed, if the minister's part be rightly discharged, it renders the people more conscionable, quiet, and easy to be governed, if otherwise, his life and doctrine will declare him. If, therefore, the constitution of the church be already set down by Divine prescript, as all sides confess, then can she not be a handmaid to wait on civil commodities and respects; and if the nature and tenets of church discipline, *such as are helpful to all political states indifferently, or have no particular relation to any,* then is there no necessity, nor, indeed, possibility, of linking one with the other in a special conformation."

Popular sympathy was not enlisted in this direction. Preparatory to a national church reformation, the effort was made to clear out of the community all voluntary Christian associations, however peaceable or exemplary. Yet the Separatists continued to

meet.* Bishop Hall lamented that there should be in London and the suburbs, no fewer than fourscore congregations of several sectaries.† For a short time John Canne returning from Amsterdam, undertook the pastoral care of the church in Southwark, and was succeeded by Samuel How and Stephen More. Neal tells us that "the face of affairs beginning to change, this poor congregation, which had subsisted almost by miracles for above twenty years, shifting from place to place to avoid the notice of the public, ventured to open their doors in Jan. 18, 1640-1. By their journal or church book, an abstract which is now before me, it appears that Mr. More's congregation of Independents in Deadman's Place on the Lord's-day, were disturbed by the Marshal of the King's Bench, and most of them committed to the Clink Prison. Next morning, six or seven of the men were carried before the House of Lords and charged with denying the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and with preaching in separate congregations, contrary to the statute of the 35 Eliz. The latter they confessed, and as to the former, they declared to the House they should acknowledge no other Head of the Church but Christ: that they apprehended no prince on earth had power to make laws to bind the conscience; and that such laws as were contrary to the laws of God, ought not to be obeyed; but that they disowned all foreign power and jurisdiction. Such a declaration a twelvemonth before might have cost them their lives; but the

Separatist congregations.

* In a tract entitled "The Brownist Synagogue," the names of the places of meeting are given.

† Works, x. 65.

House, instead of remitting them to the ecclesiastical courts, dismissed them with a gentle reprimand; and three or four of the peers came, out of curiosity, to their assembly next Lord's-day to hear their minister preach, and to see him administer the Sacrament, and were so well satisfied that they contributed to the collection for the poor."

We learn from the journals* of the Lords, that the offenders were Edm. Chillenden, Nic. Tyne, John Webb, Richard Sturges, Thomas Gunn, Jo. Ellis, with at least sixty people more. "They were all taken on Sunday last, in the afternoon, in the time of Divine service, by the constables and churchwardens of St. Saviour's, in the house of Richard Sturges, where they said they met to teach and edify one another in Christ. They being brought before Sir John Lenthall. He demanded why they would not go and resort to their own parish church, according to the law of 35 Eliz., they answered:—

1. "That the law of 35 Eliz. was not a true law, for it was made by the bishops, and that they would not obey it.

2. "That they would not go to their parish churches; that those churches were not true churches; and that there was no true church but where the faithful met.

3. "That the King cannot make a perfect law, for that he was not a perfect man.

4. "That they ought not to obey him but in civil things.

5. "That some of them threatened the church-

* Decimo tertio Die Januarii, 1640. House of Lords MSS., and S. P. Dom.

wardens and constables, that they have not yet answered for this day's work."

It was ordered that the prisoners should be brought before the House on the following Monday. An order was passed that the following notice should be publicly read in all the parish churches: "That the Divine service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this realm; and that all such as shall disturb that wholesome order shall be severely punished according to law."

When the House met on the 18th of January, the Lord Privy Seal, Earls, Marshals, and Lord Chamberlain gave the House thanks from his Majesty, for the course they had taken concerning the sectaries. Ed. Chillenden, Nic. Tyne, John Webb, Richard Sturges, Thomas Gunn, Jo. Ellis, being brought by order of the House, were called severally in, all of them denying the material things they were charged with. The witnesses were heard against them, and the House decided that the said sectaries should receive, for this time, an admonition from this House; that they shall hereafter repair to their several parish churches, and to give obedience thereunto, according to the Acts of Parliament of this realm; to that purpose the order was read unto them, made by this House, the 16th day of Jan. 1640-1, and to be told that, if hereafter they do not observe these commands, they shall be severely punished according to law.

The following document relates to another Company of Separatists:—

"To the Right Honourable the Lords of the High Court of Parliament,

"The humble petition of divers of his Ma^ties loyal and faithfull subjects, prisoners in New Prison, whose names are underscribed,

"Most Humbly Sheweth,—

"That whereas yo^r poore petitioners, being last Lord's-day assembled together in a house in peaceable manner in praier to God for the King, State, etc. The prosperous and happie proceeding of this hon^ble assembly were violently assailed by divers deboist and rude persons, who, by command of Justice Gibbs, in Whitechapple, furiously beate and broke in peeces our doore upon us, as if we had bin traytors, fellons, contrary unto the lawes and statutes of this land, as we conceive, not shewing us any warrant for their soe doing (though we demanded it of them), with swords, hallberts, clubs, violently entered the house, incurraging thereby many scores of persons to beate downe our windows with stones, to the wounding of a young child, to the effusion of much blood; alsoe did hurt and fright the woman of the house, that she was forced to fly for her life, and alsoe by force drew yo^r petitioners out of the house; alsoe one Raynolds threatened one of yo^r petitioners to cut his throate if hee would goe no faster; alsoe in the beginning of the broyle one John Taylor, with divers others, seazed upon a young man (coming by them), violently threw him downe, beate him, some of them crying out, 'Braine him,' 'Braine him,' had well nigh strangled him with his cloake, being buttoned about his necke, if one had not cut it with a knife, by w^ch meanes one that beate the same partie accidentally received a little hurte on his hand which was the chiefest pretence the Justice had to commit yo^r petitioners to prison, accept of noe baile for your petitioners, but away with them.

"And forasmuch as now yo^r petitioners are hereupon imprisoned and indited, and proceeded against, contrary to law and justice, as they yo^r petitioners conceive, they having given noe wise cause, w^ch as they shall plainly make it appear by yo^r honour's leave, wee humbly pray yo^r Lordshipps that you would bee pleased to take our distressed condition to yo^r honour's grave consideration, to commaund the said Justice before yo^r Lordshipps, yo^r poore distressed petitioners, to examine out the equitie of the cause, that soe yo^r poore distressed petitioners may receive

their speedie deliverance, and such further repaire for their wrongfull and vexatious troubles as to yo^r Lordshipp's grave wisdome shall seeme fitt.

"And yo^r poore petitioners shall dayly pray, as in duty bound, for the welfare of this hon^ble assembly.

"THOMAS LAMBE, "WILLIAM UNCKLES,
"JOHN GARBRAND, "THOMAS GOOLES,
"MARKE WHITLOCK, "WALTHER BROOCKESHAW."

With the Marks of

"THOMAS COOKSEY, "TAMASINE SCOTT."

Endorsed, *The Prisoners in the New Prison*,
xix. Jan., 1640; tra. 19 die, Jan., 1640.*

"There were raised," we are told, "divers holy and powerful ministers and preachers, in and about that time in this nation. Whereof in these sects was one Mr. Wroth, in Monmouthshire, not far from this city of Bristol, who for the powerfulness and efficaciousness of his preaching, with the exemplary holiness of his life, was called the apostle of Wales."

Mr. Henry Jessey, in November, 1639, was sent into Wales, by his congregation to assist old Mr. Wroth, Mr. Cradock, and others in their gathering and constituting the church in Llanvaches, which afterwards was like Antioch, the mother church in that Gentile country, being very famous for her members, orders, and gifts.† "It was a church of Independents and Baptists mixed."

Christian people met privately in Bristol for many years. Being assembled one day in a house in High Street, the house was assaulted by the mob, and the windows broken.

"William Lister, the occupier of the dwelling

* House of Lords, MSS. † Jessey's Life, 9, 10.

where the ministers stayed, petitioned Parliament for protection. Mr. Hazard took a house, using it only on Lord's-days, they entertained sometimes two or three families together at one time, that came to the city bound for New England, where they abode until they were ready, or if they waited for a wind. In 1640, five persons, Goodman Atkins of Stapleton, Goodman Cole of Lawford's Gate, Richard Moon in Wine Street, and Mr. Bacon, a young minister, with Mr. Hazard, at Mr. Hazard's house, at the upper end of Broad Street, in Bristol, met together and came to a holy resolution to separate from the worship of the world and times they lived in, and that they would go no more to it. And with godly purpose of heart they joined themselves to the Lord; only thus covenanting, that they would, in the strength and assistance of the Lord, come forth of the world, and worship the Lord more purely, persevering therein to their end. At that juncture of time, the providence of God brought to this city Mr. Canne; he discussed with Mr. Fowler, a minister, for two hours on the Green, on the duty of separation, and to meet, if in no other place in a barn. Resolved that the Brethren form themselves into a separate society, and were visited by Mr. Wroth. Mr. Bacon, their minister, removed to Filton, three miles from the city. Mr. Pennel, a minister joined them; the church increased to one hundred and sixty persons who came from within the city and from the country near fifteen miles round from Basselton, Keynesham, and Wells."

Soon after the formation of the church at Llanvaches, a second society was formed at Mynddis-

lwyn by Mr. Henry Walter, in the same county. These simple and obscure associations were little regarded by the promoters of reformation in the national church.

"All things here go well," writes Baillie, Dec. 2, 1640, "blessed be God; the courage of this people grows daily, and the number, not only of people, but preachers, who are rooting of Episcopacy, all are for bringing them very low: *but who will not root them clean away are not respected; that which is much feared is like to do no skaith. Say and Brook in the Higher House and these alone, and some leading men in the Lower House, were suspected by their inclination to the Separatists, would divide from the Presbyterians, and so weaken the party opposite the bishops; but so far as yet can be perceived, that party inclinable to separation will not be considerable,* and whatever it be, these and *the rest who are for the Scot's discipline, do amicably conspire in one to overthrow the bishops and ceremonies, hoping when these 'rudera' are put away, that we shall well agree to build a new house, where the ground is well swept.*"

The persecuting prelates were put under restraint. Laud had a "brand of impeachment fixed on him," Dec. 18th 1840, for high crimes and misdemeanours," and on the following day, articles of impeachment were also framed against him.

Impeachment of Laud.

The case against the bishops was stated in Parliament with the force of simple truth by Lord Falkland. "Mr. Speaker," he said —

"He is a great stranger in Israel who knows not this king-

dom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions, both in religion and liberty; and his acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity less, who doth not both know and acknowledge that a great, if not a principal cause, of both of them hath been some bishops and their adherents. Mr. Speaker, a little search will serve to find them to have been the destruction of unity under the pretence of uniformity; to have brought in superstition and scandal under the titles of reverence and decency, to have defiled our Church by adorning our churches; to have *slackened the strictness of that union which was formerly between us and those of our religion beyond the seas*; an act as impolitic as ungodly. We shall find them to have tithed mint and anise and have left undone the works of the law.

Speech of Falkland.

"It hath been more dangerous for men to go to some neighbour's parish, when they had no sermon in their own, than to be obstinate and perpetual recusants; while masses have been said in security, a conventicle has been a crime; and which is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies hath been more exacted than the conforming to Christianity." "The most frequent subjects, even in the most sacred auditories, have been the *jus divinum* of bishops and tithes, the sacredness of the clergy, the sacrilege of impropriations, the *demolishing of Puritanism*. Mr. Speaker, to go yet further, some of them have so industriously laboured to deduce themselves from Rome, that they have given great suspicion that in gratitude they desire to return thither, or at least to meet it half way. Some have evidently laboured to bring in an English, though not a Roman Popery. I mean not only the outside and dress of it, but equally absolute, a blind dependence of the people upon the clergy, and of the clergy themselves, and have opposed the Papacy beyond the seas that they might settle one beyond the water. Nay, common fame is more than ordinarily false, if none of them have found a way to reconcile the opinions of Rome to the preferments of England, and to be so absolutely, directly, and cordially Papists, that it is all that fifteen hundred pounds a year can do to keep them from it."

The Romanizing practices of Laud alone would not have exposed him to danger. There is a fasci-

nation in imposing ceremonial, accompanied with credulous acquiescence in priestly influence, to those who desire to be relieved of personal responsibility in matters of conscience. The dim religious light suits the half-opened eye, and gradually the enchanted devotee loses the power and the desire to resist the yoke. Pharisaic Ritualism enters as a dry-rot into the social system, and, when it has full sway, destroys the inward strength of a nation.

The Laudian system had its passionate admirers, who were willing to overlook the cost in the moral degradation of the people in its pictorial effect. The rigour with which it was enforced at length caused a violent reaction. The victims of Laud, writhing in their agonies, turned upon their oppressor. The change in affairs, though it might prove temporary, gave an opportunity for the declaration of grievances. The air was filled with the cries of those who had endured terrible wrongs. The entire country was roused. Two thousand persons assembled at Wallingford—and if there had been longer time there would have been three times more—to unite in a representation of their injuries to Parliament. Increasing in number, they marched to London, passing through St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, Bishopsgate, and Cheapside, onward to Westminster. "There were above three thousand on horseback; every man with his protestation in his hand, intimating that they had a petition to present to the Honourable Court: the others were on foot; but they reached in all from the Exchange to Newgate, three and four in a rank." "Another petition was delivered to the Lords by a

Popular reaction.

Wallingford petitioners.

company of women, about the number of four hundred." The excitement led to popular tumult, and the houses of the bishops were assailed by the mob. The opportunity for calm deliberation was lost in the universal frenzy.

Fuller on moderate reformation.

"We freely confess," said Thomas Fuller, at a little later period, "that there may be some faults in our Church in matters of practice, and no wonder if there be: it would be marvel if there were not. Besides, there be some innovations rather in the Church than of the Church. As not chargeable on the public account, let them answer for themselves. Religion in England is like the clothes of the Israelites (Deut. xxix. 5), which for many years together waxed not old. Alas! in some places it is threadbare. May it have a new nap; in more it is spotted, may it be well mended. Although reformation we and all good men desire with as strong affections, though, perhaps, not with so loud a noise as any whatsoever (the highest clamour doth not always argue the greatest earnestness); but with this qualification, that by thorough reformation we mean such a one whereof we are capable, with all due and Christian reverence. The supreme power alone hath a lawful prerogative calling to reform a church in those places where it is supreme." Counsels of moderation gained little attention. Ten bishops were imprisoned, and severe restraint imposed on the rest.

The people expressed their approbation of these proceedings. The knights and freeholders of Northampton, Fra Nicolls, John Cartwright, Erasmus Dryden, Ric Knightley, and others, thanked the

Parliament for "many heavy pressures removed in divers rights and liberties restored, great dangers prevented, and provision made for their future prosperity and security; in the satisfaction given to all his Majesty's loyally affected subjects by the publication of their remonstrance to the King." "We expect now," they add, "a perfect reformation in religion, and a happy settlement of the matters of the Commonwealth."

Approbation of the People.

The people in Kent "thanked the House for taking away the votes of Prelates." "Go on," they said, "with thorough reformation, especially of the Church according to the Word of God; relieve Ireland, vindicate Parliamentary privileges; discover, remove, and punish evil counsellors, plant everywhere painful preachers."

Finding that the Court intrigued to raise forces to overawe the Parliament, the House of Commons, May 3, 1641, published a protestation to maintain and defend the doctrine of the Church of England against all Popery and Popish innovations, and to preserve the union of three kingdoms. The House explained, two days after, "that the words of the Protestation were not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worship, discipline, government, nor of any rites or ceremonies of the said Church of England." "The House resolved and declared, July 30, that what person soever shall not take the Protestation is unfit to be an officer of church in Commonwealth." Burton, whose grievances had been redressed by Parliament in March, 1640-1, and who was now "restored to his former liberty of preaching," had the

Protestation of Parliament.

moral courage to protest against the Parliament in the restrictions imposed by them in the course of reformation.

In a remarkable dialogue entitled, "Protestation Protested," he showed the only consistent course to be pursued in seeking reformation was by the free dissemination of the Gospel —the formation of Christian societies by the people willing to enter into Church fellowship, self-supporting and exempt in spiritual things from the interference of the State. Burton's Protest.

OB. "But would you have other congregations than such as are limited to every parish? How will this stand with a national church? This would make a division and separation."

ANS. "We must look, in the first place (at) what Christ commandeth, etc. If a State will set up a national church, wherein many things out of reason of State are tolerated and prescribed for order sake, as they call it, and if there be such a necessity, necessity hath no law. But let not this exclude and bar out the free use of such congregations as whereof the spiritual commonwealth of Israel consisteth; over which Christ, as King, immediately reigneth by his Spirit and Word, in the beauty and purity of his ordinances. Let not the consciences of God's people be bound, where Christ hath purchased liberty; and where Christ's congregations are set up, however they are separate from the world in the corruptions thereof, yet they are not separate from the civil State, but are peaceable members thereof, subject and obedient to all good and just laws thereof. Yea, where such congregations are erected and allowed of by a civil State, they are both a strength and beauty, and procure many blessings unto it. They are unto a civil State as that *fulminatrix legio* — that thundering legion — in the Emperor Antoninus' *army*, as he called it, which, consisting wholly of Christians, did by their prayers procure refreshing showers to the whole army, when it was sore distressed with drought, and terrible storms on the other side, to the discomfiture of their enemy. And, therefore, the Apostle exhorts Christians to pray for Kings—

and such as are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. And (to) Jeremiah. 'Pray unto the Lord for the city of your captivity; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace;' implying that it is the duty of civil Princes and States, Heathen or Christian, to protect or tolerate the true Christian religion in their kingdoms, as well as of the true Christians and professors to pray for them; for Christ's kingdom, being spiritual, is so far from any prejudice to civil States that it is the very glory and safety of them," etc.

OB. "But that there shall be an order of Church government established in a national church, and, withal, a liberty left for other church assemblies. This may be a means to foment factious and envious emulations in a State."

ANS. "For these, first, There be good laws for civil government. Secondly, That (when) anyone, among the exempted congregations, do incorrigibly misbehave themselves, the law can take order with them. Thirdly, Let no men blame them before they try them. Fourthly, It hath been an old stratagem of Satan still to lay all the blame of whatever disaster upon the Christians, as Nero did. Fifthly, It cannot be expected but wherever the Gospel cometh in its power and purity, it will kindle coals and stir up debate, as Christ saith (Matt. x. 21), but this is accidentally. And if for this every civil State should carry out the true religion, where would there be left any true Church upon the earth?"

OB. "But the church-way of Independency is too strict, and cannot be content with a mediocrity, but aspires to such a perfection of purity, as men are not capable of, and, therefore, such will, of necessity, be envied and maligned, which will cause divisions."

ANS. "As if all true Christians were not expected everywhere, and so bound, to strive for perfection so much as is possible, as we read Matt. v. 20, 48; Phil. iii. 12; Col. i. 28; iv. 12; 2 Tim. iii. 7; and everywhere, in the Scripture, is perfect holiness required, as Eph. iv. 12; 2 Cor. vii. 1; see also Heb. v. 12; vi. 1, etc. And, for envy, were there but once set up, amongst us, some such congregations as come nearest to the rule of God's Word, both in church constitutions and graces suitable, they would draw no less love and liking to them than ever this land hath yet seen. And, however, the world accounts strictness, yet

none are admitted members thereof, but such as are both willing and desirous, and do enter freely into covenant to observe all the conditions and orders thereof, according to God's Word, and whoso are over, in, and of this congregation, may find in it nothing that is grievous; but Christ's sweetness, whose 'yoke is easy' and his 'burden light.'"

OB. "But if such congregations were set up, it would, perhaps, stir up the parochial ministers, or some, at least, to envy and malignity; and by this means also should their wages be diminished."

ANS. "First, if Christians living in a parish shall find just cause of separating themselves—as where great scandals and offences are constantly—shall any ministers be so unchristian as to envy this? Or if they do, let them reform their own congregations, and take away all such scandals, and set up Christ's Government, that so they may retain those honest souls which, otherwise, are forced to forsake the puddled streams, to enjoy the sweet, fresh, and pure fountain of living waters. Nor will the ministers and pastors of such Independent congregations look after any such wages as the parochial ministers challenge to themselves, as tithes, or the like. No, surely they are, and will be content that such competent maintenance as the members of their several congregations respectively shall freely, without any compulsion as is used in tithes, allow unto them," etc.

OB. "But the Parliament now being about a reformation, what government shall be set up in this national church?"

ANS. "The Lord strengthen and direct the Parliament in so great and glorious a work, but as for the manner of government of a national church, because it hath *no pattern in the Scripture now under the Gospel*, who can herein prescribe or advise anything? Let it be what it will (a Presbytery or otherwise), so as still a due respect be had to those congregations and churches which desire an exemption, and liberty of enjoying Christ's ordinances in such purity as a national church is not capable of; and whatever liturgy or ceremonies or discipline are left to accompany this national church government, it is indifferent with us, so that we may enjoy our Christian liberty in the true use of such ordinances, and of such Independent church government as Christ, the only Lawgiver of his Church and Lord of conscience, hath left unto us in his Word."

Ob. "But Independent churches, being absolute in themselves, and exempted from a superior jurisdiction of others, and yet not exempted from possibility of erring; what law is left to reduce them from their error?"

Ans. "First, They have Christ's law to regulate them. Secondly, They have that law of Christ which is by love to serve one another. They have the law of association and confederation with other churches, to consult, advise, and confer with, in matters of doubt or question, and if, after all other remedies, any be obstinate in his or their error, they are liable to excommunication either in the same congregation, if it be a particular person, and the error great, or from other churches, if the whole congregation have offended, and do stiffly maintain a dangerous error; which yet is rarely seen in a well-constituted congregation consisting of meet members. And if at any time such a thing should fall out which cannot grow but from some root of apostacy, particular or general; if the offence do reflect also upon the laws of the civil State, which are made against known heresies, or blasphemy, or idolatry, and the like, the offenders are obnoxious to the civil power. So little fear there is, that any Independent congregation, or any member thereof, should be exempt from condign censure where just reason is given, either ecclesiastical or civil."

The "protestation" of Burton was bitterly assailed by Geree, a Presbyterian, and by an anonymous Episcopalian. In a sermon preached at St. Albans, 10th of October, 1641, Burton insisted on the necessity of self-denial. "If," he says, "Princes or States make laws against the laws of Christ, against his religion and pure ordinances, threatening punishment to those that will not observe them, herein a true Christian must 'deny himself,' both in matter of terror and in matter of favour." "Some may say, what need we to have such a doctrine as this of self-denial in respect of civil relation, to be taught us now? Answer, first, God be thanked, it is true, the storm is over of this oppressing. Yet this doc-

trine may be very useful for this very reason. We are in expectation of a true reformation, and in the very reformation self-denial is to be used. Secondly, If some by reformation be reformed, and not *others*, will *they* be quiet? No; the nearer we come to Christ, the more we must look for 'persecution' (2 Tim. iii. 12). Let us not look for a true, powerful reformation of religion without persecution."

Alive to the danger by which they were threatened in the combination of parties, the Independents (Ecclesiastical) made an earnest appeal to Parliament.

Thomas Edwards offered vehement opposition. "Credible information," he says, "was given me of some petitions drawn to be presented to the Honourable House of Commons for a toleration of some congregations to enjoy an Independent government, which shall be established by law. Considering how many are of that way, some inhabiting in this kingdom—others who are come over into England on purpose—being sent as messengers of their churches to negotiate in that behalf, and observe how diligently and close they follow it, by daily attending at Westminster, by insinuating themselves into the company of sundry members of the House of Commons, by preaching often at Westminster, the more to ingratiate themselves and their cause, printing also their desire of a toleration of Independent government, and that with casting of dirt upon the reformation of the national church, whatever it may be, as witness the 'Protestation Protested' (of Burton), I have thought it my duty to offer these reasons against

Thomas Edwards.

the toleration of such churches to be erected in this kingdom."

Amongst other reasons, he says "it is not to be thought that Christ would institute such a government of his Church, which affords no help nor allows no way or remedy; no, not for one time, or *prima voce*, for innocent persons that are wronged, but where being no place for appeals, the parties oppressing must be the sole judges of the cause." He urged also against Independency the arbitrary proceedings of the ministers in New England, and contended there should be no open toleration of churches of that order.

Catharine Chidley.

CATHARINE CHIDLEY,* a spirited woman united with the Separatists, in reply to the last objection, said, "You affirm that these Independent men, where they have power, as in New England, will not tolerate any churches or government but in their own way. In using the word 'these,' you carry the matter so darkly that I know not whom you mean, for you have named none. But you seem to say, they be men that 'have power' in New England. I answer, Indeed it may happen to be so, that there may be some men there that take upon them authority to bind men's consciences, as you and all your fellows do here. But if it have been so, I think it *was because they had, here in England, taken upon them an Oath of Conformity*, as you have sometimes done; and because

* John Goodwin, in reference to the "Gangrena," says to his reader: "I have not read one quarter of the book as yet; a few days, I make no question, will give thee more 'light,' wherewith to comprehend his darkness. By that time the 'boughs' of his 'tree' (Isa. xxvii. 11) are a little more 'withered;' tney will be 'broken off'—'the *women*' will come and set them 'on fire.'"

the tyranny of the Prelates was so mighty against all good men, that they were fain to go away privately, and so had not time or opportunity to disclaim this their oath. And then there might be fear that upon complaint for disorder committed there, in suffering the liberty of the Gospel there, which could not be admitted here, they might have been sent for back by their ordinaries, and so to have been committed to some stinking prison here in London, there to have been murdered, as divers of the Lord's people have been of these late years, as I am able to prove of my own knowledge. And if they have been banished, any out of their patents that were neither disturbers of the peace of the land, nor the worship practised in the land, I am persuaded that it was their weakness; and I hope they will never attempt to do the like.

"You say, that without a toleration we may enjoy in a secret way our church fellowship. Indeed, Mr. Edwards, we have learned that lesson already, for Christ hath taught us that we shall 'fly into the wilderness,' and that 'the earth shall help us;' but sometimes it proves to the danger of our lives, and always to the danger of our liberty. As it may appear by the practice here in London, for though we meet never so privately and peaceably, yet such cattle as yourself are always 'bleating' in the ears of the parish officers and constables with your other officers, even till you move the Lord Mayor himself to be your drudge. And as your horn, which ye push forward for the destruction of our bodies, when he hath laid violent hands on them, for it is evident that it hath been to the loss of

some of their lives. And this is the liberty we have."

Burton, in his vindication of those churches commonly called Independent, met the other points urged by Edwards:—

Burton's Vindication.

"For *appeals in cases of injustice*, you know, brother, that if injustice be done in any civil matter, if redress may not be had by the mediation of the Church whereof the parties are members, then the law is open there to appeal for justice. And if it be about the Church's censure for some miscarriage of a member towards the Church, or any member thereof, if the censure be unjust, the party aggrieved may desire to have his cause heard by some other churches, who may accordingly deal with their sister church to require a brotherly account of the whole business, as is the duty of all the churches in such cases. And if it be in matter of opinion, here the appeal lies principally, and in the first place, to the Scripture, as the Supreme Judge; and if the thing be obscure, and too hard for that church to resolve by the Scripture, then to call in the help of other churches for their best information. And in some brother, there is no case can fall out in any church which hath not as many helps by a free communion of churches wherein every church's peculiar liberties and privileges are preserved as they ought to be; as any you can name to be in your obligatory combination of churches, whereby the liberty of each church is, by common consent, sold over to others, by which it ceaseth now to be a free church of Christ, under his only jurisdiction and government.

"In reference to the liability to error, some may object that our Church, standing by itself, is more subject to fall into error than when combined with other churches.

"To which I answer, that every particular church enjoying its own freedom, without any enjoined combination with other churches, may much longer preserve itself from danger of error when it hath its free choice in matters of difference or difficulty; to consult only with those churches which it knows to be sound and orthodox, than when it is fast bound and encircled with this or that combination of churches, being in number twelve or

twenty, or more or less, whose votes must carry every controversy, according to the several humours of such and such at all adventure."

It was not pretended that by any regulations that could be adopted in accordance with the precepts and examples of the New Testament, that ministers could be exempted from trial, or the peace could be uniformly maintained. The weakness of human nature was not confounded by them with defect in the law of Christ.

Baillie was much disturbed by the publication of the Separatists' pamphlet. He says: — "The 'Guide to Sion,' not yet much eyed, yea, disavowed by all; but, if God give our Church peace, I am afraid for the grounds of that sect: when we have battered down Rome and Leyden, the walls of Amsterdam I wish might hold in their brazen shot from these places of our towers that are most weak. I pray you help me with some pieces of Brownism; we will have need of such weapons presently, both offensive and defensive. We are put in hopes to gain these men, if we be dexterous; but I am more feared they gain some of us; for, so far as yet I see, according to the grounds of too many among us, the Brownist's arguments are unanswerable: it is in vain to abhor the conclusion when the antecedent is loved: such hatred is not sincere, or cannot be constant."

Baillie on "Brownism."

In his special instructions to Alexander Cunninghame, in his confidential mission to England, Baillie says:—"The Brownists had a church there (in London); there are in the City enough of them. Confer with some of their preachers, or discreet

people. See if they at Amsterdam, and these of New England, and these who yet are at home, be of one mind, that will not acknowledge the jurisdiction of synods. Try my catalogue of Brownist books, search at London where they may be found, at what price, and what more of that kind, that I may know what of them to send for. Try the estate of private meetings at London, how they are taken by the zealous ministers who are not Brownists, if there be anything written for that point, *pro* or *contra*."

Parishioners of Glaiffaird.

The parishioners of Glaiffaird, much to the horror of Baillie, insisted that one Article of the covenant "is the *minister's election by the people*." In the case of a minister forced upon them without their consent, they came to resist "with ther swordes" his induction. "The people who oppose for the most part are silly cotters, being animat by their Reider; they threatenit in the face of the presbytery nothing bot fyr and sword, that the pudder and leid they wer to spend for ther covenant at Dunce wes to be imployit at ther church whensoever the presbytery would come ther to oppugne the same covenant. Mr. David Diksone is much grivit with that people's unrasonable outymous, and verie dangerous folies." He says to Mr. Arch. Jhonstown, advocate for the Church:—

"Archibald, the knot is worthy your pains; at once it may be a common and pernicious case for yoking of patrons, presbyter, and people all by the ears in the whole country, if a few preparatives pass, with the particular, which for your information I have written. Let your study and write run mainly on the general—whether by our covenant

are we obliged to stand punctually without dispensation, by these passages of our Discipline which really put down the right, and frustrate the use of patronages—namely, that passage in 4th heid of our First Book of Discipline, '*It apperteines to the people, and everie severall congregation, to elect ther minister.*' Does not that chapter at length give the right of election to the people alone, to the patron not at all, to churchmen only in the case of a people's neglect, and that for full forty days? Are we not all sworn to maintain the Acts of the Assembly of Glasgow? and so that Twentieth Article of the Twenty-third Session, where not only all that seek presentations without the advice of the presbytery are ordained to be repelled as *rei ambitus*, but also all who directly or indirectly does use any one for an entry, are ordained to be rejected; so then, is not this the clear method which the Glasgow Assembly commands, that these who desire that worthy work of the ministry, must first seek the consent of the congregation, and then go seek the presbyter's good-will, while they are sitting in judgment, to get them warrant to be presented by patrons. All this the people of Glaiffaird take themselves bound to stand to by their blood. How can they be loosed? I pray you earnestly show me your mind and your clear reasons; for thir folks cairs for no man's opinions, without his clear grounds. The matter to me seems weighty, and of great consequence for the public. You shall do weel to tak some of Mr. Alexr's" (Alexander Henderson's) 'advyce.'"

Baillie writes further:—"All the English ministers at Holland, who are for New England way, are

now here. How strong their party will be here it is diversely reported; they are all on good terms with us; our only considerable difference will be about the jurisdiction of synods and presbyteries. As for Brownists and Separatists of many kinds, here they mislike them weell near as much as we. Of these there is no considerable partie. Anent private meetings, we know here no difference we have with anie. Our question with them of the new way we hope to get determined to our mutuall satisfaction, if we were ridd of bishops; and till then we have agreed to speak nothing of anything wherein we differ. Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Simonds, have all written very gracious treatises of sanctification, which I mind to bring with me. All of them are learned, discreet, and zealous men, weel seen in cases of conscience."

Return of English Ministers from Holland.

Suspicion was rife that the King intended to submit the people to the power of Rome. A pamphlet was issued, entitled *Vox Populi*, intimating to the King that the violation of his oath absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Sir Edward Nicholas, in a letter to the King (19 Sep., 1641), writes:—

King suspected of Popery.

"I am confident your Majesty, by this time, clearly perceives how it is insinuated upon all occasions, that Popery (which is generally exceedingly distasteful to your subjects of this kingdom, is too much favoured by your clergy here, and in your own Court, and that the opinion, however unjustly soever laid by Brownists on your Majesty's Government, hath and doth more than anything prejudice your Majesty in the esteem and affection of your people, whose love I humbly conceive to be so much your Majesty's interest, as that it ought to be preserved and

retained by your Majesty by all possible means; wherefore, I humbly offer to your Majesty's consideration, whether it be not requisite that your Majesty should now (during this recess) give some public assurance to the contrary, which, I humbly conceive may be done by your present conferring of such bishoprics and ecclesiastical dignitaries are 'now void upon persons of whom there is not the least suspicion of favouring the Popish party.'"*

In the autumn of 1641, the King visited Scotland to ingratiate himself with the Presbyterians, or in some way to strengthen his own position. He managed affairs so adroitly, that he returned with enthusiastic acclamation, "leaving the Scots a most contented people."

Royal visit to Scotland.

An insurrection in Ireland, and the intrigues connected with it, prompted the House of Commons after a vehement and protracted debate, to adopt the declaration of grievances known as the *Grand Remonstrance*. After a long rehearsal of the evils committed by the prelates and the promoters of arbitrary rule, they ask:—

Grand Remonstrance, Nov. 22, 1641.

"But what can we, the Commons, without the conjunction of the House of Lords? And what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and the recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent, that they are able to cross and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings.

"They infuse into the people that we mean to abolish all church government, and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes, under God, to his Majesty, whom we *know to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law as well as with the temporal, to regulate all the members of the Church of England by such rules of order and discipline* as are established by Parliament,

* Nicholas Correspondence. Evelyn's Diary, etc., vol. iv.

which is the great Council in all affairs, both of Church and State.

"We confess our intention is, and our endeavours have been to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God and to the laws of the land; to which end we passed the Bill for removing them from their temporal power and employments; *that so the better they might with meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their functions*, which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principal instruments of crossing it.

"And we do here declare that it is far *from our purpose or desire* to let loose the golden reins of discipline and government in the church; *to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of divine service they please;* for *we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the laws enjoin*, according to the Word of God. And we desire to unburden the consciences of men of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of idolatry.

"And the better to effect the intended reformation, we desire there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned and judicious divines of this island, assisted by some from foreign parts, professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, *and represent the result of their consultations to Parliament, to be there allowed and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority*, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom."

Attempt of the King to arrest the "Five Members."

The Speaker advised the King "to win the Commons by love." He thought rather to overawe the members by force, and came down to the House, Jan. 4, 1641-2, to seize five of their number (Hampden, Pym, Holles, Strode, and Haslerig), who were most obnoxious to him by their intrepid assertion of constitutional rights.

"A party of soldiers," writes Thomas Wiseman, "Papists and others, of about five hundred in number, came with his Majesty to the House of Commons; thrusting away the door-keepers, holding pistols to the door, and saying, 'I am a good marksman.' 'I can hit, I warrant you.' To the opposition members, they said, 'A pox of God confound them.' 'Let them come and be hanged.' 'What a do is here with the House of Commons.' The King 'finding the members sought for fled,' made a speech to the House very majestically, declaring his resolution to have them though they were then absent, promising not to infringe any of their liberties of Parliament, but commanding them to send the traitors to him if they came there again; and after his coming out, gave order to the Serjeant of Arms to find them out, and attach them before the King's coming. The House now very high, and as I was informed, sent to the City for four thousand men to be presently sent down for their guard; but none came, all the City being terribly amazed with that unexpected charge of those persons. Shops were all shut, many of which continue so. They likewise sent to the trained bands in the Court of Guard before Whitehall, to command them to disband, but they stayed still. After the King had been in the House there no more spoke, but only to adjourn till the next day. Yesterday it was my fortune to meet the King in a small train going into the City. Whereupon I followed him to Guildhall, when the Mayor all the Aldermen and Common Council were met, the King made a speech to them, declaring his intention to join with the Parliament in extirpation of Popery, all schisms and sectaries; of the redress of all grievances of the subject; and his care to preserve the privileges of the Parliament, and something of the Irish; and at last he had some familiar discourse with the Aldermen, and invited himself to dinner with the Sheriffs. After a little pause, a cry was set among the Common Council, 'Parliament! Privileges of Parliament!' and presently another 'God bless the King!' these two continued both at once a good while. I know not which was loudest. After some knocking for silence, the King commanded one to speak, if they had anything to say. One said, 'It is the vote of this court, that your Majesty hear the advice of your Parliament;' but presently another answered, 'It is not the vote of this court, it is your own vote.' One stood

upon a form, and cried 'the privileges of Parliament!' another cried out, 'Observe that man! apprehend him!' The King mildly replied, 'I have, and will observe all privileges of Parliament, but no privilege can prevent a traitor a legal trial,' and so departed. In the outer hall were a multitude of the ruder people, who as the King went out, set up a great cry, 'the privileges of Parliament.' The King went to Sheriff Garrett's, where he stayed till three o'clock, and then returning to Whitehall, the rude multitude followed, crying out again. 'The good King was somewhat moved,' Wiseman adds, 'and I believe was glad when he was at home.'"*

A placard soon afterwards appeared on the walls to the following effect:

"How are laws to be understood and obedience yielded, touching the militia?

"His Majesty is entrusted by law with the militia, but it is for the good and preservation of the republic against foreign invasions or domestic rebellions. Parliament did not by law intrust the militia against themselves or Commonwealth. Where there is certain appearance or grounded suspicion that the letter of the law shall be improved against the equity of it, that is, the public good; then the commander going against its equity, gives liberty to the commanded to refuse obedience to the latter, otherwise, the law would be as shadow without a substance."

On the next day, the King sent the following order:—

"Charles R.—Our will and pleasure is that you forthwith prepare a draught of a proclamation, declaring the course of our proceedings upon the accusation of high treason and other high misdemeanours charged against Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode, Members of our House of Commons, who, *being struck with the conscience of their own guilt* of so heinous crimes have made their escape, and our will and pleasure is that you thereby command all officers, ministers, and loving subjects, to use their

* S. P. Interregnum.

diligence in the apprehending and carrying of therein and every of them to our Tower of London, to be kept in safe custody, to be brought to trial according to justice; and that, moreover, you prohibit all our loving subjects to harbour, relieve, and maintain them with any other fit clause, and for doing hereof, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

"Given at our court at Whitehall, this fifth day of January, in the seventeenth of our reign.

"To trusty and right well beloved Councillor Sir Edward Nicolas, Knight, our principal Secretary of State."

Resistance of the Commons.

The Committee of the House of Commons sitting in the Guildhall, issued a declaration on the 6th of January, reciting the incidents of the attempted arrest, as a high breach of the rights and privileges of Parliament, and adds:—

"Whereas, afterwards his Majesty did issue forth several warrants to divers officers under his own hand, for the apprehension of the persons of the said members, which by law he cannot do, there being not all this time any legal charge or accusation or due processes of law issued against them. Nor any pretence of charge made known to that House, all which are against the fundamental liberties of the subject, and the rights of Parliament. Whereupon we are necessitated according to our duty to declare that if any person shall arrest Mr. Holles, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Strode, or any of them; or any other member of Parliament, by pretence or colour of any warrant issuing out from the King only, is guilty of the breach of the liberties of the subject and of the privileges of Parliament, and a public enemy to the Commonwealth: and that the arresting of the said members or of any other member of Parliament by any warrant soever, without a legal proceeding against them, and without consent of that House, whereof such a person is a member, is against the liberty of the subject and a breach of privilege, etc. Notwithstanding all which we think further to declare, that so far from any endeavour to protect any of our members that shall be in due manner prosecuted accord-

ing to the laws of this kingdom, and the rights and privileges of Parliament, for treason or any other misdemeanour, that none shall be more ready than we ourselves to bring them to a speedy and due trial; being sensible that it equally imports us as well to see justice done against them that are criminous, as to defend the just rights and liberties of the subjects and Parliament of England."

The friends of the King were alarmed and in great suspense. Wiseman writes, Jan. 6, 1641-2 :—

Alarm.

"We are not free from the fears of an insurrection; the six persons keep out of the way. The King came into the city yesterday and made a gracious speech to the Lord Mayor. What these distempers will produce, the God of heaven knows, but it is feared they cannot otherwise end than in blood. The Puritan faction with the sectaries and schismatics are so prevalent in the city and country; so that no man can tell if the King and Parliament should not agree which party will be the strongest."

Sidney Bere says, Jan. 8, "The Committee, sitting all last week in the City, returned * again to Parliament on Tuesday; and the persons accused with them, for whom both the city and country have shown so much affection that they, accompanied with such multitudes as had as much of triumph as a guard; and by water the seamen made a kind of fleet of boats, all armed with muskets and murdering pieces, which gave volleys all the way they went. The King and Queen took the day before a resolution to leave the town."

On the 13th of February the Queen left for Holland, and in her absence the King, to the con-

* The Committee had withdrawn from the Parliament to consult privately.

sternation of his adherents, made large concessions to Parliament, watching for an opportunity to improve his position, or to weaken their parties. The King wrote at different stages of the contest to the various leaders opposed to his designs. In a letter dated from "the Court at Leicester, July 23rd, 1642, to the General Assembly in Scotland, he intimated in the most gracious terms his willingness to meet their wishes. "God," he said, "whose vicegerent we are, hath made us a King over divers kingdoms; and we have no other desire or design but to govern them by their own canons and constitutions. Where anything is found amiss we will endeavour a reformation in a fair and orderly way. It shall be a delight and matter of gladness to us that the Gospel be faithfully preached throughout the whole kingdom to the utmost skirts and borders thereof: and for this effect that holy and able men be put in places of the ministry, and that schools and colleges may flourish in true learning and piety."

Flight of the King and Queen.

Overtures to the General Assembly.

On the preceding day, some ministers of the Church of England wrote to the General Assembly to assure their brethren in Scotland that the desire of the most godly and considerable part amongst them was for the establishment of Presbyterian government.

Naturally, sanguine expectations were raised that all the difficulties in the way of the Puritan Reformation would now be overcome. The General Assembly at St. Andrews replied to the King, July 27, 1642: "Our hearts were filled with great joy and gladness at the hearing of your Majesty's letter, which was

read once and again in face of the Assembly. Every line thereof almost either expressing such affection to the reformed religion, and such royal care of us as we could require from a Christian Prince, or requiring such necessary duties from us as we are bound to perform as ministers of the Gospel and Christian subjects, for which as solemn thanksgivings were given by the Moderator of the Assembly, so do we all with one voice in all humility present unto your Majesty the thanksgiving of our hearts."

So much encouraged, the General Assembly wrote to the Parliament of England, Aug. 25, 1642 :— "We now look for a perfect and thorough reformation ; all may resort to the same public worship, and the name of Heresies and Sectaries, Puritans, Conformists, Separatists and Anabaptists may be suppressed. The prelatical hierarchy being put out of the way, *the work will be easy*."

An ordinance had been adopted, April 9, 1642, to the following effect :—"The Lords and Commons do declare that they intend a due and necessary reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church; and to take away nothing in the one or other but what shall be evil and justly offensive; or at the least unnecessary and burdensome. And for the better effecting thereof speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines. And because this will never of itself obtain the end sought therein, they will therefore use their utmost endeavour to establish learned and preaching ministers with a good and sufficient maintenance throughout the whole kingdom; wherein many dark corners are miserably destitute of the means

Ordinances for Reformation.

of salvation, and many poor ministers want necessary provision."

Whilst the King feigned moderation, and professed to consult the interests of his people, and so kept Parliament at bay, Henrietta, his Queen, was working incessantly to raise troops on the Continent. These movements, together with a contest for the military occupation of Hull, led to open rupture. On 23rd of August, 1642, the King raised his standard at Nottingham. The marauding troops in their first skirmishes were guilty of various excesses. Strict regulations were prepared to prevent the repetition of them; and to give effect to the military code, his Majesty, on his first appearance in the army in September, made this speech to the soldiers :—

Civil War begun.

"GENTLEMEN,—You have heard these orders read. It is your part, in your several places, to observe them exactly. The time cannot be long before we come to action; therefore, you have the more reason to be careful. And I must tell you I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who transgress these instructions. I cannot suspect your courage and resolution; your conscience and your loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your religion, your King, and the laws of the land. You shall meet with no enemies but traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists; such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your valour, if it please God to bless it with success, I have thought fit to publish my resolution to you in a Protestation; which, when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better quarrel, in which I promise to live and die with you." *

The Parliamentary army took the field, issuing a counter declaration. The documentary state-

* S. P. Interregnum.

ments are too numerous and extensive for citation. We gain a glimpse of the opening campaign in the letters of soldiers writing from the camp.

Letters from the Camp.

"Northampton, 13th Sept., 1642.

"Those of the ministers nominated in your letter came to us on Friday morning. Worthy Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick gave us a worthy sermon, and my company in particular went to hear him in rank and file. Mr. John Sedgwick was appointed to preach in the afternoon; but we had news that Prince Rupert had plundered Market Harborough, and fired some adjacent towns, and our regiment was immediately drawn into the field; but being informed of their fleeing away, we returned. Saturday morning, Mr. John Sedgwick gave us a famous sermon. Afternoon, our regiment marched forth to meet his Excellency, who was in great state welcomed in the town, and the watchword this night was 'Welcome.' This night, and the day following, our company watched the north gate. Sabbath morning, Mr. Marshall, that worthy champion of Christ, preached unto us. Afternoon, Mr. Ash (by relation), but as yet I have not seen him. Those, with their sermons, have already subdued and satisfied more malignant spirits amongst us than a thousand armed men could have done, so that we have great hopes of a blessed union."

"To the worthy and his much honoured friend, Mr. Willingham, merchant, at the Golden Anchor, St. Swithin's Lane. These present:

"Worcester, Sept. 26.

"Here we abode all night, where we had small comfort, for it rained hard. Our food was fruit, for those that could get it; our drink water, and beds, the earth; our canopy the clouds; but we pulled up the hedges, pales, and gates, and made a good fire—his Excellency promising us that if the country relieved us not the next day, he would fire the towns. Thus we continued, singing of psalms, until the morning. The next evening we marched into Worcester, our regiment in the rear of the waggons, the rain continuing the whole day, and the way so bad that we

walked to the ancles in thick clay, and about four o'clock, afternoon, entered the city.

"Sabbath morning.—Our soldiers entered the vault of the college where his Excellency was to hear a sermon, and found eleven barrels of gunpowder and a pot of bullets. This day, Mr. Marshall, Sedgwick, and Gee preached about the city, but I, being upon the Court of Guard, could not hear them. This evening his Excellency proclaimed that no soldier should plunder either church or private house, on pain of death.

"I humbly entreat, let me hear of your welfare, my mistress, and your family. Sir, it is extreme haste that makes me compose so confusedly; and, therefore, with my service to Elizabeth, Anna, John, and little Samuel, and my love to all my fellow-servants,

"I rest yours, in all good service until death,

"NEHEMIAH WHARTON."

"Worcester, Sept. 30.

"Worcestershire is a pleasant, fruitful, and rich country, abounding in corn, woods, pastures, hills, and valleys: every hedge and highway beset with fruit, especially with pears; whereof they make that pleasant drink called perry, which they sell for a penny a quart, though better than ever you tasted in London. Touching the city, it is larger than any I have seen since I left home; and, like London, it abounds in outward things of all kinds.

"The late skirmish was about one mile from the city. Our troops on that side were divided to keep the passage, which was at the end of a narrow lane. The treacherous citizens, in multitudes, with muskets, lay on each side of the hedge. This done, the Prince, with other forces, went to meet them, but first sounds a false alarm, informing them that the Cavaliers were all fled, and had left the city, and also that his Excellency was come even to the gate. Immediately the troops there posted away to meet his Excellency, for Sir William Balford, Col. Clarke, and our other commanders, heard not of it, but hasting down a narrow lane, the Prince asked him 'whom he was for?' He answered, 'For King and Parliament.' He replied, 'Not for the King alone?' He answered, 'No.' Then said the Prince, 'For the King! have at you!' The colonel answered, 'For the

Parliament! have at you!' And so they dashed at each other. The rest followed them, and presently those in ambush fired upon them, as also the musqueteers behind the hedges. The horsemen charged not the second time, but immediately fell to with their swords; so that for the space of almost an hour the skirmish was exceeding hot.

"They report to the King that they have slain eight hundred of our men, when there were but two hundred and eighty slain in all, and some of them Cavaliers. Of this I am certain, for I told all their graves, and searched the registers of St. John's parish, where they were all buried. They boast wonderfully, and swear most hellishly, that the next time they meet us they will make but a mouthful of us; but I am persuaded the Lord hath given them this small victory that they may in the day of battle come on more presumptuously to their own destruction."

CHAPTER XI.

In anticipation of the Assembly to be held at Westminster, the divines who were called to preach before Parliament, in the Abbey, or at St. Margaret's Church, freely expressed their opinions. "Great joys," said Simeon Ash, "have been raised in our hearts by understanding from your intentions to call an assembly of divines. Give me leave in the name of many to request your *great care in the choice of men* most meet for that great work. Let them be men of approved piety, Scripture men, and men not biassed with selfish partiality." Pulpit counsels.

Thomas Goodwin recommended *caution*. "Be sure," he said, "you establish nothing but what you have full, clear, and general light for. Condemn nothing, and suffer nothing to be condemned, in which you, in your consciences are doubtful there may be a truth. Edward Reynolds was deeply concerned for *unity*. "Right honourable," he said, "this nation hath put into your hands all that is outwardly dear unto them. In these sad and woeful distractions, they look upon you as binders, and healers, and standers in the gap, and repairers of waste places, 'remember the fate of a divided king-

dom.' At the first meeting of Parliament with the Corporation of London, great officers of state, military commanders, the divines of the assembly, and Scottish commissioners in Christ Church, Jan. 18, 1643, STEPHEN MARSHALL fell into an ecstacy of admiration. "O beloved!" he exclaimed, "how beautiful is the face of this assembly! Verily, I may say of it, as it was said of Solomon's throne, that the like was not to be seen in any other nation. I question wherever the like assembly was seen this thousand years upon the face of the earth."

Westminster Assembly.

The memorable synod met first in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and then, on adjournment, in the Jerusalem Chamber in Westminster Abbey. We are concerned chiefly with its proceedings in relation to the Congregational polity, and the freedom of Christian association. The five "Dissenting brethren," with the co-operation of a few others, were there to contend for the scriptural character of the principles they held, and to secure for their brethren of the same opinions a permanent home in the land of their father's sepulchres. By their learning, readiness, tact and perseverance, they won the admiration even of their most bitter opponents, and contributed largely to prevent an intolerant Presbyterian establishment. Indirectly, perhaps, their influence was still greater in the instruction of all ranks and classes of the people in Congregational principles. Outside the assembly were more consistent advocates of their church polity, who sought liberty for the oppressed Separatist churches. The Westminster Assembly held one thousand one hundred and sixty-three sessions, and gave rise to discussions as

prolific as its own debates. We do not attempt to thread the labyrinth of this prolonged and diversified controversy.

From the mass of speeches, letters, and pamphlets called forth in the course of the debates, and subsequently, we glean the information given on the subject of the Independent or Congregational Church order.

Congregational Questions.

The name INDEPENDENT was a topic of consideration. "This proud and insolent title of Independency," said the Dissenting brethren, "was affixed to us, the very sound of which conveys to all men's apprehensions the challenge of an exemption from all subjection and dependence, or rather a trumpet of defiance against whatever power, spiritual or civil, which we abhor and detest."

Thomas Hooker was careful to explain the meaning of the term. The word in its fair and inoffensive sense, imports thus much: "*every particular congregation, rightly constituted and completed hath sufficiency in itself to exercise all the ordinances of the church.*"

Term Independent.

The Pilgrim Fathers concurred in the views of Burton, who said:—

"The 'Tabernacle of the Congregation,' in the Old Testament, was a type of every particular church of Christ under the New Testament, as being both one entire church and absolute; subject to no other form of government but only that of the only lawgiver and mediator, Jesus Christ. Every particular church now, consisting of visible saints, is under Christ, as the only Head, King, Governor, Lawgiver of it; and so *is subject to no other jurisdiction than that of Christ, his Spirit, his Word.*"*

JOHN OWEN, with clearness and precision says:—

* Vindication, 42.

"*The Lord Jesus hath ordained no power nor order in his Church, no office or duty that should stand in need of the civil authority, sanction, or force to preserve it, or make it effectual unto its proper ends.**

"The magistrate can form, erect, or institute no new church state, which is not ordained and appointed by Christ and his apostles, by virtue of his authority, and what he doth of that nature appoint is called a church only equivocally or by reason of some resemblance unto that which is properly so called.

"To dissent from what is so appointed by the supreme power, in and about the state, form, rule, and worship of churches, whatever other evil it may be charged with, or supposed to be liable unto, can have nothing in it of that which the Scriptures condemn under the name of schism, which hath respect only unto what is stated by Christ Himself."

THE ORIGIN OF CHURCHES, or the reason of their existence, was another point carefully considered. The Christian church stands essentially related to Christ.

Origin of Churches.

"The mystical body is the church of true believers, who being effectually called by his Word and Spirit, by faith yielding to the call, are spiritually united unto Christ; from whom, as from a head, all spiritual life and motion is communicated on his part and received on theirs; the political body or church visible, results out of that relation which is betwixt professors of the faith when by voluntary consent they yield outward subjection to that government of Christ, which in his Word He hath prescribed."†

Practical Design.

With respect to the PRACTICAL DESIGN of the church, Owen maintains that Congregational churches are best adapted for the purpose of Christ in its institution.

"The first of these," he says, "is mutual love among all Christians, all the disciples of Christ.

* Owen's Inquiry, etc., 170. † T. Hooker's Survey, 3.

"Another end is that the church might be 'the ground and pillar of the truth.'" (1 Tim. iii. 15.)

1. "That it preserve the truth itself and in the profession of all its members against all seducers, false teachers and errors by mutual cognizance.

2. "That each church take care that the same truth be preserved entire, as unto the profession of it in all other churches, or dissolve communion.

3. "To propagate the gospel. Of necessity *the proper persons to become members of the Christian Church, are such as may with sincerity unite for the promotion of the main design of its institution.*"

On the *constitution, right, order, and government of the churches of Christ*, Thomas Goodwin writes:

"In the books of the New Testament manifold particular directions and notes are given, purposely and professedly written to direct in the government of churches, and ordering the worship of them" (p. 17). 'All churches were ordered by the same rule' (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 1 Cor. xvi. 3). 'The grand charter of church government, or the power of keys, is granted not to ministers in particular, only excluding the people, but to the whole body of believers" (p. 53).

Constitution and order.

Ministerial or delegated power, Thomas Hooker states,* is given to many, power of judgment (1 Cor. v. 12), and the power of gifts, and of election.

"In all combinations there is and will be some common end; that end must have means to attain it. To these means and rules each man must bind himself to attend; and in case he do not, to submit to another to be directed and reformed, or else to yield to the whole, that he may be censured and removed therefrom. For otherwise the end cannot be attained, nor the means attended with profit, or any powerful success in reason.

"It is the highest law in all policy, civil or spiritual, to preserve *the good of the whole: at this all must aim, and unto this all must be subordinate*" (p. 188).

"No man by nature hath ecclesiastical power over another; by constraint it cannot be imposed regularly, for co-active power

* Hooker's Survey, Part i., chap. ii., 187.

expressed by outward constraint and violence is cross wholly to the government of Christ in his Church" (p. 189).

"As Nature gives not this power, so a civil ruler should not impose it. Whatever is done here in the constitution of churches is done by an ecclesiastical ruler, not by a rule of policy.

"*So far as by free consent, their combination goes; so far, and no further, the power they have over one another reacheth*" (p. 190).

"The second thing to be inquired is, the manner how this is to be communicated. Those who are thus met together having power dispersed among themselves, they voluntarily consent to unite this their power, and to devolve it upon one, to whom they will submit; *walking by rules of Christ, and confining himself within the compass thereof.*

"Christ gave some to be pastors, some to be teachers. He alone, out of his supreme and regal power, doth furnish them with grace and abilities, appoints the work, lays out the compass thereof, the manner of dispensing, and the order and bounds of their dispensation. The Church, by voluntary subjection, gives them this united right of rule to be exercised over them; and this is their outward calling, by which they are warranted to act and to put forth their abilities and ministerial authority over such people."

On the subject of ECCLESIASTICAL POWER, Hooker says:—

Power of the Keys.

"The *power of the keys* is given to the people: the power of the keys doth not make a pastor: the power of the keys is of larger extent than the power of office" (p. 204).

To the objection—"If Christ give his keys, He gives answerable gifts to use the keys; but such gifts He doth not give to all believers," he replies:—

"Such only are to be members of the visible church who are in charity's judgment visible saints; and those who are such they have received an anointing in some measure—so that they will hear and discern the voice of Christ, and will follow Him, and will submit to Him: such are able to discern false doctrine and false teachers; such are able to choose themselves pastors, as being able to relish the savour of spiritual adminis-

trations, and to feel what key will best open their lock—can see and discern what courses be sinful and scandalous — persons obstinate and pertinacious therein. If such have power to reject false and erroneous teachers, as well as choose them, they have in reason power and skill to discern scandalous offenders, and to reject them."

ORDINATION. — Their ordination of officers, John Davenport says :—

"Deputing some chosen out of their own body thereunto, in the want of officers, is an act of the power of the keys residing in them; for, though the offices of elders in general, and the authority of their office, as they are rulers, is from Christ immediately; yet the investing of this or that elect person with this office and authority, in relation to this or that church, by application of it to him in particular, rather than to another, this is by the Church." * Ordination.

Thomas Hooker says :—

"It is plain that ordination, presupposeth an officer constituted, *does not constitute*, therefore it is *not an act of power*, but of *order;* therefore, though it be most comely that those of the same congregation should exercise it, yet the elders also of other congregations may be invited thereunto, and interested in the exercise of it in another church where they have no power, and upon a person who hath more power in the place than themselves. †

"Though the act of ordination belong to the presbytery, yet the *jus et potestas ordinandi* is conferred firstly upon the Church by Christ, and resides in her. It is in them *instrumentaliter:* in her, *originaliter*. They dispense it immediately, and she by them mediately." ‡

On the Spirit of Controversy, Thomas Hooker says :—

"If men would be tender and careful to keep off offensive expressions, they might keep some distance in opinion, in some

* Power of Congregational Churches, 104.

† Hooker's Survey, part ii., 59. ‡ Ibid., 76.

things, without hazard to truth or love. But when men set up their sheaves, though it be but in a dream, as Joseph's was, and fall out with every one that will not fall down and adore them, they will bring much trouble into the world, and but little advantage to truth or peace."

MAJORITIES.—"In all these proceedings of the Church," says Cotton:—

Common consent.

"When we say we do this or that with *common consent*, our meaning is, we do not carry our matters, either by the overruling power of the Presbytery, or by the consent of the *major part* of the church; for we read in the Acts of the Apostles, the primitive church, which is a pattern for succeeding ages, carried all their administrations ὁμοθυμαδὸν, that is, with one accord, Acts ii. 46; as becometh the Church of God, which ought to be of one heart, and one soul, and one mind, and one judgment, and to speak the same thing, Acts iv. 32; 1 Cor. i. 10; Phil. ii. 2, 3. But if it so fall out that any difference do arise, as sometime there doth, through the remaining darkness of our minds, seeing we all know but in part, then such as do dissent from their brethren are required to propound the grounds of their dissent, which if they be weighty, and held forth from the light of the Word, all the rest do submit, and yield thereunto; not as to the voice of their brethren only, but as to the voice of Christ, whose voice alone must rule in the church, and all the sheep of Christ will hear it; and all the upright in heart will follow it. But if the grounds of such as do dissent, do, upon due consideration, appear to have little or no weight in them, the officers of the church, or some other of the brethren, do declare unto them the invalidity thereof, if they be satisfied the matter in hand doth then proceed with the common consent of all; if they be not satisfied yet, it is either through *want of light* (and so through weakness of judgment), or through *strength of pride*, and so through *stiffness of will*. If the former be the let, they take further pains lovingly to inform them, and patiently bear with them, till matters be further cleared; so that at length, they come either to consent, to go along with their brethren, or at least to be content to refer the matter to the judgments of their brethren, and for their part to sit still, and to make no further dealings with the church's proceedings; but

if through partiality or prejudice their dissent do appear to spring from *stiffness of will*, or from a spirit of contradiction (which yet falleth out very rarely), insomuch, that they will not be brought by loving and brotherly information to give way to the better judgments of their brethren; the church doth proceed with common consent to admonish them of their pride and self-willedness, and so leave them under the *censure of admonition:* whereby the liberty of their voice is taken from them, till they have removed this offence from the spirits of their brethren; but if it do appear that the dissent, whether of one or more brethren, do arise from such darkness and intricacy of the matter in hand, as that the officers and members of the church do find themselves either unable to clear the matter fully, or at least unfit, in regard of some prejudice which may be conceived against them, which sometimes doth fall out, though very seldom; in such a case, when the matter is weighty, and the doubt is great on both sides, then, with common consent, we call in for light from other churches, and intreat them to send over to us such of their elders and brethren as may be fit to judge in such a cause. Upon their coming, the church meeting together in the name of Christ, the whole cause, and all the proceedings in it, are laid open to them; who, by the help of Christ, pondering and studying all things according to the rule of the Word, the truth is cleared, a right way of peace and concord discovered and advised, and the spirits of the brethren on all parts comfortably satisfied."

COMMUNION OF CHURCHES. Cotton says:—

"Though our church claim no power either, or ordination, or jurisdiction over another, for we know of none such given us by Christ, yet we maintain brotherly communion one with another, so far as we may also help forward our mutual communion with the Lord Jesus. The Communion of Saints is accounted an article of the Creed, and communion of churches is but a branch thereof. Several ways there be wherein we exercise holy communion one with another, which for distinction and memories' sake, we may sum up in so many short names:—1. Participation; 2. Recommendation; 3. Consultation; 4. Congregation; 5. Contribution; 6. Admonition; 7. Propagation or Multiplication of churches."

Communion of Churches.

The question of MINISTERIAL SUPPORT was fully discussed. In answer to the question "How should the minister provide for his family?" Hooker replies:—

Support of ministers.

"The church must make provision *not of liberty* or *courtesy*, which may be done or left undone; but it is a *duty* and a *work of justice* unto which the church is called, and to the performance whereof they are bound in conscience.

"This provision should be so honourable and comfortable as that it may attain the end for which it was appointed by God, and so collected by the people and given to the ministers.

"The RULE. Let him that is taught in the Word, communicate to him that teacheth in all good things.

"Everyone that is taught, servant or master, bond or free, rich or poor.

"This way of maintenance is most safe, and certainly in the times of the gospel most suitable to the mind of God.

"In case any member shall fail in this contribution, he sins in a breach of the known rule of the gospel. It appertains to the church, to see the reformation of that evil; those who neglect this duty must be admonished by the deacons."

"The contribution of maintenance to a minister," Thomas Goodwin says, "is left free, and it is fit it should be so."

1. "That it may be an exercise of grace to the people, and an offering of sacrifice to God. And such a freedom agrees with the genius of the Gospel. It is suited to the nature of its services, which requires a willing people.

2. "This act is left to the freedom of the people, that they may have an opportunity of exercising their love, to the increase of the grace of love in them. Whilst the minister enlargeth their hearts they stretch their purses for him.

3. "Hereby ministers avoid the reproach of preaching for lucre. Hereby the calling of the ministry becomes more honourable in the eyes of men, where they see that it is not mercenary, and that a minister hath not set fees, as others have. The performance of this act is left to the liberality of the people, that

they might have an opportunity of sowing more plentifully to the Spirit (Gal. vi.) even as men, when they would have more. They used to leave it to the liberty of the giver. It is free that the duty might come under a more transcendent rule than that of mere justice. Thus, that children should maintain their parents when poor, is a duty which nature and justice requires, and the relief and supplies should be in proportion to their abilities. Yet justice ordinarily sets not the rate and proportion, because the duty is also further an act of piety, and so left to the good nature and disposition of the person (1 Tim. v. 4—7). In this duty you are yet to have a distinct view of justice in your eye. You must pay it in a just proportion, not only to the necessities of your officers; but suitably to the dignity of their place, and the greatness of their labour. Though you are free in communicating it, yet a law of common justice must run along in the distribution: for if it be due by rules of justice, the proportion in distribution is to be regulated by justice, for the proportion is just as well as the thing. As the maintenance is due to the minister, so you ought to give so much; or so much, as by rules of justice, his office and work are valuable: so that you should give, as to the proportion of it, is not left to your wisdom, or the discretion of your spirit, but must go by a just rule.

"There ought to be set means of a competent maintenance, established by mutual covenant and agreement, that the pastor and the people may be mutually engaged. And this will take place in a way of justice, and there ought, likewise, to be an enlargement of his maintenance by free-will offerings. This is a natural way, and since the apostle urgeth this duty, both from reason of nature and justice (1 Cor. ix. 7—12), why should not both of them be observed? Both these ways of maintenance were appointed by the Levites, who, as they had cities for their settled inheritance and fixed tithes, so they had free-will offerings from the people. And, indeed, these two methods joined together are advantageous to both parties; for, as the first secures a certainty of maintenance for the minister, so the other makes him to have a dependence on the love and affection of the people."

John Cotton describes the mode of contribution in New England:—

"In the afternoon, after public prayer offered unto God, either by the pastor or teacher, and the Word read and expounded by him who preached in the morning, if there be time, and preached by the other, and the sacrament of Baptism administered, if any of the Church do offer their children thereunto; the deacons, who sit in a seat under the elders, yet in sundry churches lifted up higher than the other pews, do call upon the people, that as God hath prospered them, and hath made their hearts willing, there is now time left for the contribution. Presently the people, from the highest to the lowest, in sundry churches, do arise, the first pew first, the next next, and so the rest, in order to present before the Lord their holy offerings, Deut. xvi. 16; Acts iv. 35; Act vi. 3." (P. 69).

Mode of Contribution.

In the serious matter of *excommunication*, the New England divines recommended the exercise of the utmost care* :—

"If the offence be notorious, and that a brother be constrained to 'tell it to the Church' by way of preparation, the offence must first be brought to the elders, and by them debated and delivered to the Church. It appertained to them to judge whether the things alleged be of weight and worth; for if they be petty businesses, it is in their power to prevent such

Excommunication.

* Note. We have a practical illustration of the *method of adjusting difficulties in the choice of ministers* under the New England system in the case of Suffield.

Dissensions arose in reference to candidates. One of them, "though a good man, was too much addicted to facetiousness and wit." It was voted to invite four neighbouring ministers to give their advice and counsel who they shall judge to be a likely and suitable person to dispense the word of God to us, and, after our bitterly-to-be-lamented differences, to be a repairer and healer of our breaches, and instrumental to unite us, and bring us again into one. Ultimately the people, in town meeting (Aug. 1, 1695), adopted the following preamble and resolution:—

"It having pleased God, in his providence, to incline the heart of Mr. Benjamin Ruggles to come and give us a visit, soe that we for some Sabbaths have had a taste of his labours, and proof of his abilities and accomplishments for the work of the ministry, to the good likeing, satisfaction, and con-

causeless and needless disturbance, and, therefore, to suppress any further proceeding therein. So yet, to prevent injustice and partiality in such cases, the party who takes himself to be wronged may complain of the elders in that behalf, and if the congregation see apparently that they have dealt unjustly and partially, it is in their power to rectify it; but if the complaint prove unjust and unreasonable, be it at the peril of him that complains, for he is to be censured sharply and severely, as refusing to listen to the seasonable advice and counsel of those who were set over him by the Lord; as also because he hath needlessly disturbed the peace of the congregation. The accusation made is to be in explicit terms, and with valid proofs. The exclusive, deliberate, and solemn excommunication being an ordinance of so great concernment unto all, must be proceeded in with much moderation, pity, patience, and long sufferance; if there can be a healing of a corrupt member, we must not be hasty to cut it off. It must not be for petty aberrations, but for such evils as the mind and conscience of a man, enlightened by the truth of God, would

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tent of his auditors; we, therefore, the inhabitants of Suffield, being warned, and orderly convened and assembled together the 1st of August, 1695, have joyntly and unanimously agreed, and by a full and clear vote manifested the same, to give Mr. Benjamin Ruggles a call to returne and dispense the things of God to us, and that, in order to his continuance and settlement amongst us in due time, may it please the Lord to incline his heart to embrace the same."

This call was renewed in May, 1697, and March 1, 1697-8. Mr. Ruggles having made some proposals to the town, in order to his settlement, they were, "after some debate," accepted.

At this time the Court of Quarter Sessions addressed the following communication to the people of Suffield:—

"Springfield, March 1, 1698.

"To the Inhabitants of the Town of Suffield.

"Gentlemen,—The Quarter Sessions of the Peace, now sitting at Springfield, having an intimation of some differences and dissatisfactions among yourselves referring to the full settling of the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Ruggles as your minister to dispense the word of God to you, and to carry on the work of Christ in that great and weighty affair and concern, which hath a great influence unto the welfare, benefit, and advantage of your place and all the inhabitants thereof, both in temporal and spiritual respects, and therefore ought to be well weighed and seriously considered with humble, sensible, and penitent application to God for guidance and direction; and inasmuch as the

condemn in himself, or any upon the first serious consideration, were his understanding left to the liberty of reason, and not perverted with prejudice and selfishness."

Baptismal controversy.

The Baptismal controversy received due attention; perhaps even more than its importance in the "proportion of faith" demanded. No point in the earnest discussion requires special notice, if we except the effective manner in which John Toombs met the unfair allegation that the Anti-pædobaptists were identical with the wild fanatics of Munster:

"Anti-pædobaptism," he said, "hath no ill influence in Church or Commonwealth. It is no marvel that when men grow into sects, such things happen (as the atrocities of John of Leyden). Such things happen when the reformation of an abuse is denied men by an orderly synodical way, and the persons

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law of this province gives a particular advice and conclusion in your case, as it is circumstanced, *you having no settled church of Christ in your town*; the law is express, that the major part of such a town agreeing, taking, or obtaining the advice of three orthodox ministers, pointing and directing to a man most suitable, such one to be the minister for such a place, and such a town, engaged to attend and maintain him; and although some particular persons in the town may have some objections as to circumstances of qualifications or otherwise, which we judge ought at this juncture to be overlooked and laid by, and all persons readily and willingly comply and unanimously agree to renew your addresses unto Mr. Ruggles, fully to settle him with you in that great work; as also that you endeavour to obtain the help and direction of the Rev. Mr. Stoddard, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Brewer; and such others as you may see meet to call and invite to meet at your place to advise and persuade Mr. Ruggles, as also to advise the people to a full settlement of this so great an affair, which this Court do earnestly advise to. Such an opportunity of advantage once lost, may not easily be recovered again. And therefore, being very desirous of your welfare and good settlement in this weighty matter, and that the blessing and presence of the great Shepherd of Israel may be with and increase you in all respects, that God may be glorified by you, and you may find increase in grace, knowledge, love, peace, and that the God of peace may settle, stablish, and unite you and all things to his glory; and your welfare is the desire and prayer of this Court, to which we subscribe this 2nd of March, 1698. "Per JOHN PYNCHON, Clerk."

that seek it declaimed against, accused, and persecuted as schismatics and heretics; and unlearned and factious men join with a discontented party for sinister ends, so that the men that hold an opinion have no regular ministry, nor orderly meetings to debate or conclude of things amongst themselves, and to agree upon a confession of their doctrine, to be by all avouched. *These miscarriages were argumentative, if they did arise from the nature of the doctrine taught.* But when they come only from the weakness, or rashness, or malignity of the assertions, or from the violence of opposers, we must not jumble things together, but by sifting the matter to the bran, sever the nature of the doctrine from the quality and actions of the teachers, else we shall as soon lose truth as find it."

Geree, in reply, says:—

"The first great unhappy mutineer of the opinion, Munster, took the occasion for his insolences from Luther's book on *Christian Liberty;* and these unhappy followers of the City Munster took occasion from an erroneous conceit touching a kingdom of Christ to be upon earth. Now, when I consider how at this time liberty of conscience is cried up far beyond those bonds that Luther would give (as I conceive, for I have not read his book), and with what confidence a temporal kingdom of Christ upon earth is asserted, wherein in person He is to destroy the wicked; and this cried up specially by men of that opinion, and that with expectations that this kingdom is at the door: nay, if I mistake not, some think that we are acting the prologue of it. I say these considerations may be a sufficient warning to all in authority, though not to look on this opinion as necessarily inferring such abuses, yet to be very cautious to prevent them."

Of Creeds, Cotton says:—

"We have reason to thank God that we desire not to be accounted Catholics or hierarchies, nor to stand members of a diocesan, or provincial, or cathedra, or national church, but we witness against them all; that He hath given us churches and congregational assemblies by his covenant, to worship Him in all his holy ordinances: that He

Creeds.

hath given us to look for no laws but his Word, no rules and forms of worship but such as He hath set down in his Word, no platform or doctrine but such as are held forth in the words of the prophets and apostles."

The Independents having so much in common with Evangelical Presbyterians, there was no just reason why both should not co-operate in perfect harmony; the predilection of the one being for order, and of the other for freedom, they might have corrected in a fraternal spirit the tendency to rigidness or to license, for their mutual advantage. The source of injury to all was in the selfish grasping for State influence and power. There seems to have been, at the outset, a disposition to conciliate on the part of many on both sides. A circular was issued from the Westminster Assembly, signed by William Twisse, Thomas Goodwin, John White, Oliver Bowles, Stephen Marshall, Charles Herle, Anthony Tuckney, Jo. Arrowsmith, William Bridge, William Carter, Herbert Carter, and Sidrach Sympson, in which they say:—"All ministers and people are earnestly entreated to forbear, *for a convenient time*, the joining of themselves into church societies of any kind whatsoever, *until they see whether the right rule will not be commended* to them in this orderly way." John White wrote a tract, entitled "Considerations to Dissuade from gathering Churches."

The Dissenting Brethren.

The Dissenting Brethren took their place as a very small minority in the Assembly. "At our first coming," Baillie writes, "we found them in a very sharp debate anent the office of doctors. The Independent men, whereof there are some ten or eleven in the Synod—many of

them very able men, as Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Bridge, Carter, Caryl, Phillips, Sterry. They speak much, and exceeding well.

"On Independency we purpose not to meddle in haste, *till it please God to advance our army, which we expect will much assist our arguments.* However, we are not desperate of some accommodation, for Goodwin, Burroughs, and Bridge are men full, as it seems, yet of grace and modesty; if they shall prove otherwise, the body of the Assembly, Parliament, City, and country, will disclaim them."

The contest began in earnest when the nature and extent of Church reformation was to be practically determined.

SIDRACH SYMPSON gave the key-note, when he said, in a sermon before the House of Commons, "You have the ordinances; then the second thing required to a reformation is to have them pure, and after God's prescript, without human addition or alteration. Take this for a rule: *the more plain God's ordinances are, the more powerful; the more there is of man, the less there is of God in them.*"

Church Reformation.

JOHN GOODWIN (not in the Assembly), amongst other "cautions to be observed in and about reformation according to the Word of God," said:—

"It must not be partial, punishing men for not professing to believe that which they do not believe, and conniving at dissimulation. It must not seek to advance itself by speaking evil, especially untruly and against its own conscience, of the saints and servants of the Most High God. A reformation that would not be flattered, and yet be styled a reformation according to the Word of God, must give leave to the wind to blow where

it listeth, and give liberty to the Spirit of God to do with his own what He pleaseth: to make what discovery of truth He pleaseth, and to what persons, and when and where He pleaseth, and must not confine Him to his market, or compel Him to traffic only with councils and synods for that reformation which asserts the authority of councils, synods, assemblies, major part of men as infallible, against the right judgment, apprehensions, either of particular churches or men; or that restrains the ministers of the gospel from declaring unto men the whole counsel of God, and in some things the truth of the counsel of God concerning their salvation; that condemns as heretical the works, writings, tenets of sober, learned, pious, and conscientious men, only because an inconsiderable number of men (for what is the number—an hundred, two hundred, three hundred—in comparison of those that are judicious, learned, and pious in a great flourishing kingdom?), imagines, it may be only dreams, them to be inconsistent with the Scriptures; or that shall subject the world, and indeed the glory of God Himself, to such hard and miserable terms, as that men shall not publicly reap or taste of the precious fruit of the gifts, parts, knowledge, wisdom, learning, which God hath liberally bestowed upon many thousands in a nation, but only according to the discretion, and at the allowance, of a very small parcel of men; and those, it may be, not of the greatest abilities neither, for discerning. When either the Alcoran of the Turks, or the Missal of the Papists, shall appear to be according to the Word of God, then may such a reformation as this hope to be partaker of the same honour also."

In 1643 the "Dissenting Brethren" issued a manifesto declaring their views for the information of Parliament, entitled "*An Apologetical Narration.*" After the recital of their previous history as ministers in the Anglican Establishment, and their experience as exiles in Holland, they state the principles of church government they had adopted as the result of much careful investigation.

Apologetical Narration.

"We resolved not to take up our religion by or from any party; and yet to approve and hold fast whatsoever is good in any, though never so much differing from us; yea, opposite to us.

"As for our own congregations, we mean of England, in which, through the grace of Christ, we were converted, and exercised our ministries long, to the conversion of many others; we have this sincere profession to make before God and all the world. That all that conscience of the defilements we conceive to cleave to the true worship of God in them, or of the unwarranted power in church governors exercised therein, did never work in any of us, any other thought, much less opinion, but that multitudes of the assemblers and parochial congregations thereof, were the true churches and body of Christ, and the ministry thereof a true ministry; much less did it ever enter into our hearts to judge them anti-Christian."

For their guidance they adopted *three principles* more especially.

"First, the supreme rule without us was the primitive pattern and example of the churches erected by the apostles, the fulness of the Scriptures, that there is therein a complete sufficiency, as to make the man of God perfect, so also to make the churches of God perfect. Mere circumstances we except, or what rules the law of nature doth in common dictate.

"A second principle, was not to make our present judgment and practice a binding law unto ourselves for the future, which principle we wish were next to that supreme (namely, to be, in all things, guided by the perfect will of God), enacted as the most sacred law of all others, in the midst of all other laws and canons ecclesiastical in Christian states and churches throughout the world.

"Thirdly, whereas one great controversy of these times is about the qualification of the members of churches, and the promiscuous receiving and mixture of good and bad; therein we choose the better part, and to be surely received in none but such as all the churches in the world would, by the balance of the sanctuary, acknowledge faithful; the rules, which we gave up our judgments unto, to judge those we received in amongst us by, were of that latitude as would take in any member of Christ; the meanest, in whom there may be supposed to be the least of

Christ; and indeed, such and no other, as all the godly in this kingdom carry in their bosoms to judge others by. We took measures of no man's holiness by his opinion; whether concurring with us, or adverse unto us. And churches (any church) made up of such, we were sure no Protestant could but approve of, as touching the members of it, to be a true church, with which communion might be held."

The "five" Apologists had much to learn in relation to religious freedom.

Roger Williams boldly questioned their right to take part in the Assembly. He propounded to the five Holland ministers and the Scotch commissioners several queries. Amongst the rest, the following :—

Queries of Roger Williams.

"What precept or pattern hath the Lord Jesus left you in his last will and testament for your synod, or assembly of divines, by virtue of which you may expect his presence and assistance?

"If you say (as all Popish synods and councils do) the pattern is plain, Acts xv., we ask if two or three brethren of one particular congregation at Antioch, sent to that first mother church at Jerusalem, where the apostles were, who being immediately inspired from God could say, it seemeth good to the Holy Spirit and us to lay upon you no greater burden, etc., as also who hath power to make decrees for all the churches, Acts. xvi. We ask whether this be a pattern for a nation or kingdom; and so consequently for more nations and all the world, if under one government, as in Augustus Cæsar's tax, to tend their several priests and deacons (for other spiritual officers than bishops, priests, and deacons, know we not), to reform or form a religion, etc.

"We pray you to consider if the golden image (Dan. iii.) be not a type and figure of the several nations and *state religions*, which all nations set up and ours hath done, for which the wrath of God is now upon us?

"We pray you also to answer in what part of Christ's testament is found that title, the 'Assembly of Divines,' and whether it be not in English, the church of godly ones? As we queried

your ground for such a church, so have we also cause to pray you to tell us where Christ Jesus hath given you power to assume and appropriate such a title to yourselves, which seems in Scripture to be common to all the children of God?

"Some express it in print and pulpit, the Assembly of *Godly* Divines; we derogate not from the worth or godliness of any of them, yet you know the assembly of saints, or godly divines, is no other in English, than the assembly or church of saints, or godly ones. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. We presume you will grant others to be saints and godly in that sense. But oh that the whole assembly or congregation were freely resolved, by way of eminence, to lead all the godly in the land in such a Christian practice.

"Whereas you both agree, though with some difference, that the civil magistrate must reform the Church, establish religion, and so consequently must first judge and judicially determine which is true, which is false, or else must implicitly believe as the Assembly believes, and take it upon trust: and so, consequently, is he the head-root and fountain of the supremacy of all spiritual power, and hath the power of the keys of opening and shutting heaven's gates, etc., of which power, upon a grudge (as 'tis said) about his wife, King Henry despoiled the Pope, and, with consent and Act of Parliament, sat down himself in the Pope's chair in England, as his successors have done. We now query since the Parliament, being the representative of the Commonwealth, hath no other power but what the Commonwealth desire unto, and betrust it with, whether it will not evidently follow that the Commonwealth, the nation, the kingdom, and if it were in Augustus his time, the whole world, must rule and govern the Church, and Christ Himself, as the church is called." (1 Cor. xii. 12.)

The "Apologetical Narration" made a deep impression, and was subjected, of necessity, to the keenest criticism of the Presbyterian leaders. The objection was raised that in their principles the Dissenting Brethren were identified with the Separatists.

"They grievously complain," said the author of the reply, ("Independency Anatomized,") "that the odious name of Brownism, together with all their opinions, are cast upon them. A man would think, therefore, that it should concern these men to show the world fully how much they differ from Brownism, and yet they mention nothing but what is the way and practice of the Brownists in conformity with, as fully as theirs."

"Separation was no longer a bugbear." A tract was issued, entitled, "The Saints' Apology; or, a Vindication of the Churches which endeavour after a Pure Communion from the odious Name of 'Brownists' and 'Separatists.'" "Luther," he said, "made a separation from the external communion of all the churches in the world, and he, with those that adhered to his doctrine in that separation, did constitute churches more pure, both in regard of their constitution and exercise of external communion; yet none but Papists, or such in our times as linger after Popery, and would be glad of a captain to lead them back again into Egypt, will accuse him to have made a schism, and brand him with the odious name of a schismatic; for he separated not from believers as believers, but from those corruptions which were universally spread over all the external communion that then was held in the Christian world; and this he was bound to do, and others with him who believed his doctrines, if they would keep themselves pure from the guilt of those common corruptions."

Separation.

"Why," asks JOHN GOODWIN, "should you call the assemblies of the Apologists' communion, by way

of disparagement, *separated* assemblies? Reason, doubtless, there is none. Silver and gold, the more separated they are from their ore and dross, are the more noble and desirable; and if your assemblies were more separate than they are from the world, they were none the worse. Though ordinarily the places where their assemblies meet are not so capacious and vast as those wherein the assemblies by you called 'public' are wont to meet, yet the liberty of access is as free and large. Can we conceive that two acres of meeting room shall make your assemblies public? and ours must be called separated or private, because they have but one? We find in Scripture a separated assembly at Corinth, another at Ephesus, a third at Rome (besides many others at other places), without and against the leave of the magistrate. As to reformed churches, the light of evangelical truth did not break forth out of the cloud of councils and synods unto them, but God caused it to shine upon them from scattered and single stars, as Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Martyr, and others. *God never took any pleasure to cumber his arm with flesh and blood when He meant to do anything great for his Church.*"

Milton, in the noblest manner, justified the course of the men who with sincerity and courage expressed opinions differing from their brethren more favoured by the State, and stigmatized in consequence as "Sectaries."

Milton on Sectaries.

"The light," he said, "which we have gained was given us not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a priest, the unmitring of a bishop, and the removing him from off the Presbyterian shoul-

ders, that will make us a happy nation. No, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life, both economical and political, be not looked into and reformed, we have looked so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin hath beaconed up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of *schisms and sects*, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from *their* maxims. Lords and Commons of England, consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors, a nation not slow or dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest capacity can soar to. Now, once again, by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, even to the reforming of reformation itself. What does He then but reveal Himself to his servants, and, as his manner is, first to his Englishmen—I say, as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels and are unworthy? Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection. The shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleagured truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation; others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies? Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of we rather should rejoice at, should praise rather this pious forwardness among men to reassume the ill-deputed care of their

religion into their own hands again. As in a body when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital but to rational faculties, and those in the acutest and the pertest operations of art and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is; so, when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy and new invention; it betokens us not degenerated, not moping to a fatal decay, but, casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption, to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter days. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle, renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

Baillie watched the course of the debate in the Assembly with anxious solicitude. In his letters to his cousin Spang at Campvere, he gave vent to his agitated feelings, and urged him to put in train the measures best adapted, in his judgment, to counteract the Independents. "Fail not," he writes, Jan. 1, 1644, "when our letters come as quickly as they will, to obtain from your folk in Holland, and if ye can from those of Switzerland, France and Geneva, a grave and weighty admonition to this Assembly, to be careful to suppress all schismatics and the mother and fosterer of all, the independency of congregations; this counsel will be very seasonable and will be well taken, I assure you, both by Parliament

Foreign influence

and Assembly, and all, except some few who are guilty of the fault."*

Baillie had some hope, in the earlier stages of the debate, that the Independents would be drawn into "accommodation." "At our first meeting," he writes, April 2, 1644, "with some three of the Assembly, Marshall, Palmer, Vines, and three of them, Goodwin, Burroughs, Bridge, with my Lord Wharton, Sir Harry Vane, and the solicitor in our house, and very fair appearances of agreement, Mr. Nye was like to spoil all our play when it came to his turn to speak in the Assembly. He attempted to prove from Matt. xviii, 'the inconsistence of a Presbytery with a civil state;' in this he was cried down as impertinent. The day following, when he saw the Assembly was full of the princes, nobles, and chief members of both Houses, he resumed the argument, and 'very boldly offered to demonstrate that our way of drawing a whole kingdom under one national Assembly is formidable, yea, thrice over pernicious to civil states and kingdoms. All cried him down, and some would have had him expelled the Assembly as seditious." Not to be turned aside by clamour, Nye wrote a treatise, in which he completed his argument, and in an interesting and ingenious manner proved that the Congregational polity, from its analogy to the domestic constitution, could never, if consistently adopted, become injurious to the State, or disturb the peace of society.

Accommodation.

Spang was extremely "busy" stirring up the reformed churches on the Continent to express their

* Let., 42, 419.

sentiments in unison with the wishes of Baillie. The first instalment of the expected correspondence was sent Oct. 16, 1644, in an appeal signed in the name of the Walcheren Classes by Jacobus D'Heide, president, *pro tempore*, etc. The document, too prolix for quotation, contained a formal rejection of the Congregational polity, but with some modifications very unsatisfatory in the judgment of Baillie. "I wish," he says to Spang, "those whom you have engaged in Zealand were put on to engage themselves the divines of the other provinces, especially the Presbytery of Leyden, also Rivet and Voetius." The letter from the divines of Hesse Cassel, he tells him, was "a poor, short epistle." "Great harm was done by a clause of your Walcheren letter, of the entire power of government in the hands of Congregational presbyteries except in cases of altercation and difficulty." "If you can get this helped in the Zealand letter it shall be well."

In a similar strain he advises that letters should be sent from the ministers of Paris, the Faculty of Theology, Berne, Moulin of Sedan, and Spanheim of Leyden. The letter from Zealand was duly sent, but a passage in it on the power of the Magistrate rendered it objectionable to many. Baillie expected better things from Apollonius, and in particular that he would take the opportunity to expose the leanings of their opponents in favour of liberty of conscience.

He writes to Spang, May 17, "I fear these men shall either not write, or delay too long, or write obscurely, for as I conceive, they are not at a point in their own mind, as yet, what to stand at. The Independents have turned their pens, as you will see

in M.S. (John Goodwin) *to take from the magistrate all power of taking any coercive order with the vilest heretics.* Not only they praise your magistrates, who, for policy, give some secret tolerance to divers religions, wherein, as I conceive, your divines preach against them as great sinners; but avow that, by God's command, *the magistrate is discharged to put the least discourtesy on any man, Jew, Turk, Papist, Socinian, or whatever, for his religion.* I wish Apollonius considered this well; the *five* he writes to *will not say this*, but (M.S.) John Goodwin is of as great authority here as any of them. Your course of engaging other provinces is very good. I send this enclosed to a friend here (Buchanan), who is well acquainted in Paris, Berne, Leyden, Sedan, and Geneva, who accordingly has written to all these five places for their assistance in the common cause. My correspondence with you is so secret as may be. Some of them suspect somewhat of you; but know little."

John Goodwin.

Apollonius to the rescue.

The returns from the continental divines were slow in coming. Baillie says, May 31: "Will neither Rivet nor Voetius follow the example of brave Apollonius? Do your best in this. The Independents," he says, July 7, "are our great retarders." July 9, "Hold Apollonius on. The Independents have set up a number of private congregations in the city. They are exceedingly busy. We will have much to do with them. Strange that your divines of Holland will learn nothing from England; do they sit still *while we are a-dying?* The calamity may come shortly

We are a-dying.

over to them." Drelincourt wrote from Paris, but so blindly, that Baillie sent the letter back to have it "rectified" according to his motion. Moulin was more to the purpose and to his mind. Spanheim was not inclined to writing, and Rivet was "very ill-informed." The arguments of the Independents were beginning to make an impression in Parliament, and to some degree in the Assembly. July 12, "The Independents," Baillie reports, "and others, kept us three weeks on one point." "If Apollonius or any other write at all, it were good it were done quickly."

The victory of the army under Fairfax, July 2, at Marston Moor, by the aid of Cromwell, strengthened the Independents. Baillie was mortified that so much credit was given to Cromwell. Good Mr. Ash, had said, "that the Independents are so strong and considerable a party, that they must not only be tolerated, but in nothing grieved, and in no ways to be provoked, for their hearty affection to our cause; you will so guide it that they may be silent, till they see what it may be the will of God to do with these poor, distressed churches."

The depressed Separatist churches began to breathe more freely. Baillie, July 23, writes to his friends: "The politic party in the Parliament is the stronger, who are resolute to conclude nothing in the matters of religion that may grieve the sectaries, whom they count necessary for the time. Our army is much diminished in number and reputation. The sectaries of divers sorts, Anabaptists chiefly, increase here. Very many are for a total liberty of all religions, and

Separatists breathe freely.

write very plausible treatises for that end." Sep. 13. The sectaries wax bolder daily. This day, Cromwell has obtained an order of the House of Commons, to refer to the Committee of both kingdoms, the accommodation or toleration of the Independents; a high and unexpected order. Yet, by God's help, we will make use of it contrary to the designs of the procurers. The unkindness of all the reformed churches to us at these times is great; it is England's merit, but may be the great sin of those who have no charity, nor so much zeal as prudence."

It had been the great aim of Baillie, in his active diplomacy, to obtain the unanimous condemnation of the Congregational system from the reformed churches. Moulin maliciously insinuated that those that desired this Independency had "intelligence with the enemy," and sought, "under pretence of reformation," to bring "confusion." The National Synod of the Reformed Churches, assembled at Charenton, December 26, condemned the "Independents" not only as "prejudicial to the church of God," but "as very dangerous to the State." These demonstrations of party feeling were of no avail, unless supported by sound and conclusive argument. Baillie had some reason to be vexed with their failure in this respect.

No help from New England.

The English Puritans fared no better in the help expected from New England. A letter from Thomas Parker, of Newbury, Dec. 17, 1643, gave them for the time a little comfort. He says, "Although we hold a fundamental power of government in the people, in respect of election of ministers, yet we judge, upon mature

deliberation, that *the ordinary exercise of Government must be so in the Presbyters as not to depend upon the express votes and suffrages of the people.* There hath been a convent, or meeting of the ministers of these parts, about this question at Cambridge, in the Bay, and there we have proposed our arguments, and answered theirs: and they proposed theirs, and answered us: and so the point is left to consideration. Also, concerning admission of members, we hold the rule must be so large that the *weakest* Christians may be received, and there was, according to appearance, much conjunction in this particular."

The slight encouragement afforded to the Presbyterians in the Assembly was changed for a feeling of disappointment in subsequent communications from New England. Governor Winthrop sent a laconic note to this effect:—

"To his reverend and very godly brother, Mr. Hugh Peters, Minister of the Gospel,—these deliver in London.

"Our late assembly, of about forty elders, met, wherein *the way of our churches was approved and Presbytery disallowed*, Dec. 10, 1643." A private letter stated the following particulars:—"We have had a synod lately in our college, wherein sundry things were agreed on gravely: as, 1, *That the votes of the people are needful in all admissions and excommunications, at least in way of consent, all yielding to act with consent.* 2. That those that are fit matter for a church, though they are not always able to make large and particular relations of the work and doctrine of faith, yet must not live in the commission of any known sin, or the neglect of any known duty. 3. That consociation of churches, the way of more general meetings yearly, and more privately monthly or quarterly, as consultative synods, are very comfortable and necessary for the peace and good of the churches. 4. It was generally desired that the *exercitium* of the churches' power might only be in the eldership in each particular church, unless their sins be apparent in their work. 5. That parish churches

in old England could not be right without a renewed covenant at least, and the refusers excluded."

A communication of this kind at a time when the Presbyterians were recommended to adjust their differences with the Independents, and the suggestion freely offered that there should be general toleration, was extremely disheartening to Baillie. "The great shot of Cromwell and Vane," he writes, Sept. 16, "is to have a liberty of all religions without any exception. We must make the best of an ill game we can." "Sir Henry Vane, our most entire friend, joining with a new faction to procure liberty for all sects, did much afflict us for a fortnight." "The grand debate" followed, in which, on every proposition involved in the controversy, the divines on each side put forth their utmost strength. The "Dissenting Brethren" dealt very unceremoniously with the letters from the reformed churches.

Cromwell and Vane.

"Is man," they asked, "wiser in this generation than Jesus Christ? He is our Lawgiver: the Government is laid upon his shoulders. He is the 'Wonderful,' 'the Counsellor,' the 'Prince of Peace;' and therefore, surely, though other matters of practice and duty should have obscurity in the rules, yet it is most probable that He hath ordered authority and jurisdiction with the officers, and officers for the managing of it, so evidently as not to put us to search in a dark corner for directions. We cannot be said to be clear in our rules when we are thus enforced out of one word, *πρεσβυτέριον*, and but one used (in relation to Government), to raise so many thrones, or forms of Government; especially it being foreseen by Christ that such is the nature of man, as nothing occasions more bitter contention than that lusting which is in us, to have authority and jurisdiction over others."

In the midst of these close and vehement debates, political and military events hastened on the work of revolution. The tragedy of Laud's execu-

tion, Jan. 10, 1644-5, scarcely suspended the controversy. With no regard for decorum excited polemics contended with each other over his grave. The Presbyterians, finding themselves thwarted at every turn by the obstinacy of the Independents, demanded that in turn they should produce a model of Church Government. The proposal was declined by a lengthened statement of reasons, met by an elaborate counter-statement on the other side.

John Cotton offered a scheme of Reformation, which does not appear to have received much attention. The growing influence of the Independents, and the increasing number of their congregations, caused serious alarm to the advocates of a new establishment on the Presbyterian model:—

"This new way, and the separation of Independents"* from their parish churches, they said, "is an encouragement to all the Separatists, Brownists, Antinomians, Socinians and Libertines that are in and about the city, for they shelter themseves under their name; and where they are taken by some of the public officers, and enforced to answer for themselves, they affirm to be Independents to cover their heresies; it being an ordinary thing among the wicked to disguise themselves under the name of such that are reputed to be more sincere than themselves; for, although the Independents gather congregations, and separate themselves from their parish congregations, as the sectaries do; yet they are for the greater part sound in doctrine, and dissent from us only in discipline."

Contagious Air of Independency

Advancing beyond the point of formal argument in the matter, Henry Burton formed a Congregational Church at Stepney, without waiting the issue of the "longsome" debates in the Assembly, or the sanction of Parliament.

* Contagious Air of Independency, 12.

The record of this interesting transaction is given in the following terms:—

"This church being constituted by the mutual consent and agreement of Henry Burton and his wife, William Parker, John Odingshell, William Greenhill, and John Pococke, in the presence of Mr. Henry Burton, pastor of a church in London, to walk in all the ways of Christ held out to them in the gospel, and have the right hand of fellowship given them by the afore-mentioned, and owned for a true church of Jesus Christ, there were added to them from time to time, as followeth."

Church at Stepney.

The Congregational churches at Norwich and Yarmouth were permanently settled at this time. Their records enable us to trace the steps which led to their formation, and afford to us an interesting view of their character and aims.

Norwich and Yarmouth Churches.

"Upon the return of divers at several times, and sitting down in divers places among their former acquaintances, where some of them had formerly inhabited, as at Norwich, Yarmouth, etc., they found many lets and impediments which hindered their present gathering. In the meantime, *Mr. John Ward*, being called to *Colchester*, did there, with others, gather into fellowship, and there continued.

"After very many meetings of the brethren, to seek God and advise together about in-churching themselves, though they were not yet dwelling in one place, at last seeing some hope of effecting it, divers, that they might be in readiness for it, and more comfortably do it, sent over to the Church of Rotterdam for their assent; and in answer thereunto the church sent over this answer following, with the names thereunto specified, viz.: 'Whereas, several members of our English church in Rotterdam, whose names are hereunder written, have desired dismission, that they may incorporate themselves into a church in Norwich or elsewhere: these are to certify whom it may concern, that in a church-meeting there is granted liberty and leave unto them to join together into a body in church-fellowship, trusting upon their faithfulness that they will join and

walk according to the order which Jesus Christ hath left to be observed in the churches; wherein likewise they have walked in fellowship with us. Commending them to the sweet guidance of the Spirit of Christ, with earnest desires and prayers that truth and peace may be their portion. Amen.

"'Signed by me, ROBERT PARKE, in the name of the church.'"

"Nov. 7, Anno 1642. — The brethren met again with Mr. Bridge, and finding so much difficulty in concluding the place, they resolved to lay aside all things concerning the place, and only take first into consideration whether it was their duty to endeavour to gather into a body or no presently.

"And they concluded that, notwithstanding all difficulties, and oppositions whatsoever did appear, it was a duty for them to endeavour to gather presently. Upon this the brethren blessed God, and were much refreshed, being in great hopes that now, at the last, this great and mighty work should go on, and therefore appointed a day for another meeting. And being met upon the 25th, after seeking God, they considered of the manner of beginning the work of in-churching, and concluded some of the brethren, whose hearts God stirred up to that work, should begin: and they judged ten or twelve to be a competent number.

"Hereupon, having first jointly offered themselves, Christopher Stygold freely offered himself to the work of the Lord in building a house to his name, and made a motion to John Eyre to agree and to join with him in that service, who gladly embraced it, and agreed with him. And the two moved John Leverington, who also agreed with them; and they further moved the same thing to Daniel Bradford, and then to James Gedney, and also to Samuel Clarke, to William Staff, Samuel Alexander, John Balderstone, and to Francis Olley, who all agreed in the same matter. Then it was moved to the rest of the brethren present by Mr. Bridge, whether they were all satisfied in what had been done, and they answered they were satisfied.

"Then it was further moved to the sisters to come in and help in the work; who all agreed to help forward this work; and, after blessing God for success, they concluded the meeting for that time.

"Sept. 9, 1643.—The church met in Norwich, the brethren having divers times expressed their affections formerly of calling Mr. Bridge to be their officer, only there was a little difference

in their desire. Some would call him to the pastor's office, some to that of teacher's office; but after they had lovingly discussed their reasons on both sides, and advised together, they jointly, with one consent, called Mr. Bridge to the pastor's office in the Church of Christ, who did accordingly assent thereof next day.

"10th.—After they had blessed God for his great love and gracious presence hitherto, and seeking his face for assistance, he was by the church ordained unto the pastor's office in the latter part of the day (being the Lord's-day); the church did comfortably partake in both the sacraments. The children of some of the members, and members' children of other churches, were baptized; and after that were at the same time added those that were dismissed from the Church of Rotterdam—James Goodwin, Susanna Bridge, Rebekah King, Elizabeth Alexander, etc., etc.

"Part of the church-members resided at Yarmouth, and part at Norwich, but the ordinances were administered at Yarmouth.

"Yarmouth, June 28, 1643.

"Mr. Bridge and those other ten that had formerly freely given up themselves to the work of building God a house, solemnly after seeking God for direction, entered into covenant and subscribed their names, etc.

"After the work was thus happily begun and comfortably effected, the brethren, through God's goodness, now being gathered into church, they blessed God and broke up that meeting.

"Norwich, April, 1644.

"Not long after Mr. Bridge, their pastor, came to Yarmouth, and the brethren at Norwich sent some of their brethren to Yarmouth, earnestly desiring that now at last, according to their former agreement, there might be a full debate, whether Norwich or Yarmouth did hold forth most liberty and opportunity, that so the place of the churches' full settling might be determined. And whereas upon debate most liberty and the greatest opportunity did appear to be at Norwich, the brethren at Norwich saw not their way clear to remove from Norwich, and neither to yield the settlement of the church to be at Yarmouth. It was settled by God's providence, and divers alleged they could not remove their dwellings, and it was agreed that there should be a

meeting at Norwich to conclude the business; and they accordingly met, and the brethren at Yarmouth being the major part, concluded the church to be settled at Yarmouth; and being desirous to give their advice concerning the brethren at Norwich, they did declare that it was the duty of the brethren to gather themselves into a body to become a church, seeing it would make much for God's glory, increase of the church, and procure a comfortable opportunity of church meetings on the Lord's day; which advice of theirs also was confirmed by a letter from Mr. John Philips of Wrentham, a godly minister, in answer to a letter for his advice concerning the same. The godly people, divers in Norwich, desirous also that with all convenience the brethren of Norwich would gather into a church first by themselves, and afterwards admit such others as should desire the same and be found fit for it. The brethren of Norwich, considering the importance of the work, and for their more clear and comfortable proceeding therein, craved the presence and assistance of Mr. Oxenbridge, and some of the brethren of Yarmouth, who willingly promised the same, and thereupon they directed this letter following to the brethren at Yarmouth.

"Dear Brethren and *Companions in suffering, both in our own and in a strange land:* for especially to you is our speech directed, and though with all tender care and respect, and without the least prejudice to any brother. You cannot, we suppose, but have in your eye those sweet embraces which our souls enjoyed in the bosoms of one another, whereof strangers could not partake. You cannot forget our travails, and many thoughtful meetings and advisings from time to time what to do, and where to settle, and how joyfully we did embrace a conclusion of settling the church, as a sojourner with you, upon a joint agreement of, after librating and poising where the most liberty and opportunity should be tendered by God for a more full settling of a church that might, if possible, be all together in one place, and in the meantime we were to enjoy equal means of trial to find out the mind of God therein, and ourselves to abide in our several stations for that end. We suppose it will easily be granted that as yet we have not had church meetings together here, in enjoyment of ordinances equal with you, so as there might be an equal experience of place, which because we could not so easily obtain after daily expectation of an issue,

longing to be eased of our present condition of living without ordinances in church fellowship, and therefore, after communion with you, whether by our coming to you or your coming to us (as God should please to direct us), we obtained a meeting at Yarmouth with you, by sending some of our brethren in the name of the rest for a full resolution what to do. You, the brethren, there having in this tract of time enlarged yourselves by *a comfortable addition of many godly saints*, whereof many are not acquainted with all our loving days, living together in our prosperity and adversity, nor, as they suppose, so engaged in this equilibration and poising of liberty and opportunity for a conclusion, declared that you concluded the church so settled by God's providence, ordering the increase of it by residing at Yarmouth, as you and they could not admit of any thought of removing, neither could see enough to cause you to remove to us, though liberty and opportunity should appear most with us. And we, on the other side, being all engaged in the former agreement of weighing liberty and opportunity before we resolved where to be, and finding God's providence to give and so long time to keep open for us a greater liberty and opportunity here than could there appear at Yarmouth; declared it to be our duty to proceed according to our former agreement and resolution, and therefore could not remove to Yarmouth, until you, the brethren of Yarmouth, could satisfy our consciences therein. And while the case standeth thus, we apprehend these two things to appear considerable: *You (our brethren at Yarmouth), conceive yourselves cast into a settled state by God's providence, and we, the brethren of Norwich, are stayed there by liberty and opportunity presented to us by God's providence*, and concurring with our former engagements and principles mutually laid by yourselves and us; from which ariseth a necessitated yet most afflictive condition of separating us from you, *whose presence and communion under God was ever the comfort of our lives, and what throbbings of heart such a separation maketh with us, we leave to yourselves to judge, who it may be have as deep, if not a deeper, affectionate share in it than ourselves.* But we desire to submit to the will of God with you. And now, brethren, seeing you by the brethren here at Norwich have so lovingly afforded us both your advice to, and full liberty of embodying here, that so an improvement of the apprehended liberty

and opportunity may be made the way of God, may be holden forth to the world, and the borders of the church may be enlarged. Our humble and brotherly request unto you is, that, with your earnest prayer for our direction, you would confirm the same unto us under your hands, by giving your consent and permission in writing to us, to gather a church, viz., to John Leverington, John Balderstone, Daniel Westall, Daniel Bradford, James Gedney, Samuel Clarke, Thomas Thurstone, Henry Clarke, John Eyre.

"May, 24, 1644."

The church at Yarmouth having received this letter, returned the letter following, by way of answer to the brethren at Norwich:—

"DEAR BRETHREN IN THE LORD, — We have declared our willingness to fall down at the dispose of God, whom we serve, that He may be glorified, and his will obeyed, though it be very hard to part with you after so many sweet embraces in the way of God enjoyed together. Had Providence struck in with us for our cohabitation, we should have counted ourselves happy in the enjoyment of your communion engagements we have had, and the diverse conditions we have been in together. We cannot count it a small affliction, after so long communion, now to be severed one from another. We could lament over the loss we have, when we consider the parting with your actual communion, for it was sweet unto us. But yet *we dare not so much respect ourselves as to forget the glory of God. But seeing the Lord hath need of you to do his work in this respect, we give you up, that Jesus Christ may have the more of you.* We desire with you to learn to submit to the will of God, and to say with the disciples, when Paul had his revelation to go up to Jerusalem, 'the will of the Lord be done.' Dear brethren, we further testify that our judgments and hearts are with you in the work. And we shall account ourselves engaged to further you, so far as lieth in our power, and we hope we may expect the same of you; and though we give you up in regard of mutual affection and soul conjunction, we cannot part with you therein, but shall remain yours both in life and in death. Our dear brethren, encourage yourselves in the Lord, knowing that your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord. We trust that God, which hath begun and

stirred you up will assist and prosper you in that great and weighty work you are about. We hope we shall not need to incite you to carefulness, knowing your own faithfulness herein. We say no more, but only in the words of the Lord by the prophet Haggai ii. 4, 'Be ye strong, ye our brethren, for I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts.' *God's work bringeth strength and wages with it, and a blessing upon it.* Thus desiring to strive with God for you, and to join with you in your strong cries unto heaven, that the God of blessing would shower down an abundance of the blessing of the gospel of peace and truth, to whom be glory in the churches for ever. We rest, dear brethren, for ever in the order of the gospel.

"May 29th, 1644."

Together with this letter, the church sent a permission, as followeth :—

"Whereas several brethren of our church in Yarmouth, whose names are underwritten, have desired dismissions, that they may incorporate into a church at Norwich: these are to certify whom it concerneth, that at a church meeting there is granted liberty and leave unto them to join together in a body in church fellowship, trusting upon their faithfulness that they will join and walk according to that order which Jesus Christ hath left to be observed and holden forth in his churches, wherein likewise they have walked in fellowship with us; commending them to the sweet guidance of the Spirit of Christ with our earnest prayers and desires, to the God of all grace, to supply you with all agreement and peace."

Upon the receipt thereof, the brethren at Norwich appointed a certain day, the 10th of June next following, for their gathering into church fellowship, and gave notice thereof to Mr. John Philips, of Wrentham, and to Mr. Oxenbridge, and the rest of the church at Yarmouth, whose advice and assistance were also much desired.

Mr. Philips declared, under his hand, assent with them, and also his willingness to assist by his pre-

sence, but only he was detained through infirmities of body.

June 10, 1644.—Being met upon the day appointed, in the presence of Mr. Oxenbridge, with divers of the church at Yarmouth, and also divers other godly friends in Norwich, they spent the former part of the day in prayer, and then one, in the name of the rest, made a profession of faith, whereunto all the rest gave their assent. Then one of them read the covenant as followeth, to which they all subscribed their names:—

"It is manifest out of God's Word, that God was pleased to walk in a way of covenant with his people: He promising to be their God, and they promising to be his people. We being in the fear of God, desirous to worship and fear Him according to his revealed will, do freely, solemnly, and jointly covenant with the Lord, in the presence of his saints and angels:

"First. That we will for ever acknowledge and avouch God to be our God in Jesus Christ.

"Secondly. That we will always endeavour, through the grace of God assisting us, to walk in his ways and ordinances, according to his written Word, which is the only sufficient rule of good life for every man.

"Thirdly. Neither will we suffer ourselves to be polluted by any sinful ways, either public or private, but will abstain from the very appearance of evil, giving no offence to the Jew or to the Gentile, nor to the churches of Christ.

"Fourthly. That we will, in all love, improve our communion as brethren by watching over one another, and, as need shall be, to counsel, admonish, reprove, comfort, relieve, assist, and bear with one another, humbly submitting ourselves to the government of Christ in his churches.

"Lastly. We do not promise these things in our own, but in Christ his strength; neither do we confine ourselves to the work of this covenant, but shall account it our duty at all times to embrace any further light or truth that shall be revealed to us out of God's Word."

On the 4th of January, 1644-5, an ordinance was passed in Parliament, abolishing the use of the Prayer-book, and confirming the Westminster Directory. On the 23rd of the same month, the following resolutions were passed in the House of Commons :—

Directory confirmed.

"That there shall be fixed congregations; that is, a certain company of Christians to meet in one assembly, ordinarily for public worship; when believers multiply to such a number that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, they shall be divided into distinct and fixed congregations, for the better administration of such ordinances as belong to them, and the discharge of mutual duties.

"That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct congregations, and most expedient for edification is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

"*That the minister and other church-officers in each particular congregation shall join in the government of the church in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.*

"That these officers shall meet together at convenient and set times for the well-ordering of the affairs of that congregation, each according to his office.

"*That the ordinances in a particular congregation are prayer, thanksgiving, and singing of Psalms.* The Word read, though there follow no immediate application of what is read; the Word expounded and applied; catechizing; the sacraments administered; collection made for the poor; dismissing of the people with a blessing.

"*That many particular congregations shall be under one Presbyterial government.*

"*That the church be governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical assemblies, in such manner as shall be established by Parliament.*

"*That Synodical assemblies shall consist both of provincial and national assemblies.*"

The third and three last resolutions were reported to the Lords, and adopted.

Having secured this strong position, the expec-

tants of a new State Church put forth strenuous effort to suppress religious meetings not authorized by law. The Corporation of London lent their zealous co-operation for this purpose. "The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled," presented a petition to the House of Peers, 16th Jan., 1645: "For the speedy settling of church government within this city and against toleration." They state, "That private meetings, especially on the Lord's day (of which there are at least eleven in one parish) are multiplied; whereby the public congregations, ordinances, and godly orthodox ministers are very much neglected and condemned," they therefore pray, "that all private meetings, contrary to the Covenant (in regard of the sad effects thereof) may be restrained."

Religious Meetings suppressed.

"The Speaker of the House of Peers" thanked the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council for their "great zeal and faithfulness," and recommended all in office in the city to suppress and prevent such great offence, promising that "the Lords will be ready to contribute their authority for encouragement and assistance."

Whilst the divines were debating in the assemblies, the people were diligently instructing themselves. Baillie was frantic. The press teemed with publications, notwithstanding the restraints imposed at the entreaty of the polemics, who failed to silence them by fair argument.

ROGER WILLIAMS, who had spent some time in England, before his return to Rhode Island, startled all parties with the title of his book, "The Bloody

Tenent of Persecution," in which he maintained the principles of Toleration. "It is the will and command of God," he said, "that since the coming of his Son, the Lord Jesus, a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or Antichristian consciences and worships be granted to all men in all nations and countries; and they are to be fought against with that sword, which is only in soul matters able to conquer—the sword of God's Spirit, the Word of God. God requireth not a uniformity of religion to be enacted or enforced in any civil state; which enforced uniformity sooner or later is the greatest occasion of civil war, ravishing of conscience, persecution of Christ Jesus in his servants, and of the hyprocrisy and destruction of millions of souls."

"Bloody Tenent."

"We have seen," said Thomas Goodwin, "the event of endeavouring to force conscience in matters of opinion or worship. On the one side, in England it made many thousand hypocrites, church-papists, time-servers, etc., and on the other side, in Holland and Scotland it justly caused State insurrections, and for the same reason, we also are legally now up in arms to obtain assurance that we shall have the liberty of conscience and law."

The "Five" continued their steady resistance to the arbitrary resolutions of the Assembly, hindering intolerant measures and gaining some advantage, neutralized considerably the effect of previous decisions. The Sectaries, so-called, were confident of the ultimate triumph of religious freedom.

The details of the Presbyterian scheme were completed on July 8, 1645.

"Yesterday," Baillie reports, "we sent up to both Houses the whole body of the Church government, so it is out of the Assembly's hands. Blessed be God, all the ministers of London are for us. Burton and Goodwin, the only two that were Independents, *are by the Parliament* removed from their places. Seven or eight preachers that are against our way, are only lecturers in the city, but not ministers. We hope shortly to get the Independents put to it, to declare themselves either to be for the rest of the Sectaries or against them, they will be but a small inconsiderable company; if for them, all honest men will cry out upon them for separating from all the reformed churches to join with Anabaptists and Libertines."

Presbyterians in the ascendant.

Congregational churches in other places were made to feel for the time, that State Church Presbyterianism was in the ascendant.

In Yarmouth the authorities interdicted the meetings of the Church, Feb. 2, 1646 :—

"Mr. Owner and Mr. Whitfield came to Mr. Bridge, being grieved and sore displeased that Mr. Bridge should gather a church here in Yarmouth, and they appointed a meeting for Mr. Bridge to confer with them concerning that particular on Wednesday next, being the fourth day; and on that day forenoon the brethren met together for to commit themselves, and the issue of that day's conference, unto God. And having met with the town, it was agreed upon that, *for a time we should forbear to receive any into Church fellowship until we gave notice* to the town that we could forbear no longer. Now this restraint was a burden to us and others who were to be admitted.

"April 16. Then *the Church gave the town notice that they would no longer forbear the duty of admitting into fellowship*, and that they looked upon that injunction as a burden."

Resistance.

"Sir Henry Vane," Baillie says: "whom we trusted most had given us many signs of his alteration, twice at our table—prolixly, earnestly, and passionately reasoned for a full liberty of conscience to all religions without any exception."

Unlicensed Printing.

These demonstrations caused great alarm to those who were striving for uniformity, and agencies of every available kind were employed to subdue their opponents. Printers were summoned before the House of Lords,* who confessed what they knew of the authors and publishers of obnoxious books and pamphlets. A search for legal precedents was ordered, to ascertain what penalties might be inflicted, and, if found to be inadequate, to frame a new statute. This retrograde policy called forth the scathing rebuke of Milton:—

"If it comes to inquisitioning again," he said, "and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves, and so suspicious of all men as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if some, who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading except what they please; it cannot be guessed what is intended by some but a second tyranny over learning; and will soon put it out of controversy that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing. This is not the covenants and protestations that we have made; this is but to chop an episcopacy; this is but to translate the Palace Metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another."

The resolutions of the Westminster Assembly, however, had not the force of law, and the "Dissenting Brethren" had some opportunities to declare their sentiments from the pulpit. Bridge, preaching before the House of Lords, Oct. 28, 1646,

* House of Lords MSS.

urged them to seek truth, both 'the greater and the lesser,' and not to lose the power of religion in seeking its form."

CARYL, in a sermon before the Parliament, Corporation, and the Assembly of Divines at Christchurch, said, "I hope we shall never use (I am persuaded we ought not) Antichrist's broom to sweep Christ's house with, or his weapons to fight against error with. Christ hath formed and sharpened weapons for this war. We need not go to the Pope's forge or file. These weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God."

Pulpit testimonies for Freedom.

Thomas Goodwin, in his discourse on mutual love and forbearance, reviewed the debates of the Assembly, and said they would not grant toleration, because "such an allowance" would be against the common peace. "Some persons," he added, "think peace to be in men's quietly not enjoying ordinances in separate congregations, as if there were no peace but this. But there is another way of peace in bearing with men, notwithstanding their different practices and judgments. This is of far greater moment to each saint than that dull, tyrannical peace which is aimed at by a coercive power."

William Dell, minister of the Gospel, attending on his Excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax, preached a sermon before the House of Commons, in which he said:

"Gospel reformation is spiritual; inward, though powerful and constant, and is contrasted in these respects with civil ecclesiastical reformation.

"*Civil ecclesiastical reformation at first makes a great noise and tumult in the world, and after lies as still as a stone. For such reformation reforms states and kingdoms to men's own profit*

and so to themselves rather than to Christ; and when men have once attained to their own ends, their activity ceases.

"The work of reformation is only suitable to, and convenient for Christ, the Head, as having so near and dear an interest in the Church, his body. *But when strangers, whose Church is not His set upon reforming, what havoc do they make of the Church of God?* How do they wound, and threaten, and punish, and destroy it; and have no regard to the weak, infirm, sorrowful saints that are wrestling with many doubts, tears, agonies, corruptions and temptations, till they are overtaken with the very shadow of death? How do they persecute them that are already smitten, and grieve them more that are already wounded?

"Christ is only able for this work; for the reformation of the Church is as great a work as the redemption of it, and He only that could do the one can do the other. Christ must die to redeem the Church, and He must live to reform it; and so as the government of the Church only lies upon his shoulders who is the Head, so the reformation of it only lies upon his hands, and his hands only are sufficient for it. If all the angels of heaven should undertake the work of redemption, they would sink under it, how much more the powers of the world? Christ, when He comes to reform the Church, comes with no worldly power or weapons, but only with the word in his mouth. Forcible reformation is unsuitable to Christ's kingdom.

"The faithful—the subjects of this kingdom—are a spiritual people, and so they are without the reach of any force. They are also a willing people, and heed no outward coercion. 'It brings men into *blind obedience*.'"

Hugh Peters, preaching to the Lords and Commons Corporation, and Assembly of Divines, April 2, 1645, said:—

"Since you are still buzzed in the ear with a desperate increase of error, give me to leave this expedient by way of query. The wound seems to be in the understanding, and the cure must be there (under favour). What if some convenient place or places in the City were set apart two or three times weekly, where godly learned men, appointed by yourselves, and the leaders or heads of these errors, as they are termed, might have leave to come, and there in a brotherly way take and give satisfaction? For as conclaves have always been dangerous, so

these poor erring men cannot have the benefit to appear with boldness; and reasonable souls may sooner certainly be taught with reason and Scripture than with cudgels and blows."

This was more than the Honourable Corporation could bear with equanimity. A committee was appointed, touching the "obnoxious sermon," and inquiry was instituted concerning what was delivered in the pulpit by other preachers. Parliament issued a series of ordinances like the following:—

Parliamentary Decrees.

"It is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that this ordinance be forthwith printed and published, and that it be forthwith sent to Sir Thomas Fairfax, with an earnest desire and recommendation from both Houses, that he take care that the *ordinance may be duly observed in the army*, and that if any shall transgress this ordinance, that he make speedy representation thereof to both Houses, that the offenders may receive condign punishment for their contempt. It is further ordered by the Lords and Commons, that this ordinance be forthwith sent to the Lord Mayor and Committee of the Militia in London; to the governors, commanders, and magistrates of all garrisons, forces, places of strength, cities, towns, forts, and ports, and to the several and respective committees of the several and respective counties—with the like injunction unto them respectively; and that they take care that this ordinance be duly observed in the places aforesaid respectively, and that they make speedy representation to both Houses of such as shall offend herein, that they may receive condign punishment."

"Die Jovis, 31 December, 1646.

"A declaration of the Commons assembled in Parliament, against all such persons as shall take upon them to preach or expound the Scriptures in any church or chapel, or any other public place, except they be ordained either here or in some other reformed church as it is already prohibited in an order of both Houses, of 26th April, 1645; and likewise against all such ministers or others as shall *publish or maintain by preaching, writing, printing, or any other way, anything against or in derogation of the church government which is now established by the authority of both Houses of Parliament;* and also against all and

every person or persons who shall willingly and purposely *interrupt or disturb a preacher who is in the public exercise of his functions;* and all justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and other head officers of corporations, and all officers of the army, to take notice of this Declaration, and by all lawful ways and means to prevent offences of this kind, and to give notice hereof unto the House, that thereupon course may be speedily taken for due punishment to be inflicted upon them."

The arbitrary enactments of 1645 were reviewed in the preface to a sermon preached before the Right Honourable the House of *Peers*, in the Abbey at Westminster, the 26th of November, 1645, being "the day appointed for solemne and publique humiliation," by *Jeremiah Burroughs* :—

Burroughs' Appeal.

"As for your Honours, together with the Honourable House of Commons, we have that which cannot but be a comfort to thousands of really godly people in the land, for which they praise God—namely, an order from you that the committees of Lords and Commons appointed to treat with the Commissioners of Scotland and the Committee of the Assembly, to endeavour the finding out some way how far tender consciences, who cannot in all things submit to the common rule, may be tolerated according to the Word of God. We see in your Lordships, and the Honourable House of Commons, a nobleness, joined with much tenderness to the godly party, whom God hath made so instrumental for you—for which the blessing of God be upon you and your posterities. But it cannot but much sadden our hearts that any party in the kingdom should seek to quench that spark of favour and hope that so good a hand of God hath begun to kindle for his people who fear Him. Yea, that so many of our brethren who lately were under bondage, with whom we joined in fasting and prayer, crying to heaven for deliverance from our yokes—and that those who awhile since were left destitute, and fled to this city for refuge from the rage of the enemy, yet as soon as they have found succour here, that they should rise up to oppose a forbearance of their brethren, who together with them love Jesus Christ, and agree with them in the substance of worship, and the

doctrinal part of religion; yea, and in matter of discipline differ not from them, but in that which is controversial: not so clear to themselves but that they will acknowledge godly and peaceable men may mistake in—what no forbearance in these things? How comes this hardness, this severity, into those hearts, where the Spirit of Jesus Christ rules? Their bowels, they say, are so stirred in them—surely there is want of bowels; or if they be there, oh that they would seek some other way than yet they have done! Nay, further, this cannot but go to our hearts, to see those brethren to stir up the Assembly and city against them who love them in the Lord: and to be so vehement to promote that, which very lately many, if not most of them, understood not, of which they have given out no model to the kingdom, with proofs and reasons. If I know mine own heart, I can say, peace is dearer to me than my life. I could joyfully lay down my life to procure peace between brethren; but surely this is not the way.

"It is a good rule of Augustine, 'If any truth that hath weight that it exceeds the strength of the learner, it is to be suspended, that that which is little and tender may have liberty by degrees to put forth itself: it must not be imposed, lest it bruise and oppress it, and so hinder the growth.'*

"While you are above and abound, let your hearts be kept sensible of the mean low condition of others, of their straits, their oppressions, let it be your honour to relieve the oppressed. You have been the means to help this oppressed kingdom. Now as Jeremiah presented his supplication, that he might not return to the house of Jonathan to die there, Jer. xxxviii. 26, so do we this day to your Lordships; let us not be brought again into bondage, and have nothing to lighten our bondage but a new name.

"Let not violence be used to force people to things spiritual that they know not. If those who now have but food and raiment should have great penalties inflicted upon them for not submitting to what they yet have had no means to instruct them in, how grievous would it be? The votes of Parliament are to be honoured, and the judgment of an assembly of godly and learned men is not to be slighted, but that which must subject men's consciences in matters concerning Christ and his worship, must be

* Si enim tantum habet pondus aliquod verum, ut vires discentis excedat, suspendendum est, ut extendat crescentem, non imponendum ut obterat parvulum. Aug. Quest. in Matt. xi.—Migne, Augustinus III. 1369.

light from the Word. Let not the greatness of your power be exercised upon those who do what they can to know the mind of Jesus Christ, and would fain understand and practise more, only they dare not go further than they can see Christ before them. You cannot say men are obstinate, and will not see, for what means hath the generality of the kingdom had to see ground out of Scripture for such great changes ?

"To use force upon people before they have means to teach them, is to seek to beat the nail in by the hammer of authority, without making way by the wimble of instruction. Indeed, if you have to deal with rotten, or soft, sappy wood, the hammer only may make the nail enter presently, but if you meet with sound wood, with heart of oak, though the hammer and hand that strikes be strong, yet the nail will hardly go in. It will turn crooked or break; or, at least, if it enter, it may split that wood it enters into; and, if so, it will not hold long. You have not your end; *consider you have to deal with English consciences; there is no country so famous for firm, strong oaks as England. You will find English consciences to be so.*

"Let there be something spared out of that abundance God hath given you for the furtherance of the gospel. How great the want of able men fitted for the ministry is, the woeful dark places of the kingdom give sad testimony; except God persuade the hearts of those who are of estates, and have power to help, dreadful darkness will come upon a great part of the kingdom before we are aware. There are now many hopeful youths godly, and fitted for the university, in the western parts, especially where their parents have been plundered, spoiled of their estates, now wholly disenabled to maintain them at the university. Here are crying objects of charity, yea, the relieving of them that they may be fitted for the ministry, would be a work fit for the charity and piety of a state to be exercised in. If learning be not maintained, not only ignorance, but barbarism will come in upon us: the Lord deliver us from that judgment of an ignorant ministry.

"There are at this day, thousands of congregations in England, who want able preachers. Especially in remote parts as Cumberland, Westmoreland, divers parts of Yorkshire, many live like heathens, scarce knowing that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, whether there be a Christ, or a Holy Ghost, or no. Now there are divers godly learned young men, who have been

called into those parts, and have been willing from their pity to those poor souls, to quit those places, in lord's, knight's, and gentlemen's houses, where they had comfortable maintenance, to go into those places; but they not having studied the controversies in church government, could not for the present see sufficient ground to satisfy their conscience in that way of ordination, by a company of ministers of several congregations, *made up into a Presbytery, only by the civil power*, limited to the power of ordination, having no church act to make them a Presbytery, nor no power of government in them, or if government that extended beyond their ministerial charge for Word and Sacraments, there being so many controversies in this point, and being new to most men, it is no marvel though young men who are conscientious, and love to search into things that they may understand, the which may bear up their consciences, have doubts arising, which for the present they know not how to satisfy themselves in; now shall these who are every way otherwise fitted for the ministry, be denied the preaching of the gospel in such dark places of the kingdom, though they agree in all other things with their brethren, merely because they cannot satisfy themselves in this scruple of conscience, God forbid.

"Further, I humbly desire to present this to your Honours, that when men come to be examined for places, the judgment of such who are willing to conceal them, that they might not make disturbance, may not be drawn forth by having questions put to them, what they think of that Presbyterial government that is now set up? and if they are not satisfied in their consciences about it, then to be dismissed. I am not now disputing about what you have determined, God and your Lordships have called me to another place, where I have spoke my conscience about it. But this is all I say here, is not this way of government presented to your Lordships *that it may be?* is it established by you as that which ought to be *Jure Divino?* Are you certain of this or that way of ordination appointed, that you can take it upon your consciences it is of such necessity that it is fitter millions of souls should never come to know Jesus Christ, than that this way of ordination should not be observed and submitted to?"

Burroughs says in another work:—

"Certainly conscience is a very tender thing, and as men must take heed how they offer violence to their own consciences, so to

the consciences of others, it is such a thing as is not in subjection to any creature in heaven or in earth. I make no question but, if we well understood one another and were of quiet spirits, we might live together in peace."

In an extended practical discourse he indicated the way by which divisions might all be healed, yet not at the expense of truth :—

"Let us all be for peace," he adds, in conclusion, "yet so as not to be fooled into bondage by the name of peace; now God hath by his mighty arm helped us. Let us not be put off with a bauble, and made to believe it is this pearl; we know with whom we have to deal."

Failure of the New Establishments.

After all, the attempt to establish a National Presbyterian Church proved an ignominious failure. It is supposed that the Presbytery of London was completely organized. On paper it was so, as the resolutions of the Corporation of London, the journals of Parliament, and the original records of the Synod show; but with all the orders for the enforcement of a church rate, the formation of Presbyteries, and the closing of voluntary churches, the new establishment was resisted. Fresh powers were sought, and intolerant decrees issued, but with no practical effect. "Rationalists" sprung up who had no respect for the doctrines of revelation, and in Parliament an Erastian party made itself felt, who had little regard for deep and sincere religious conviction. The result might have been the triumph of an infidel convention, and the sweeping away of all Christian institutions, but for the influence of men who had given proof in the direst extremities, that the truth of the gospel and the laws of Christ were dearer to them than life, or any advantages limited by time.

CHAPTER XII.

With the progress of the war, the position of the King became exceedingly critical. His main hope was in the subjugation of England by the aid of the confederated Catholics in Ireland. Henrietta and her agents in Paris were incessant in their efforts to obtain the sanction of the Pope, and help from Spain; but their schemes were frustrated by the inconstancy and treachery of the Irish party, who became more exacting in their demands with every new concession, and at the last moment violated their most solemn engagements. The basis of a peace was settled, in order to a new alliance against the Parliamentarians; but when Dr. Roberts, the Ulster King of Arms, went to Limerick to make the proclamation, the priests instigated the people to kill him, and he narrowly escaped with his life.* A foreign army might have been introduced very difficult to expel, but the Irish Confederates had no capability of firm adherence, and no reliance could be placed on the assurances they gave of hearty co-operation.

Critical position of Charles I.

Disappointed in this quarter, Charles entertained the idea that by skiful diplomacy, the different

* Carte Papers.

parties opposed to his unconstitutional policy might be weakened by division. "I do not despair," he wrote to Lord Digby, "of inducing the Presbyterians or the Independents to join with me in exterminating one or the other, and then I shall be King again."* "I am of opinion," he said to Lords Jermyn and Culpeper, "that Presbyterianism is worse than Romanism, but the Scots must be gained if possible."

Nicolas, Secretary of State, then wrote to Vane, soliciting him to contrive that the King might be enabled to come to London to treat in person with the Parliament, promising that if it required the triumph of Presbyterian discipline, the Royalists would combine with the Independents to "extirpate from the kingdom this tyrannical domination, and secure each other's liberty."†

Surrender to the Scots.

The next move of the vacillating monarch, was to surrender himself to the Scots' army at Newcastle. The Presbyterians were confident that the royal fugitive would now be moulded to their will.

"The King coming to the Scottish army," writes Balsom, May 21, 1646, "in all probability will prove one of the greatest mercies since the war began. And never did I hear of any Christians carrying themselves so boldly and faithfully in reproving their prince so humbly before their God, so innocently towards their brethren, so desirously of a settled grounded peace, as the Scots now do. They labour, with much earnestness for the King's conversion; tell him plainly of his blood guiltiness; have sent for, out of Scotland, the ablest ministers to converse with him; have banished all malignant persons six miles from his person by proclamation; refused to entertain him with any

* Carte, Life of Ormond, iii., 452. † Evelyn's Memoirs, ii., App., 165.

token of joy; told him he was a great sinner before God, and that he must give satisfaction to both kingdoms. The malignants droop who were gathering towards him out of both kingdoms; the French agent who was active in making a breach, is much discountenanced; the nobles and ministers profess the longing after a happy union; the settling the government of Christ in his church; which being done, they will presently return in peace. The Independents themselves stand amazed at their wisdom, resolution, and fidelity; zeal doth accompany all their actions with humility. The malignant party, which was much feared, is borne down; the mouths that were so wide, both of Independents and Malignants, are sown up: they have not a word to say, and see how the Lord blesses them; all their enemies in Scotland are routed and brought to nothing. The King refuses to proclaim Montrose and his adherents rebels; but the King of kings hath taken the quarrel into his own hand, and utterly dispersed them."*

The terms proposed to the King by the representatives of the Kirk were so arbitrary and severe, that, with regard to consistency or honour, it was impossible for him to yield. "It is such a grief," he said, "that must sink any honest heart; giving such way to Presbyterial government as will content the Scots is the absolute destruction of monarchy." His advisers assured him there was no other alternative. "Your own friends," they said, "are oppressed, dispersed, crestfallen, and altogether unable to form a body of themselves. Presbytery, or something worse, will be forced upon you, or no. The question, in short, is whether you will choose to be a King of Presbytery, or no King." †

Severe terms of the Kirk.

Charles consulted, Oct. 4, 1646, the bishops, who, after serious deliberation, recommended temporary compliance, according to the doctrine of

* Edward's Gangræna. † Clarendon Papers.

reserve:—"rectitude of intending," their Lordships said, "abating much of obliquity in all actions." Troubled and perplexed, he wrote to the Queen, Oct. 16, 1646: "Under the pretence of a reformation, they will place ecclesiastical government in Parliament, and the supreme power in the people." "Be firm," she replied. "I will," rejoined the King; "no alteration can make a damned covenant passable."

Once more he tried the Roman Catholic party—the priests, at a conclave in Wexford, having promised to reinstate him on the throne. He wrote to Sir Kenelm Digby to hasten to Ireland, and to tell the Confederate leaders of his visit to Rome, and of the "large, efficacious promises made to him by the Pope." But no real help came from that quarter, and on the 12th of May, 1647, the royal prisoner proposed to "conform to the Presbyterian government of the Assembly at Westminster and the Directory for three years."

King transferred to the Parliamentarian Army.

By another change in events, the King was transferred to the Parliamentarian army. The collision anticipated by the Royalists between the Presbyterians and Independents, at length arose. "The difference is now so high," a correspondent of Lord Jermyn said, "that it is not to be reconciled without the ruin of one party. I am confident his Majesty is offered conditions from both of them, wished and desired by all his Majesty's friends, that he would forbear as long as conveniently he can to engage with either party; for if he uses but patience and forbearance to intermeddle for a while, no doubt but

he shall obtain his own ends, and be re-settled with as much glory as either he or his friends can desire; and when it shall be judged a fit time for his Majesty to declare himself, it must be with the Independents, whom he shall be better able to manage, than with the Presbyterians; and by them he shall more easily effect his own desires, and better satisfy them when the work is done." "*The King is very merry, and his friends about him.*" *

The army issued a declaration, stipulating for the abolition "of all coercive power, authority, and jurisdiction of bishops and all other ecclesiastical offices whatsoever; extending to any civil penalties upon any, and also for the repeal of all Acts enforcing the Book of Common Prayer, or attendance at church, or prohibiting meetings for worship apart from the regular meetings for worship, apart from the regular church, expressly demanding the non-enforcement of the covenant upon any."

Declaration of the Army.

Receiving some hints that it was the intention of Parliament to reduce or disband their troops, a command was given by the generals to march to the South; and in a letter to the Corporation of London, June 10, 1647, they declared their purpose to continue the force until there should be "a proper settlement of the affairs of the nation:—not desiring a licentious liberty, but that every good citizen that walketh peaceably in a blameless conversation, and is beneficial to the Commonwealth, may have liberties and encouragement, it being according to the polity of all States, even to justice itself."

* Clarendon Papers, 2517, 2573.

Cromwell and Fairfax entered into conference with the King, and treated him with the utmost respect. It was understood by the Royalists that the Independents were ready to allow a "Moderate Episcopacy."* Overtures were entertained also from the Commissioners of Parliament, but in the midst of these negotiations in the spirit of conciliation, the King entered into a secret treaty with Commissioners from Scotland, Dec. 20, 1647, in which he engaged to confirm the League and Covenant in both kingdoms, Presbyterian Government for three years, and "to suppress Brownists, Separatists, and Independents, etc., etc." Rupture was inevitable. Civil war was renewed with the most passionate fury. The Scots' army commenced hostilities, and Cromwell hastened to meet them. He was recalled by Parliament, but in imminent peril of impeachment he rushed onward to the contest, and at Preston was master of the field. The Parliamentary soldiers raised the cry for "justice." No man who had contended for liberty was safe. Plots were continually raised, and it was resolved to put an end to this perilous uncertainty. The fatal consequences are known. With as much regard to the forms of justice as the disjointed state of affairs would allow, the King was tried as an enemy to the State, convicted and put to death, Jan. 30, 1648-9—the unhappy victim of his own duplicity, and of the pernicious counsels of his adherents, who had reduced all parties to the cruel dilemma which required that the conquered must suffer the penalty of defeat.

Secret Treaty with the Scots.

Renewal of Civil War.

Execution of Charles I.

* Clarendon Papers, 2420.

The tragic event brought, however, no satisfactory solution of the problem of Government.

"It is no easy matter," a correspondent says, Feb. 20, 1648-9, "to have waded through so much as we have done already, with little or no disturbance at all. Alteration of laws may prove more difficult where there are remaining so many of the old stamp and of the old temper. We have tried to satisfy the malignant spirits amongst us, but their hatred is fathomless, and some of our nearest friends prove rotten. Our secretest transactions, though never so clandestinely carried on, are still thwarted and interposed. Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Secretary hath most assuredly done us unparalleled mischief. The Scots have sent their king sums of money, and have entirely mustered their forces. Many English, besides some Swedes, and German rix-dollars, are very plentiful here. The King of Spain, Archduke Leopold, Swedes and Danes, if not the Hollanders, underhand, do all combine against us in assisting the Prince; and the worst of all is, our agents amongst them, if known, are not only hated, but threatened and evilly used, which must enforce us to call them home. Yet, for all these powers and threats, had we not intestine and domestic foes, we should not value foreign. Notwithstanding all which, cheer up our faithful brethren, and let them not be dismayed, for we are resolved to fight it out to the last man against any enemy that shall oppose us, whether at home or abroad; and doubt not but that He which hath already shown his strong power in and for us shall be our helper. Nor do all these accidents daunt us. We are ascertained of the fidelity and constancy of most part of the army. To make them firmer we have added to their pay, and have adjured the Parliament before they adjourn that all oppression may be taken off from them, and that the soldiers may be contented with several other particulars which I have enclosed in print. Ireland is at the last gasp, yet I hope that we shall send a party true enough to relieve Dublin, till we shall be enabled to land an army somewhere in that country. But we must perforce send a considerable strength into the North to observe the motion of the Scots; as likewise a considerable party must be kept on foot in the west to keep under the Welsh, and other malignant spirits, and to be very

Perils of the Commonwealth.

vigilant and circumspect, lest a foreign enemy should land in those parts."*

Milton was appointed secretary to Cromwell, March 15, 1648-9, and not long afterwards, JOHN OWEN was chosen by him one of his chaplains. The antecedents of both amply justified the selection. Owen had given proof in early life of remarkable fidelity to conviction. In his nineteenth year he graduated at Oxford, and was admitted to orders by Bishop Bancroft, but conscientiously opposed to the ceremonial observances imposed by law, he incurred the displeasure of his uncle, who supplied him with the principal means of support at the University, and withdrew from Queen's College, losing of necessity all prospect of preferment. He found a home and congenial employment in the house of Sir Philip Dormer, of Ascot, as chaplain to his family, and tutor to his eldest son; and, subsequently, in a similar capacity in the family of Lord Lovelace; but in the course of events his patron identified himself with the Royalists, and became alienated from Owen because of his attachment to the cause of constitutional right. For a time the discarded chaplain was left unbefriended, and came to London in a state of religious depression, from which, however, he found relief from a sermon preached in the church at Aldermanbury by an unknown preacher.

John Owen.

A sphere of ministerial labour soon after was opened to him temporarily at Fordham, a secluded village overhanging the pleasant and fertile valley of the Stour, which divides Suffolk from Essex.

* MSS. Advocate's Library.

Here he found retirement and freedom from distracting care, combined with service, to which he devoted himself with the greatest diligence. He loved his work, and felt a growing attachment to the people. At a time when sacerdotalism had inflated the parochial clergy with arrogance and self-conceit, Owen felt the responsibilities, and cherished the sympathies of the Christian pastor. In "An Hour's Country Discourse on the duty of Pastors and People," published in 1644, he exposed the hollowness of the pretensions of ministers who called themselves "priests;" and to recover the people from the blinding superstition into which they had been led, he urged them to search the Scriptures, and to examine and try by them the doctrine publicly taught by them. "Pin not your faith upon men's opinion," he said, "the Bible is the touchstone."

"They that would banish the gospel from our houses, would not much care, if it were gone from our hearts; from our houses I say, for it is all one whether these duties be performed in one family, or a collection of more; some one is bigger than ten others; shall their assembling to perform what is lawful for that one, be condemned for a conventicle? Where is the law for that? Or where is there in all this more than God required of his ancient people?

"Must a master of a family cease praying in his family, and instructing his children and servants in the ways of the Lord, for fear of being counted a preacher in a tub? Things were scarcely carried with an equal hand for the kingdom of Christ, when orders came forth on the one side, to give liberty to the profane multitude to assemble them-

selves at heathenish sports; with bestial exclamations, on the Lord's own day, and on the other, to punish them who durst gather themselves together for prayer, or the singing of Psalms, but I hope through God's blessing, we shall be for ever quit of all such ecclesiastical discipline, as must be exercised according to the interest of drones."

On the death of the incumbent at Fordham, Owen removed to Coggleshall, a straggling town in Essex, and occupied the spacious church on a rising ground commanding a prospect of the surrounding country. Here he formed a church on the Congregational model. Originally he was identified with the Puritans. "I was bred up from my infancy," he says, "by my father, who was a Nonconformist all his days, and a painful labourer in the vineyard of the Lord."

"In a small treatise published by me, entitled, 'the Duty of Pastors and People Distinguished,' I profess myself to be of the Presbyterian judgment. That little treatise was written by me in the year 1643. I was then a young man myself, about the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven years: the controversy between Independency and Presbytery was young also; nor indeed by me clearly understood, especially on the Congregational side. Being unacquainted with the Congregational way, I professed myself to own the other party, not knowing but that my principles were suited to their judgment and profession, having looked very little further into those affairs than I was led by an opposition to Episcopacy and Ceremonies. Upon a review of what I then asserted, I found that my principles were far more suited to what is the judgment and practice of the Congregational men than to those of the Presbyterian.

"Not long after, I set myself seriously to inquire into the controversies then warmly agitated in these nations. Of the Congregational way, I was not acquainted with any one person, minister, or other; nor had I, to my knowledge, seen any more

than one in my life. My acquaintance lay wholly with ministers and people of the Presbyterian way. But sundry books being published on either side, I perused, and compared them with the Scripture, and one another, according as I received ability from God. After a general view of them, as was my manner in other controversies, I fixed on one to take under peculiar consideration and examination, which seemed most methodically and strongly to maintain that which was contrary, as I thought, to my then present persuasion; this was Mr. Cotton's book of 'The Keys.' The examination and confutation hereof, merely for my own particular satisfaction, with what diligence and sincerity I was able I engaged in. In the pursuit and management of this work, quite beside and contrary to my expectation, at a time and season wherein I could expect nothing on that account, but ruin in this world; without the knowledge or advice of, or conference with any one person of that judgment, I was prevailed to receive that, and those principles which I had thought to have set myself in opposition unto."

Faithful in his pastoral charge, and content with the allotments of providence, Owen would gladly have remained at Coggleshall, but his piety, learning, and extraordinary assiduity attracted the attention of men in high places. He was called to preach at Westminster, before Parliament, after the execution of Charles, and on subsequent occasions of national interest. Cromwell was one of his hearers, and invited him to a personal conference; as the result of the interview, though with unfeigned reluctance at the call of Parliament he went with the army to Ireland.

Chaplain of Cromwell.

The state of affairs in Ireland was so complicated, that it is next to impossible for the historian to give an intelligible account of the heterogeneous combinations that were formed, and no statement, we fear, would now be accepted as correct by all parties, so feverish are they in what relates to the

view that may be given of the conduct of the course of things in the past.

Milton and the Belfast Presbyterians.

With extraordinary inconsistency, the Presbyterians of Belfast combined with the Roman Catholics to oppose the army of the Commonwealth, and issued an address, Feb. 15, 1649, warning their people not to associate with the Sectaries because they had not kept the Solemn League and Covenant :—

"Notwithstanding their specious pretences for religion and liberties," they said, "yet their late and present actings being therewith compared, do clearly evidence that they love a rough garment to deceive; since they have with a high hand despised the oath in breaking the covenant, which is so strong a foundation to both, whilst they loaden it with slighting reproaches, calling it a bundle of particular and contrary interests, and a snare to the people; and likewise to establish an universal toleration of all religions, which is an innovation overturning of unity in religion, and so directly repugnant to the Word of God, the first two articles of our Solemn Covenant, which is the greatest wickedness in them to violate, since many of the chiefest of themselves have, with their hands testified to the most high God, sworn and sealed it.

"Moreover, their great disaffection to the settlement of religion, and so their future breach of the covenant, which doth more fully appear by their strong opposition to Presbyterial government, the hedge and bulwark of religion, whilst they express their hatred to it more than to the worst of errors, by excluding it under the name of compulsion.

"This rough garment to deceive," Zech. xiii. 4, Milton replied, "we bring ye once again into your own vestry, or with Zachary shall not think much to fit it to your own shoulders. To bestow ought in good earnest on the magistrate, we know your classic principle is to gripple, for ye are always begging; and for the rough garment to deceive, we are confident ye cannot spare it; it is your Sunday's gown, your everyday gown, your only gown, the gown of your faculty, your divining gown; to take it from ye were sacrilege. Wear it, therefore, and

possess it yourselves, most grave and reverend Carmelites, that all men, both young and old, as we hope they will shortly, may yet better know ye, and distinguish ye by it; and give to your rough gown, wherever they meet it, whether in pulpit, classis or provincial synod, the precedency, and deceiving.

"We have broken the covenant. Wherein? *in labouring*, say they, *to establish a law by a universal toleration of all religions*. This touches not the State; for certainly were they so minded, they need not labour it, but do it, having power in their hands; and we know of no act as yet past to that purpose. *But suppose it done, wherein is the covenant broke?* the covenant enjoins us to endeavour the *extirpation first of Popery and Prelacy*, then of heresy, schism, and profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness. And this we cease not to do by all effectual and *proper means*. But these divines might know that, *to extirpate all these things can be no work of the civil sword*, but of the spiritual, which is the Word of God.

"No man in his wits, endeavouring to root up weeds out of his ground, instead of using the spade, will take a mallet or a beetle. Nor doth the covenant any way engage us to extirpate, or to prosecute the *men*, but the *heresies* and *errors* in them, which we tell these divines and the rest that understand not, *belongs chiefly to their own function*, in the diligent *preaching and insisting upon sound doctrine*, in the *confuting* not the *railing*, down errors, encountering both in public and private conference, and by the *power of truth*, not of *persecution*, subduing those authors of heretical opinions; and lastly, in the spiritual execution of church discipline within their own congregations. In all these ways we shall assist them, favour them, and as far as appertains to us to join with them, and moreover, not tolerate the free exercise of any religion, which shall be found absolutely contrary to sound doctrine or power of godliness: for the conscience, we must have patience till it be within our verge. And thus doing, we shall believe to have *kept exactly all that is required from us by the covenant*. Whilst they by their seditious practices against us, that which nothing for the present can add more assistance or advantage to those bloody rebels and Papists in the South, will be found most pernicious covenant-breakers themselves, and as deep in that guilt as those of their own

nation the last year; the warning of whose ill-success, like men hardened for the same judgment they miserably pervert to an encouragement of the same offence, if not a far worse; for now they have joined interest with the Irish rebels, who have ever fought against the Covenant, whereas their countrymen the year before, made the Covenant their plea."

Irish Campaign.

In anticipation of the arrival of Cromwell and his forces, a characteristic manifesto was issued by the Irish priests from the ruins of Cloumacnoise, among the dreary swamps in which they declare the unity of "clergy" and "laity," and summon all ranks to meet the "common enemy" in the interest of their church, of his Majesty, and the nation.

"Clergy" and "Laity."

"I wonder," replied Cromwell, in a counter declaration, "not at differences in opinions, at discontents and divisions, where so Antichristian and dividing a term as 'clergy and laity' is given and received—a term unknown to any save the Antichristian church, and such as derive themselves from her; *ab initio non fuit sic.* The most pure and primitive times, as they best knew what true union was, so in all addresses to the several churches they wrote unto, not one word of this. The members of the churches are styled 'brethren and saints,' of the same 'household of faith;' and although they had orders and distinctions amongst them for administration of ordinances—of a far different use and character from yours—yet it nowhere occasioned them to say *contemptim*, and by way of lessening in contradistinguishing 'laity and clergy.' It was your pride that begat this expression, and it is for filthy lucre's sake that you keep it up; that by making the people believe that they are not so holy as yourselves, they might for their penny purchase some sanctity from you; and that you might bridle, saddle, and ride them at your pleasure; and do (as is most true of you) as the Scribes and Pharisees of old did by their 'laity,' keep the knowledge of the law from them, and then be able in their pride to say, 'This people, that know not the law, are cursed.'

"And no wonder—to speak more nearly to your 'differences' and 'union'—if it be in the prelates' power to make the clergy and the laity go together by the ears when they please, but that they may as easily make a simple and senseless reconciliation, which will last until the next Nuncio comes from Rome with supermandatory advices; and then this Gordian knot must be cut, and the poor 'laity' forced to dance to a new tune.

"Having stated the 'ground of' your 'war,' you give the people positive advice and counsel to engage in blood; and then, lastly, you bestow upon them a small collation in four ecclesiastical decrees or orders, which will signify as little, being performed by your spirit, as if you had said nothing. And the obligation 'that lay on you' to all this you make to be your pastoral relation to them, 'over your flocks.' I wonder how this relation was brought about! If they be 'flocks,' and you ambitious of the relative term? Yes, you are pastors; but it is by an antiphrasis, *a minime pascendo!* You either teach the people not at all, or else you do it, as some of you came to this conventicle who were sent by others, *tanquam procuratores* — 'teach them,' as your manner is, by sending a company of silly, ignorant priests, who can but say the Mass, and scarcely that intelligibly, or with such stuff as these your senseless declarations and edicts? But how dare you assume to call these men your 'flocks,' whom you have plunged into so horrid a rebellion, by which you have made them and the country almost a ruinous heap? and whom you have fleeced, and polled, and peeled hitherto, and make it your business to do so still. You cannot feed them! You poison them with your false, abominable, and Antichristian doctrine and practices. You keep the Word of God from them, and instead thereof give them your senseless orders and traditions." *

Rebellion subdued.

The rebellion was quickly subdued; strokes of terrible severity, in rapid succession, settled the matter effectually, and the power of the Vatican and of Spain in the sister kingdom was broken.

The influence of Owen for good was soon felt. In

* Carlyle, Letters and Speeches of Cromwell.

Dublin he preached with marked acceptance. The Protestants had been drawn away, and the city had become a scene of spiritual desolation. Yet he found an attentive audience.

Influence of order in Ireland.

"For the present," he writes from Dublin Castle, December 20, 1649, "being by God's providence removed for a season from my native soil, attended with more than ordinary weakness and infirmities, separated from my library, burdened with manifold employments, with constant preaching to a numerous multitude of as thirsty a people after the gospel as ever yet I conversed withal; it sufficeth me that I have obtained this mercy, briefly and plainly, to vindicate the truth."

On his return to London, Owen preached before Parliament, Feb. 28, 1649—50, on "The Steadfastness of the Promises, and the Sinfulness of Staggering." Pleading for the people, whose condition he had witnessed with sorrow, he said, "How is it that Jesus Christ is in Ireland only as a lion staining all his garments with the blood of his enemies, and none to hold Him out as a Lamb sprinkled with his own blood to his friends? Is it the sovereignty and interest of England that is alone there to be transacted? Do your utmost for the preaching of the Gospel in Ireland. They want it. I would that there were for the present one gospel preacher for every walled town in the English possession in Ireland.

"They are sensible of their wants, and cry out for supply. The tears and cries of the inhabitants of Dublin after the manifestation of Christ are ever in my view." "The labourers are ready to say, there

is a lion in the way, difficulties to be contended withal. And to some men it is hard, seeing a call of God through difficulties, when if it would but clothe itself with some carnal advantages, how apparent it is to them! they can see it through a little cranny. Be earnest, then, with the Master of these labourers, in whose hands is their life, and breath, and all their ways, that He would powerfully constrain them to be willing to enter into the fields." "Let me stir you up to another work of love, and that in the behalf of many poor perishing creatures that want all things needful for the sustentation of life. Poor parentless children that lie begging, starving, rotting in the streets, and find no relief: yea, persons of quality that have lost their dearest relations in serving you, asking for bread and finding none. Oh! that some thought of this also might be seriously committed to them that shall take care of the Gospel."

This appeal was not without effect. Grants were made by Parliament "for the better support of Trinity College, the erection of a second college in Dublin, the support of Professors in the University, and the maintenance of a free school.

Samuel Winter.

Samuel Winter preached on Sunday afternoons in Christ Church Cathedral, and formed a church meeting for worship in St. Nicholas within the walls. Another church was gathered at St. Bride's, under the pastoral care of John Rogers. In 1653 John Murcot came to the city. Timothy Taylor, Congregational Minister of Carrickfergus, urged him to go to Belfast, and a deputation from Cork requested that he might be

John Rogers.

stationed in that city; but, after some hesitation he accepted the office of teacher in conjunction with Dr. Winter, who continued his pastorate. A track of improvement was opened for Ireland, which, if it had continued, would have given permanent order, freedom, peace, and prosperity. The suggestion was often made that Puritan ministers might be allowed to settle in Ireland, and the proposal made to recall the emigrants from New England. A pamphlet entitled the "Independent's Plot" was published in 1646, recommending that "the most religious and tender-conscienced people in England be employed in the affairs of Ireland for time coming. They will not stay here, and if they go not thither they will go where they will be no way of use to the State. Invite all those now in America to return. Why not a toleration there of Independency expressed, if the State think fit these may have a kind of toleration limited, restricted, and prescribed. There is plenty of room; Ireland stands well for trade, hath good commodities for export, and may have far better. Settle there at once, artists and men of ingenuity, and it may equal most parts of Christendom. The remoteness and want of artists (artizans) in New England hath undone them. Tender-conscienced men never gain the love of the clergy of England: they will be best asunder."

Puritans of New England invited to Ireland.

We infer from the subjoined document that some proposal, addressed to Cromwell, was made to the ministers of New England:—

"We, whose names are underwritten do, in behalf of ourselves and some others here in New England, humbly return to your

Honour many thanks for your noble efforts respecting us also: and since your Honour hath so large a heart given you of the Lord as to desire to build Him a temple amidst the ruinous walls in Ireland, and so royal a spirit as to befriend the friends, even in America also, of any such works, so far to improve your uttermost interest for their furtherance in removing hither, and for their safe and comfortable habitation there, together with like care had of their enjoying the Lord in his ordinances there; we know not but we may attend this Providence of the Lord, so far also as to observe what further of the mind and counsel of God may appear to us in your seasonable prosecution of your noble proposals. Hoping that as we came by a call of God to serve Him here, so if the Lord's mind clearly appeared to give us a sufficient call to and encouragement to remove into Ireland, to serve the Lord Jesus there, we shall cheerfully and thankfully obey the same. Thus commending your Honour's weighty occasions to the Lord's guidance and blessing, we humbly take our leave, resting, your Honour, to serve you in the Lord.

"Peter Bulkley (min.), Danyel Denison, Samuel Whitby, John Knowles, and Miles Corbet (min.) in England. 31, 10th month, 1650."*

Toleration.

It is worthy of notice that the question of Toleration was freely canvassed at this period. Jeremy Taylor, in a cautious way, contended for the "Liberty of Prophesying," not as a right, but from considerations of benevolence, because of the difficulty of arriving at certainty in the quest of religious truth. Practically, his treatise is rather an apology for latitude in ministerial teaching than a thorough defence of the rights of conscience, and the value of the work, notwithstanding the eloquence of some passages in it, is seriously diminished in the concession he makes to the magistrate, who, he contends, should be left to his discretion in the suppression of doctrines he may regard as inimical

* MSS. Soc. Antiq., No. 138, art. 34.

to the welfare of the nation. Men too obscure for the notice of eminent historians asserted the common right to religious freedom with far greater distinctness and force than the "Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore."

The Kirk of Scotland demanded that the Sectaries, men holding the principles of Milton and of Owen, should be put down. A petition to Parliament for permission to form Independent churches was ordered to be burnt by the hangman. Edwards was driven to frenzy by the boldness of the Separatists. William Walwyn, a City merchant, in a tract, entitled "A Whisper in the Ear of Thomas Edwards, Minister," says:—

William Walwyn.

"I look upon you as ministers ordained by the State, and so are to do as they conceive is most agreeable to the Word of God, and most beneficial to the generality of the people in settling; whereof, you may advise, but are not to urge or be importunate for more power than they see good; and it less beseems you to grow passionate, and by preaching and printing to make their faithful brethren odious unto them, and to magnify your desires above their own intentions, and so to beget emulations and parties, threaten judgments and desertions, and turning the Scriptures against them and all others that oppose or fulfil not *your will*, as if they were opposers of the *will of God*, which you take upon you to know with the same confidence as the bishops and prelates did. I verily believe you have no enemy like yourself, and am persuaded if you would forsake all corrupt interests, and would conscientiously set yourself to do the work of Christ, to labour in his work and gospel out of a pure mind, and not for filthy lucre—if you would make it evident by your actions that you seek not ours, but to win us to God—that you would thereby prevail more in one half year towards your own comfortable establishment than you shall in an age by all your bye-ways and policies; therefore leave them, and betake yourself to the work of Christ whilst it is called to-day."

Great excitement was caused in the City of

London by the circulation for signatures of a petition, desiring

"That no man, for preaching or publishing his opinion in religion in a peaceable way, may be punished or persecuted as heretical by judges that are not infallible, but may be mistaken as well as other men in their judgments; lest upon pretence of suppressing errors, sects, and schisms, the most necessary truths and sincere professions thereof may be suppressed, as upon the like pretence it hath been in all ages.

Petition for religious freedom.

"*That tithes and all other enforced maintenance may be for ever abolished, and nothing in the place hereof imposed; but that all ministers may be paid only by those who voluntarily chose them and contract with them for their labours.*"

A copy of this petition was intercepted by an informer, and brought into the hands of Mr. Glyn, Recorder of London, and a member of the Commons House. He called it a scandalous and seditious paper, and referred it to Colonel Leigh's committee to find out the authors. Nicolas Free, one of the petitioners, was interrogated, and refusing to answer, committed to prison three months. Others also were sent to gaol.

The House resolved, May 20, 1647, that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex be required to take care that the petition be burnt, which was accordingly done, before the Exchange, two days after the said vote and order of the House. The agitation nevertheless continued, and with it the determination not to submit to the yoke of an intolerant Establishment.

In urging the necessity of toleration in matters of religion, SAMUEL RICHARDSON says:—

"Then, it seems, errors may be suffered?

"We must suffer that which we cannot help Necessity

hath no law. It is no more in our power to hinder errors than it was in the power of the prelates to hinder men's preaching, writing, and speaking against them. It is not in the power of man to suppress error. If you can first so speak to the blind, and open the eyes of our understandings, as to expel the darkness that is in them; secondly, if you can command the heart, and reform it; thirdly, if you can hinder and destroy the vain imaginations of men's hearts, and hinder Satan's suggestions of errors, and men's speakings to each other; if you can place light in the soul, for there is no light till God give light—till God speak, all is nothing; if you can give the Holy Spirit to men, to direct and reform them, for till the Spirit comes there is no reformation to purpose: then are you able to suppress errors. If you cannot do these things, give place to Him that can and will do these things in his time, and, in the meantime, will so order all errors to his glory and the good of his elect.

Richardson on Toleration.

"Then errors will prevail?

"If truth may be suffered, it will prevail against errors. Corporal punishment cannot suppress errors; neither doth truth need any such help to maintain it. If truth may have liberty, it can maintain itself. Let neither of them have the sword, and let them try it out. I will venture my life truth will prevail. Are there not men as able to write and speak for truth as any are to write and speak against it?"

John Owen, the day after the execution of Charles I., issued an appendix to the sermon he preached, advocating the principles of toleration. The army under Cromwell, we may infer, was thoroughly indoctrinated with the same views.

Amongst the thousands wounded in the battle of Dunbar, we find ALEXANDER JAFFRAY, one of the Commissioners who brought the King to Scotland. He may tell his own story:—

"Oh, that I could do it, he says, "with a right thankful heart, for I was brought to the very gates of death; my horse

being shot under me, and I having received two wounds in my head, one in my right hand, and another in my back. While the fourth stroke was coming to have made an end of me, the hand that drew it was diverted, before he could bring his sword from his shoulder, which he was drawing with great passion to my throat, who was then lying on the ground, not recovered since my horse fell with me, he being lying on my left leg. I say, before his stroke could come at me, in that very nick of time, his hand was diverted, and carried to give that stroke to one Loundre, an officer in our army, who, at that very instant of time, being hardly pursued, run close by him, who was drawing the stroke at me: and, yet, for all his haste, he was heard to call, desiring to spare me, thereafter, I having gotten quarter, and rendered my arms, was wounded by a thrust in the back, which made me to be in more danger than ever; being thereby unable to walk, I was like to have fallen among the common soldiers. But the Lord provided a gentleman, who took care of me, and having mounted me on horseback, carried me to Major-General Lambert, and by his order to Broxmouth, where my wounds were very carefully staunched. And being, through the loss of much blood and weakness of body, brought to faint, I was very kindly refreshed with what the place could afford, and thereafter brought to Dunbar, where I was most civilly and courteously used beyond what was due to one of my capacity or rank. Here I lost my dear brother Thomas, who undoubtedly was killed, though we never could get word when or how; for once I saw him taken prisoner when I fell; as also my servant, James Beza, who was here killed.

Story of Alexander Jaffray.

"During the time of my being prisoner, I had frequent conference *with the Lord-General* (*Cromwell*), *the Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Dr. Owen*, by occasion of whose company I had first made out unto me, not only some clear evidences of the Lords' controversy with the family and person of our King; but more particularly the sinful mistake of the good men of his nation, about the knowledge and mind of God, as to the exercise of the magistrate's power in matters of religion, what the due bounds and limits of it are. The mistake and ignorance of the mind of God in this matter, what evils it hath occasioned, fearful scandals and

Conversation with Owen, etc.

blasphemies on the one hand, and cruel persecution and bitterness among the brethren on the other."*

We shall meet Alexander Jaffray again.

Influence of Owen in Scotland.

Owen scrupulously adhered to his mission of Christian sympathy and evangelical instruction, and kept throughout free from the belligerent spirit. The two sermons he preached in Scotland from the same text, Isaiah lvi. 7, "For mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all people"—the first at Berwick, and the other at Edinburgh, contain no allusion to political or military affairs. In a dedication prefixed to them, addressed to Cromwell, and dated Nov. 26, 1650, he tells him that, "It was with thoughts of peace he embraced his call to this place in time of war, that his chief design in complying with it, was to pour a savour of the gospel on the sons of peace in Scotland; that he hoped this had been manifested in the consciences of all with whom he had to do in the work of the ministry; and that though some were so seasoned with the leaven of contention about carnal things, as to disrelish the weightier things of the gospel, yet the great owner of the vineyard had not left 'him' without a comfortable assurance that 'his' labour in the Lord 'had' not been in vain."

Earnest expostulations were addressed in pamphlets published at the time against those who fomented the fratricidal strife; warning them of the advantage that would be ultimately taken by the King on his acquisition of power, and conjuring the ministers in particular to meet together for conference and prayer, to avoid the bitter consequences

* Diary of Alexander Jaffray. Edited by John Barclay.

that must result from war. In Edinburgh, Cromwell offered to the ministers in the Castle, liberty to preach to their several congregations; they curtly declined on the ground of the persecution of the ministers of Christ in England and Ireland to which they were subjected; reserving themselves for better times. "The ministers in England," Cromwell replied, "are supported, and have liberty to preach the gospel, though not to rail, nor, under pretence thereof to overtop the civil power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the gospel; nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the company of the army hither. The speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ.

Cromwell and the Ministers at Edinburgh.

"When ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundations thereof in getting to themselves worldly powers, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late agreement with their King, and hope by him to carry on their design; they may know that the Zion promised will not be built with such untempered mortar."

Cromwell reiterated the assurance that he had no hostility to the Presbyterians as such, and no desire to continue the war beyond the point required for the protection of the Commonwealth. Writing to the "Committee of Estates," from Linlithgow, 9th October, 1650, he says, "The daily sense we have of the calamity of war lying upon the poor people of this nation, and the sad consequences of blood and famine likely to

Proposals of peace.

come upon them; the advantage given to the Malignant, Profane, and Popish party by this war; and *that reality of affection which we have so often professed to you*, and concerning the truth of which we have so solemnly appealed; do again constrain us to send unto you, to let you know, that if the contending for that person (Charles II.) be not by you preferred to the peace and welfare of your country, the blood of your peoples, *the love of men of the same faith with you*, and (in this above all) the honour of that God we serve—then give the state of England that satisfaction and *security for their peaceable and quiet living beside you*, which may in justice be demanded from a nation giving so just ground to ask the same, from those who have, as you, taken their enemy into their bosom, whilst he was in hostility against them: *do this*, and *it will be made good to you*, that you may have a lasting and durable peace with them, and the wish of a blessing upon you in all religious and civil things."

The leaders of the Kirk were in no mood to listen to the "Sectaries." Having brought the King to the point of formal acquiescence in their demands, they urged the people again to sign the Covenant as a preparation for a fresh campaign. The ministers stirred up their congregations to act with promptitude and with one consent. We may judge of the fervour of their appeals from the exhortation of JAMES REW "On the Wounds of the Kirk of Scotland," given at Edinburgh, Oct. 14, 1650:—

Rew and the Covenant.

"Na," said the preacher, "they made not onely an hors but an ass o' the Kirk of Scotland. How say yee by that now? I'le

tell yee how they made Balaam's ass on her. Yee ken weel that Balaam was gauging an unluckie gate, and first the angel met him in a bread weay, and there the ass boggled and started; but Balaam got by the angel and hee tull her and battoon'd her sufficiently. That was when Episcopacie came in, and then they ga the Kirk o' Scotland their pricks. Efterward Balaam met the angel in a straighter gate, and the ass started more than she did afore. Balaam hee tull again, and paed her soundly; that was when the Five Articles of Perth were brought in. The third time the angel met Balaam in sea straight a gate as the ass cud not get by him; and then it pleased God to open blind Balaam's eyn; and in this happy daie, now God hath open'd au our eyn. Well war blind Balaam ganging an unlucky gate, ridden post to Ream; and what had they gotten behind o' the ass, traw yee? they had gotten on a Poak mantle, and in that there was the Buke o' Canons, and Buke o' Common Prayer, and the High Commission. Now as soon as 'ere ass saw the angel she fawe's a flinging—over geas the Poak mantle, and it hings by the twa strings o' ea side, and up gaes blind Balaam, and he hing by the hough o' the fother side, and fain wud the blinde carl bee i'th saddle agen, and bee content to leave the Poak mantle. But, beloved, let not the fauz zwinger get on agen, for an hee do; he will be sure to get up the Poak mantle agen."

After he had done with his sermon and prayer, standing up to give a blessing he said this:—

"I kneow weel enugh as it is not the custom o' this place to say anie thing after praier, but because I had mickle to say, and ea thing dang another out o' my head, tharefore sall yer gi' mee leav to add a word or twa more."

After urging the college of pastors to sign the covenant he said:—

"Why do not yee noblemen subscribe to the Covenant? You'l saie, *noli me tangere*. Howsoever, I'le gi' yee a twitch. It may bee an yee be put to it yee'l saie: Yee must ride in Parliament order, the meanest must gea first and subscribe to the Covenant, and then yee'l com effer. There's a bra answer, indeed! Yee

ha a fashon in thur suthern parts o' Scotland, and when yee com tull a foard the puir jackman must venter on first upon his weak, weary nagg to trie it; and if hee can gea, and come back agen, the lord comes mounted on his gaie steed, and then hee geas on. This is not right, beloved. Wee at are Hilanders ha a better fashon, wee usuallie gea a feut, and when we com tull a foard, wee are loath to leav a man, therefore wee join other to other, arm in arm loupe, au togeather into the foard—and if ea man drown, au drown. Ean sea here. Set your hands to the Covenant—and if ean man perish, au perish."

The King was schooled into good behaviour in an extraordinary manner at his coronation service at Scone, January 1, 1650-1 :—

Coronation Service.

"Sir," said the Moderator, on the occasion, "you are in covenant with God and his people, and are obliged to maintain Presbyterian government as well against Erastians as Sectaries. I know this Erastian humour abounds at court. It may be some endeavour to make your reproach upon that for which God hath punished your predecessors. Be who he will that meddled with this government to overturn it; it shall be as heavy to him as the burdensome stone to the enemies of the Kirk. They are cut in pieces who burden themselves with it (Zech. xii.) So take this example for a warning. Your grandfather made a foul defection. He remembered not the kindness of them who had held the crown upon his head. Yea, he persecuted faithful ministers for opposing that course of defection. He never rested till he had undone Presbyterial government and Kirk assemblies, setting up bishops and bringing in ceremonies; against which formerly he had given large testimony. In a word, he laid the foundation whereupon his son, our late King, did build much mischief to religion all the days of his life.

"Sir, I lay this example before you, the rather because it is so near you, and the guiltiness of the trangression hath upon the throne and family, as it is one of the sins for which you have professed your humiliation very lately. Let it be laid to heart. Take warning. Requite not faithful men's kindness with persecution."

Confident of success the army of the Kirk marched rapidly with the King into England. Cromwell soon followed, and at Worcester, on Sept. 3, 1651, put them to flight. A Royalist soldier, in a letter dated "Cheshire, 17th Sept., 1651," describes the retreat:—

"In this confusion, at last," he writes, "we got out of the town, and fled as fast as we could. At the head of us appeared the next morning our two lieutenant-generals. We had no guide, so we often lost our way, yet reached Newport by the morning, thirty miles on this side Worcester, and there thought to have refresht ourselves, and marched quietly for Scotland; but our enemy's post flew faster than we, and there wanted not considerable forces in every place to front us; and we were so closely pursued in the day by the army, and the garrison forces of the county in the night, that from the time we came out of Worcester till Friday in the evening that I was taken prisoner, seven miles from Preston, neither I nor my horse rested. Our body consisted of 3000. In the day we often faced the enemy, and beat their little parties to their body; but still those of us whose horses were tired or were shot, were lost, unless they could run as fast as we rode. In the night we kept close together, yet some fell asleep on their horses; and if their horses tarried behind, we might hear by their cries what the bloody country people were doing with them. On Thursday night, Lieutenant-Generals Middleton and Lesley left us, or lost us willingly; but, as much haste as they made, both of them, with Sir William Fleming, are here prisoners. I left Duke Hamilton prisoner at my coming out of Worcester, being shot in the leg. He is since dead, upon the cutting it off. Few or none of the King's prisoners are escaped. The Earls of Derby and Lauderdale, and Sir David Cunningham, are prisoners in the castle. Many are prisoners in private houses, the church and castle being full." *

Battle of Worcester.

This disastrous defeat was followed by a marked change of feeling and opinion on the part of many

* S. P. Interregnum.

in Scotland. The "causes of the war" were traced to the hypocritical agreement with the King and his associates, who were known to be in heart bitterly opposed to the Covenant, and the object for which it was framed. With the parties brought into direct conflict as "Resolutioners" and "Remonstrants," we are not concerned; but the course of inquiry into which a few earnest people were led amidst all the bitter contention of the time, in relation to Church polity, is more within our present scope.

Separatists at Aberdeen.

Alexander Jaffray, on his return to Aberdeen, did not forget his conversation with Owen at Dunbar. After an interesting relation of the circumstances that led him to conclude that he had been in error in contending on the side of the King, he adds:—

"I had always, before this time, according to my measure, weakly, as I could, been zealous for Presbytery. Being led forth to inquire and search out what had been the ends of the good men of this nation that had carried them forth so zealously in that matter of the Covenant; I found that, among the rest, this was one of the many ends that first led our zealous predecessors to the contriving, and thereafter ourselves and others to the carrying on of the Covenant:—namely, thereby to maintain the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Kirk of Scotland. Our worthy and zealous predecessors at the first reformation had advanced to no small length according to the dispensation and measure of light of that time; but the generation then succeeding did not consider that as the mystery of iniquity did not grow to its height in one age or two; but we were involved, after a long tract of time, in that deluge, which at last overflowed great part of the Christian world:—they, I say, did not consider, that as by degrees we were involved, so in the same way were we to wait for our deliverance; for, as in Psa. xcvii. 11, 'light is *sown*,' so must the *growth* of it be waited for by the righteous. These good men, deeming that they had

attained to the full perfection of what was in the Holy Scriptures about the government of God's house, because they were so far on as Geneva—yea, in some things beyond her—and so very far beyond England; still kept under that Antichristian form of prelacy, concluded there was *no better way for them to keep what they had attained from being again brought back to Popery* (or at least to Prelacy, which they so much and justly abhorred), than by a *solemn vow and covenant*, to engage themselves and their posterity for ever to *maintain that which they had now attained;* conceiving it to be the *only* way of Jesus Christ.

"Thus, after seeking of God for direction, and the use of all means that I could attain unto for information, I did then clearly discover this their way to have been a *sad snare and temptation;* which hath led them forth, *not only to the making of the Covenant at first, but to all the ways of human prudence and policy*, that the wits of godly and pious men could invent for maintaining the same. And finding that the maintaining of Presbytery was one, if not the main and chief end proposed by those that were most honest and single-hearted, in contriving and carrying on the Covenant, others, as *statesmen and politicians, had other ends;* but I speak of the godly. Thus, having found that we were so engaged to Presbytery, as the only way of Christ, I was necessarily led on to inquire about *the thing itself*, if indeed it was truly so. As to the issue of my inquiry about the church government established in this land, I shall say very little to it, only in the general. I think I have full persuasion warrantably to say this: However it may be a way of Christ, which for the time He did make use of, as formerly He had done of Episcopacy, *until the upholders of that way became so insolent as to impose it as the only way of Christ upon the consciences of his people;* yet, sure, I may say, without doing Presbyterians any wrong, it is not the only way of Christ, as they would have it, and as in the Covenant all are sworn to it. Yea, I may say further, without offence, that it is very far from being the only way of Christ; though I think, if it were soberly managed, it may be looked on as a step nearer to the way of Christ than Episcopacy: yet still it is, in my apprehension, after the most diligent search that I could make, but a human invention, composed with much prudence and policy of man's wit, fitted for those times when it had its rise in Geneva, from that precious and worthy man, Calvin.

Nor is it any derogation to him, who served God worthily in his generation, that others coming after, and far inferior to him, see more in these things than he; yea, the least of those in the kingdom of heaven in this respect is greater than John himself. (Matt. xi. 11.)"

Other influential citizens of Aberdeen were led to the same conclusions with Jaffray, and embodied their views in the following document—too long, perhaps, for the perusal of the general reader—but too important to be omitted in Congregational history:—

"Aberdeen, May 24th, 1652.

"Right honourable, reverend, and much honoured in the Lord!

Statement of their views.

"Fear to offend you and other precious men in the land, has made us hitherto to bear up sundry things that were upon our spirits; but our consciences will permit us to keep silence no longer; wherefore we make bold before we appear more publicly, to give you a short account of our thoughts; being confident you will use freedom with us in love.

"What secret smitings of heart the people of God through the land have, we know not; but to us it seems, there is much more to be read in the Lord's dispensations towards the land, than as yet hath been publicly taken with or acknowledged by them: there be two things, amongst others, as we humbly conceive, which the Lord is calling his people in the nation to look more narrowly than before; namely, the constitution of our church and government thereof. It is far from our thoughts to say, the Lord has no church in Scotland; but we must crave leave to say (and oh, that we had prepared hearts for it!) that the holy ordinances of Jesus Christ have been prostituted amongst us to a profane multitude: yea, and for ought we understand, the rule of constitution of gospel churches, according to the word, has never been so looked to as it ought—and so, at best, we are but an impure church. And this we speak, without any derogation to those working men who were instrumental in our first reformation, whose memory is precious to us; nay, we

verily judge, that if these holy men were alive in our times, they would exceedingly offend at us, who have *sat down in their dawning light*, which had its own mixture of darkness.

"To us it seems, for aught we can search in the word, that none should be admitted as constituent members of a visible church, but such as with a profession of the truth join such a blameless and gospel-like behaviour, as they may be esteemed, in a rational judgment of charity, believers and their children. Such were the churches founded by the apostles, which ought to be patterns for us, as appears by the titles given to them: 'Saints, sanctified, justified, purchased by the blood of Christ,' etc. We cannot acquiesce to that common answer, that these expressions are to be understood of the better part; for that they are to be understood of them all, according to the judgment of charity. The Holy Ghost has clearly said, Rom. i. 7, 'To *all* that be in Rome, beloved of God, called saints,' and again, verse 8, 'I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you all.' We hope when the apostle says, 1 Cor. vi. 18, 'Her fornication,' none will deny that he speaks of the whole church; yet, to the same persons, he immediately adds, verses 19, 20, 'Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, ye are not your own, ye are bought with a price.' This is an argument taken from the persons whom he thus exhorted. But the exhortation is to all the Church of Corinth; therefore they were all of such, as the apostle judged in charity redeemed of the Lord. Neither has that any weight with us; on the contrary, which is objected; that there were gross faults among them, such as divisions, intemperance, questioning the resurrection, incest, etc. Will not Lot's drunkenness and incest, David's adultery, Peter's denial, etc., say they, prove these to be sins incident to saints, though justly censurable? As the incestuous Corinthian was excommunicated, a man who once, as is spoken of Gaius, had been approved of the truth itself, though he be overtaken with a gross infirmity, albeit for it be censurable, according to the nature of his offence; yea, though the highest ecclesiastical censure pass against him. Yet, say they, is he to be esteemed or treated with as a brother? 2 Thess. iii. 15. But this is not our case. Our churches are overflowed with a deluge of profane Atheists, who have been such from their birth unto the present hour. John Baptist thought not a bare verbal profession ground

to admit those to baptism who came to him to be baptized; as is clear if we compare Matt. iii. with Luke vii. 30, the Pharisees were not baptized of John. If it be replied that Christ, in Luke, speaks only of some of the Pharisees, the sense of the context will easily refute it; for there he chides the Pharisees as worse than the Publicans in this, that the Publicans came to John's baptism in a capacity to be baptized, and were baptized of him, which the Pharisees did not. But if these many Pharisees, spoken of in Matt. iii. 7, had been baptized of John, and only some others of them rejected his baptism, surely the Pharisees, in this, had been nothing behind the Publicans, for neither were all the Publicans baptized of John.

"Many more, and more pressing grounds from the word, might be alleged to make forth this point; but we are loath to be tedious: only, sure we are, *holiness becomes the house of our God.* It is certain our churches were not constituted according to this rule, in the full extent of it: yea, alas! few of our most precious men will acknowledge it to be the rule. But our consciences convince us that we are under a sinful snare by reason of mixtures, there are some of the most holy ordinances of Jesus Christ, as the sacrament of the Supper, which we know not how to partake of without sin, with our multitude; 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? for we being many are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread?' If then we should communicate with those who are *knownly* profane, should we not, upon the matter, own and ask knowledge, *such* as the members of Christ? Doth not even that charge reach us, 2 Cor. vi. 17, 'Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, touch no unclean thing, and I will receive you.' Here, indeed, he speaks of a cessation from the heathen; but the mediums which he uses, to infer this particular conclusion are general, and will no less bear the weight of another particular conclusion relating to our case. Thus, verses 14, 15, he reasons, 'What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion hath light with darkness, and what concord hath Christ with Belial, or what part hath he that believeth with an unbeliever?' Who can deny, but these general terms will comprehend gross public

wickedness amongst professed Christians, as well as heathenish idolaters. It is far from us to intend a separation from the godly in Scotland; they shall be, through the Lord's grace, dear to us as our own souls; aye, though they should persecute us, our hearts shall cleave to them. But may not a purge remedy all this? Oh, that it could! But shall a tenth, shall one of a city, two of a tribe, purge a whole nation? Is not a little leaven ready to leaven the whole lump? What then may be expected when the whole lump is leavened, and only a small remnant through the goodness of God kept pure? Is there any hope that the ministry of Scotland, considering our present posture, can be purged? Have not the corrupt party, which are the more numerous, began to thrust out the more precious ministers? And are they not likely to proceed? Can we have purged elderships or congregations? Are there not many congregations where all are involved under gross ignorance and public scandals, as swearing, who shall be elders there to purge out the sour leaven? We have been these divers months endeavouring, with our brethren in the province and in the presbytery, yea, and with some primely interested in our congregations, for a purge; but we have travailed long and brought forth nothing but wind. But, lastly, is it not in vain to speak of purging, when our best men will not agree upon the rule of purging; and therefore to talk of purging, considering our posture, seems to us but a specious notion to entangle our spirits and to keep us from duty.

"Touching Presbyterial government indeed, when thoughts of questioning it were first borne in upon us, we did a long time suppress them as temptations; *because we had solemnly, though too implicitly,* engaged to the *maintenance thereof.* Yet afterwards, knowing that a truth cannot lose by a search, we brought the matter to the balance of the sanctuary; and now, after seeking God, as He was pleased to give grace, and using all helps which we could have; we profess, so far as we could see, with reverence to precious and learned men of another judgment, *the Congregational way comes nearer to the pattern of the Word than our classical form.* And to us it appears, that *Christ has furnished a congregation, with their elderships, with complete power of jurisdiction and censure within themselves*; as from divers other Scriptures, so in particular from that remarkable text

Matt. xviii. 15—18, 'Tell it unto the Church,' the church there spoken of has complete power of binding and loosing, as is clear from verses 17, 18; but that church is not the classical presbytery, but the eldership with the congregation, therefore, etc., the assumption is clear. First, Because it is not to be found in all the gospel, that a company of elders, either of a classis or of a congregation is called a church. Indeed, a congregation, with elders commonly, yea, and sometimes as contradistinguished from elders, aye, and sometimes also without elders, is sometimes termed a church, Acts xv. 4, 22, 23, and xiv. 23. Now, what an absurdity were it, to reject the usual acceptation of the word in the New Testament; and, without any colour of reason, to coin a sense which nowhere is to be found in all the gospel, though the word be most frequently used in it. Second, The church spoken of in this text (Matt. xviii.) which has complete power of binding and loosing, is the first ecclesiastical judicatory to which belongs judicial cognizance of offences; for if private admonition do not gain the offender, then the command is, 'Tell the church.' But our classical presbytery is not the first judicature to which appertains judicial cognizance of offences; for first they come to sessions, and only by reference from the sessions to the presbyteries. Therefore this church here spoken of as having complete power of binding and loosing, cannot be the classical presbytery, but the eldership with the congregation. Nowhere do we read, in the gospel, of jurisdiction in relation to censure committed to a classical presbytery, all the power we find exercised by that meeting at Jerusalem, Acts xv., is dogmatical ('Ye people and brethren' having their interest likeways) which the Congregation(al) divines willing yield; all the certificate they use is, 'If ye do these things ye shall do well,' verse 29; but do not threaten to sentence those who disobey, with excommunication. There might be something said from antiquity, that the government of the church was partly aristocratical, partly democratical, in much of the first 300 years; and that the people had no small influence in matters of discipline; but we forbear as desiring to lean on a surer foundation.

"It is not any respect for what we know of our own hearts, as our consciences bear us witness, but conviction of duty, which puts us out to this; and though precious people in the land have hard thoughts of us for it, we hope to find mercy to have tender

thoughts of them. The Lord has highly honoured you to bear witness, oftener than once, to contradicted truth; but we dare say, if the Lord would clear your judgments, to appear upon the head of this business, it would be the greatest honour which ever God conferred on you: and we, poor creatures, would gladly come under your shadow. It would be no shame for you to acknowledge the Lord's work has outgrown your expectations; but it fears us, while ye stand at a distance from the duty, the Lord's hand shall be stretched out still. And we humbly desire you to take heed (we trust you will pardon our freedom) lest ye be snares to the people of God in the land; for the eyes of all are upon you, and many depend upon your motions. It is not presumption, but love and respect to you makes us so bold, and to use such plainness of speech. Therefore, we hope we shall not be mistaken; yet if the Lord, by you or yet at any other, will hold forth convincing light to us, discovering our mistakes, we should gladly close with it; only, if we be necessitated to take any course for expeding (ridding) ourselves from the present snares and guiltiness, under which we lie, we desire ye will not construe it hardly.

"Now that light may be let forth to you and us both, from Him, who is the Father of Lights, shall be the earnest desire of your loving brethren in Christ.

"In name of others in this place, sic subscribitur,

"ALEXANDER JAFFRAY, "Mr. WILLIAM MOORE,
"Mr. JOHN ROW, "Mr. JOHN MENZIES,
"ANDREW BINNIE."*

The declaration of these views by the members of the Kirk, led the Synod of Aberdeen, "Session 4th, Junii 30, 1652," to institute searching inquiry as to the extent of their prevalence. According to the mode adopted in such a case, every minister in the province was "posed," or called upon to state without reserve the opinions held by him on the constitution and government of the Kirk. Being tested in this direct manner, the brethren under suspicion frankly avowed their con-

Synod of Aberdeen

* Woodrow MSS., fol. 30, 24. Quoted in Appendix to Diary of Jaffray.

victions. We "declare," they said, "that for a considerable space of time, *we have been searching, and yet purpose further to search into* the mind of God in these things; but according to our present measure of light, we humbly conceive with reverence to precious, holy, and learned men of another judgment, that there are not to be found convincing scriptural grounds for our classical subordination with power of jurisdiction in point of censure. As to the constitution, we judge that our sinful mixtures and promiscuous administration of ordinances without due distinction betwixt the precious and the vile, is not the least sin of the land, for which the Lord is contending with us; but, when it shall be more distinctly told us what our rule of constitution is, we shall more distinctly answer to this last branch, sic subscribitur, Mr. Jhon Row, Mr. Jhon Menzies, Mr. Jhon Seton."

The case continued under the consideration of the Synod for several months, as we learn from the following entry:—

"Session 4th, ante meridiem, Thuirsday, Oct. 21, 1652.

"Anent the processing of Mr. Jhon Row, Mr. Jhon Menzies, Mr. Jhon Seton, minister in Old Aberden, who haive *separated themselfes from the disciplin and government of this Kirk to Independency*, the Assembly find it convenient that befor they enter into any strict course agaynst them, that some brethren bee appoynted to confer with them, and to inform themselfes what hopes may be entertained of ther returning to the bosome of this church: and to that effect appoynted

Independents.

Mr. David Lyndesay, Mr. William Douglas, Mr. W. Strachan, Mr. Robert Keith, to confer with them, and make ther report to the Assemblie."*

The sequel we learn from Alexander Jaffray. "Some Christians in Aberdeen, men and women, having for a long time been convinced of these things, *long before ever a thought of them was with me*, found themselves obliged to endeavour to have the ordinances administered in a more pure way, than there was any hope ever to have them in the *national way*. But before we would conclude to do anything of this, it was thought necessary first to impart our purpose to some Christian friends, and to be willing to hear what they could object against our resolution. Whereupon, by common consent, a letter was drawn up and subscribed, in the name of the rest: by Mr. John Row, Mr. John Menzies, Mr. William Muir and me; and directed to the Lord Warristoun, Mr. David Dicke, Mr. John Livingstone, Mr. James Guthrie, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford, to be communicated to whom they pleased. After this, very shortly, we had large letters from many good men, both south and west, written to us, the scope of which was to dissuade us from our purpose, or at least beseeching us not to fall on any such dividing ways, as they called it; until we should first meet with them, and confer thereabout, promising to endeavour our satisfaction as much as could be. After seeking of God in this, we could not see how we could refuse this, their offer of conference, as a means by which the Lord might further make known his mind to us, for our confirmation in

* Selections from Register of Synod of Aberdeen. Spalding Club.

these things, which we hoped for; yet so, as being reserved to receive whatever light the Lord should offer to us. And, therefore, having a notice of a meeting of these good men, to be at Edinburgh, it was resolved that Mr. John Menzies and I should go there, and confer with them. We being there met with them, not in their public meeting-place, yet not in a corner, but publicly in Warristoun's chamber, for several days together; but in the end came to no other conclusion than formerly, that we were clearly called upon to endeavour to have the ordinances (especially the sealing ordinances of Christ) administered unto us in a way nearer the institution, and more pure in way of administration than it was possible, or there was any ground of hope, to have in the national way. Upon this, we having told them so much in a very calm manner, and that we were more confirmed in this our resolution since we came there, parted calmly; they having exonerated themselves very freely and lovingly to us; only Mr. Andrew Cant went out before our dissolving, in some passion, and left us.

"Yet they left it not thus; but resolved that four of their number—namely, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, and Mr. John Carstairs—should come to Aberdeen, and there confer with us together; pressing us much to delay any public appearing until then. To which we would not in terms agree; promising only to do as the Lord should direct us. Within some few months thereafter they came to Aberdeen. They stayed seven or eight days, and had frequent meetings with us all, together and apart; *but to no purpose for the*

errand they came about, all of us being rather more confirmed to our former grounds—Mr. John Menzies and Mr. William Muir not being with us, by reason of sickness. Thereafter, in the month of November, we did partake of the Supper of the Lord publicly in the meeting-place, called Gray Friars."

Row, giving an account of the Conference from his point of view, says:—"In September, Messrs. Samuel Rutherford, James Guthrie, Pat Gillespie and John Carstairs, wentt to Aberdeen, to conferre with those who had declared themselfes for Separatione. But Mr. John Menzies, who was thair ringleader, and the greatest disputantt amonge them, being sick, they could doe the less; notwithstanding, for the space of six dayes they conferred and debaitted with ane other two ministeris and sume regerenttis in the College, in the hearing of many that hankered after that way. Alexander Jaffray, leate Provost of Aberdeen, was much against Separation."

It is interesting to observe in the registers of the Synod that Andrew Cant, though he left the Conference in a state of undue excitement, exercised greater care in the admission of persons to the Lord's Supper, and instituted personal inquiry into their character and views of Christian truths. The magistrates interposed to prevent this as an innovation, but Cant offered a spirited resistance, and justified his practice by the standards of the Kirk.

CHAPTER XIII.

Interest of the Churches of New England in the Mother Country.

The churches of New England watched the course of events in the mother country with special interest. Cromwell and Cotton interchanged letters on public affairs. The internecine strife in England was greatly deplored by the ministers of Boston. "Is it come to this pass," they asked, "that those who were in a manner one, cannot live together in the same kingdom?" "Is the cause past help and remedy?" "Shall we think, alas! there is no hope, they will not leave off until they have devoured each other?"

The New England brethren suggested that the Presbyterians and Independents might unite in some practical way to promote purity of communion in the altered ecclesiastical condition of the country, and in this way avoid contention by employing combined effort to instruct the people, who were as sheep without a shepherd.

"Give us leave," they said, "to propound what we conceive in our weak judgment might somewhat tend to heal this distance.

"First. That point of reformation which concerns the members of the churches—and here we fear the distance is great.

For when it is thought, on the one hand, that there is no need of sending godly preachers to the ignorant and profane parishes to *instruct* them, humble them, and *prepare them* for a gracious reformation; but that pastors (if they could be found) should be sent to them and minister to them *as they are, if they will but join in the national covenant*, as most have done (for we see no other required); and when godly pastors *may not have power to try their people* whether they can examine themselves, discern the Lord's body, and walk according to Christ, *before they admit them to the Lord's table, nor exclude* them but upon some scandalous evil, which seems *short of that which even the Common Prayer did allow.* Considering in *what state a multitude of parishes are, in England*, how full of malignants, Atheists, profane wretches, etc.; we must needs acknowledge *it will be very hard for the godly to satisfy their consciences in such church communion;* or godly pastors to minister unto their parishes in such a state: and, therefore, *we cannot wholly condemn such ministers and people as have been gathered into congregations if there were no hope of remedy in this case.*

"Secondly. On the other hand, where some shall gather out of many congregations, the most godly and able Christians into several churches, we must acknowledge it may occasion grief to the ministers of such congregations. But *is there no middle way* wherein, according to God, *these two might meet?* We suppose there is. If the Lord would vouchsafe to help his people in these few things.

"I. Is it not possible to obtain of that ever-renowned *Parliament*, not only such *liberty for godly pastors and their churches to debar from the Lord's table such as are not qualified* according to the former description of the reverend assembly; but also all favour and furtherance *from authority to purge out of the church all such according to rule that live impenitently in any known sin and scandalous evil?* We cannot doubt but if brethren would agree with one heart to petition the same, such as have done so worthily many things for purging the House of God, would also promote this needful point of reformation.

"II. If all the godly ministers would join as one man, and take unto them the zeal of John Baptist, thundering out the direful wrath of God against the pride, vanity, luxury, profaneness, and late swarms of monstrous errors, the usual tares

accompanying reformation, and other sins of the time, to lay all level before the Lord; and, with holy Calvin, resolve to suffer their hands to be cut off rather than to deliver that holy zeal of grace to the openly wicked and impenitent sinner; how would the Lord go out with his servants and cut down by the sharp sword of his word and severity of discipline, if all joined together. Whereas, we fear sin and profaneness will out-stare all godly pastors when they stand so much divided.

"III. If these things being obtained and agreed, all godly ministers and Christians, who are the salt of the earth, and who might, by the blessing of God, season the congregation wherein they live, they would not cast them off, or withdraw from them till first; by public and private admonitions and exhortations, they had convinced them of sin, and sought by all good means their reformation. Whereby some, no doubt, might be gained, and what a blessed work were that."

The attention of the New England "Theocracy," however, was soon engrossed by the agitation that sprung up in the colonies for complete toleration. A petition was presented to the court at Boston, May 19, 1646; "that *the distinctions which were maintained here, both in civil and church estate might be taken away*, and that we might be wholly governed by the laws of England." Ecclesiastical law in England was either suspended at the time or in a state of transition, and practically the change desired would have been to supersede the "General Court of Massachusetts" by Presbyterian authorities who were resolved to put down all "Sectaries."

Movement for complete Toleration.

It was determined to convoke a Synod at Boston to settle "one form of government and discipline agreeable to the Scriptures." Boston and Salem took offence at the order of the court; because, amongst other reasons, "by a grant

Synod at Boston.

in the 'Liberties' the elders had *liberty to assemble without the compliance of civil authority.*" "The principal men," we are told, "who raised objection were some of Boston; who came lately from England, where such a vast liberty was allowed, *and sought for by all that went under the name of Independents; not only the Anabaptists, Antinomians, Familists, Seekers, but even the most godly and orthodox, as Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Burroughs, etc.; who, in the assembly there, had stood in opposition to the Presbytery, and also the greater part of the House of Commons, who by their Commissioners had sent order to all English plantations in the West Indies and Somers Islands; that all men should enjoy their liberty of conscience, and had by letters intimated the same to us.* To these did some others of the Church of Boston adhere, but not above thirty or forty in all."

"Two Lord's days the agitation was in Boston, and *no conclusion made, by reason of the opposite party:* so the elders sat down much grieved in spirit, yet told the congregation, that they thought it their duty to go notwithstanding; not as sent by the church, but as specially called by the order of the court." Subsequently, it was agreed by a vote of a majority, that the Church at Boston should be represented at the Synod to be held at Cambridge. Mr. Norton of Ipswich preached before the Synod from "Moses and Aaron meeting in the mount, and kissing each other, when he laid down the nature and power of the Synod, as only *consultative, decisive,* and *declarative,* not *co-active,* etc. He showed also the power of the civil magistrate in calling such

Assemblies, and the duty of churches in yielding obedience to the same."* In anticipation of the Synod, Hooker wrote to Shepard in the following terms :—

Letter of Hooker to Shepard.

"Dear Son,—We are now preparing for your Synod. My years and infirmities grow so fast upon me, that they wholly disenable to so long a journey: and because I cannot come myself, I provoke as many elders as I can to lend their help and presence. My brother Stone, and my cousin Stebbings, come from our church: and I think the rest of the elders will accompany them; the Lord Christ be in the midst of you. By his guidance and blessing I have returned, and do renew thanks for the letter and copy of the passages of the Synod. I wish there may not be a misunderstanding of some things by some; or that *the binding power of Synods be not pressed too much.* For I speak it only to yourself, *he that adventures far in that business will find hot and hard work, or else my perspective may fail,* which I confess may be, my eyes grow dim. I could easily give way to arguments *that urge the help of a Synod to counsel;* but as for more, I find no trouble in my thoughts to answer all ever yet propounded. I find Mr. Rutherford and Apollonius do give somewhat sparingly to the place of the magistrate to put forth power in the calling of Synods; wherein I perceive they go across to some of our most serious and judicious writers; and, if I mistake not, they cross their own principles sometimes. I confess I am apt to give too much to the supreme magistrates in some men's thoughts, and I give not more to the church authority. However, I shall not trouble you with my thoughts, qui bene latuit bene vixit. I could have wished that none of the copies had been sent to England; the reason Brother Stone will relate when he sees you: for this is too large, and not safe to commit to paper. The blessing of heaven be with you, and entreat Mr Eliot to send me some grafts of a great yellow apple he hath, which I liked exceedingly when I was with him the last time. Totus tuus."

"T. Hooker."

* Winthrop.

After a session of fourteen days the Synod adjourned to the 18th of June, 1647, but from prevailing sickness, again adjourned to September, 1648, and sat until the completion of the business in October. The first business was to take into consideration the Westminster Confession of Faith. Each Article was read aloud by itself, and unanimously adopted as very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matter of faith. "Only," it was added, "in those things which have respect to church government and discipline, we refer ourselves to the platform of church discipline agreed upon by this Assembly." Ralph Partridge, John Cotton, and Richard Mather, were appointed to draw up, each by himself, an outline of church discipline agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. The Synod compared these three models with one another, and thus arose the platform of church discipline which, in October, 1648, was presented to the general court for consideration and acceptance. It met with entire approval. In the epidemic that caused the first adjournment of the Cambridge Synod, New England lost in Thomas Hooker one of her greatest lights.

Death of Hooker.

"Some of his most observant hearers," Cotton Mather tells us, "noticed an astonishing cloud in his congregation, the last Lord's day of his public ministry, when he administered the Lord's Supper among them; and a most unaccountable heaviness and sleepiness, even of the most watchful Christians of the place; not unlike the drowsiness of the disciples, when our Lord was going to die; for which one of the elders rebuked them. When those devout people afterwards perceived that this was the last sermon and sacrament, wherein they were to have the presence of their pastor with them, 'tis inexpressible how much they

bewailed their inattentiveness to his farewell dispensations; and some of them could enjoy no peace in their souls, until they had obtained leave of the elders to confess before the whole congregation, with many tears, that inadvertency. In the time of his sickness, he did not say much to the standers by; but, being asked that he should utter his apprehensions about some important things, especially about the State of New England, he answered, 'I have not that work now to do. I have already declared the counsel of the Lord.' And when one that stood weeping by his bedside, said to him, 'Sir, you are going to receive the reward of all your labours,' he replied, '*Brother, I am going to receive mercy.*' At last, he closed his eyes with his own hands, and gently stroking his forehead, with a smile in his countenance, he gave a little groan, and so expired his blessed soul into the arms of his fellow-servants, the holy angels, on July 7, 1647. In which last hours, the glorious peace of soul which he had enjoyed without any interruption for near thirty years together, so gloriously accompanied him, that a worthy spectator, writing to Mr. Cotton, a relation thereof, made this reflection, 'Truly, sir, the sight of his death will make me have more pleasant thoughts of death than ever I had in my life."

Stone, after his return from the meeting of the Synod, wrote the following letter to Shepard :—

"Hartford, July 19, 1647.

"DEAREST BROTHER,—God brought us safely to Hartford, but when I came hither, God presented to me a sad spectacle. Mr. Hooker looked like a dying man. God refused to hear our prayers for him, but took him from us, July 7, a little before sunset.

"Our sun is set: our light is eclipsed: our joy is darkened. We remember now, in the days of our calamity, the pleasant things which we enjoyed in former times. His spirits and head were so oppressed with the disease, that he was not able to express much to us in his sickness, but had expressed to Mr. Goodwin, before my return, that his peace was made in Heaven; and had continued thirty years without alteration. He was above Satan. 'Mark the upright man; for the end of that man is peace.' He lived a most blameless life. I think his

greatest enemies cannot charge him. He hath done much work for Christ, and now rests from his labours, and his works follow him. But our loss is exceeding great and bitter. I give thanks to my God daily for his help; and no man in the world but myself knows what a friend he hath been to me.

"As his abilities were great, so his love and faithfulness were very great. I can never look to have the like fellow-officer in his place. There are but few such men in the world. I will say no more, lest I should seem to exceed. It is an extreme difficulty to me to know how to behave myself under the hand of God, which strikes me in a special manner. Pray for me in all this stress; for I am astonished at this amazing Providence. I cannot complain of God, who doeth all things well. The Lord show me what his mind is, that I may be rightly affected with his loss. I pray suggest what you think may be the mind of God in it.

"Mrs. Hooker was taken with the same sickness that night when I came to Hartford, and was very near death. She is yet weak, but I hope recovering. It would have been a great aggravation of our misery if God had blotted out that pleasant family all at once. Little Sam. Shepard is well. Mrs. Cullick died that day when I came to Hartford. Good Bets, the school-dame, is dead, with some others. Two of Mr. Warham's children are dead. My wife is sick and weak. I am not well. I am troubled with heat and faintness. The last night I had some rest; but the night before I could not sleep all the night, but slumber and dream. God gives me warning to prepare for my change. The glorious presence of Christ in heaven is much better than life. We wait for that blessed hope. If it had not been for this occasion, I know not whether I should have written anything at this time, because unfit to write.

"We shall do what we can to prepare Mr. Hooker's answer to Rutherford, that it may be sent before winter. I purpose to proceed on the answer to Dr. Crispe; but whether I shall finish it and get it written out fair before winter, I know not; and when I have done that I shall take further advice. If it should not be made before winter, be not offended if I do what I can. If you will send me Saltmarsh, I shall take in him also, if I have the whole winter.

"You may think whether it may not be comely for you and

myself, and some other elders, to make a few verses for Mr. Hooker, and inscribe them in the beginning of his book. I do but propound it.

"From thine, "SAM. STONE."

Last days of Shepard.

Thomas Shepard, to whom this touching letter was sent, had not much further to go in his earthly pilgrimage. His labours were most abundant — in the press, in the college, and amongst his flock. He endured great privations in the spirit of Christian submission. In his diary he says: "I was very sad to see the outward wants of the country; and what would become of me and mine, if we should want clothes and go naked, and give away all to pay our debts. Hereupon the Lord set me upon prizing his love, and the Lord made me content with it. And then I left myself, and begged this portion for myself and for my child, and the Church."

In acknowledgment of kindness received from friends in England, he writes:—

"GOOD MR. SEIKS,—I am a stranger to you, yet I could not but take the season of writing one word unto you, to let you understand how thankfully your love towards the poor in this place and town I live in is accepted of the saints, and acknowledged by them. You may remember what you gave our brother Jackson: the Lord will not forget such fruit of your love, but hath assuredly his time of refreshing of you, and of returning you the harvest and rich increase of such sowings as these are. If myself or any of us in this place knew how to be any way useful unto you, we should rejoice in it. Meanwhile, our desires to God are for you, that He would make up your losses in this late and distressful war, and that He would restore peace and cure to you, and shine graciously upon you, and still preserve you harmless, and carry you through all the sorrows yet threatening that nation; until He hath brought you to his heavenly kingdom. The churches of Christ with us are still in

peace. The poor Indians, who never regarded the things of God till now very lately, begin to mourn after Christ Jesus: divers of them the Lord is now hammering and fitting, we hope, to be vessels of glory. Your readiness to help this country in its weak but blessed beginnings, the Lord Jesus takes as done to Himself. I have presumed, by the desire of those in this place I live in, to testify thus much of our thankfulness to you. The blessing of the Almighty be ever with you. And so I rest,

"Yours affectionately, "THO. SHEPARD.

"Cambridge, December 19, 1646.

"To his much respected friend, Mr. Seiks, dwelling in Yorkshire, about Hull or Leeds, be these delivered."

"A poor, weak, pale-complexioned man, whose physical powers were feeble," Shepard was now gradually sinking, but occupied himself in writing an account of Eliot's Mission, under the title of "The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England." Having performed this service to the Church, and assisting his brethren by his precious counsel, he closed his useful labours, August 25, 1649, in the forty-fourth year of his age. With his last breath he said, "Oh, love the Lord Jesus Christ very much!" "His departure was very heavily taken by all the people of Christ round about him."

In 1646, an order was passed in the General Court of Massachusetts, "to promote the diffusion of Christianity among the aboriginal inhabitants. The elders of the churches were requested to consider how it might be effected. John Eliot directed his attention to the matter. For some time previously he had been assiduously employed in learning the language. To accomplish this, he secured the assistance of one of the natives who could speak

English. He took an Indian into his family, and by constant intercourse with him, soon became sufficiently conversant with the vocabulary and construction of the language to translate the Lord's Prayer, several passages of Scripture, besides composing exhortations and prayers.

Visit of Eliot to the Indian Settlement.

After the diligent care of his own people at Roxbury (now a pleasant suburb of Boston) and the establishment of a free grammar-school, he turned his attention to the Indians within his own reach, and interested Isaac Heath (one of his elders) and Daniel Gookin in the work of their evangelization. The path of the pioneers in this interesting mission was through the forest, to a place about four miles distant from the village of Roxbury, on the south side of Charles River, on the present Kenrich estate in Newton, a warm sheltered valley, watered by a fountain still called the "Spring:"—

"Upon October 28, 1646," they tell us (having sought God), "we went into the Indians inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of peace to them. A little before we came to their wigwams, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome; who leading us into the principal wigwam of Waaubon, we found many more Indians—men, women, children—gathered together from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet with us, and learn of us."

Prayer was offered, then followed a sermon "for about an hour and a quarter," with explanations in familiar conversation at the close.

"Thus, after three hours' time," the narrative continues, "thus spent with them, we asked them if they were not weary, and they answered, no. But we resolved to leave them with an

appetite. The chief of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when we would come again; so we appointed the time, and having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco, and what else we then had at hand, they desired some ground to build a town together, which we did much like of, promising to speak for them to the General Court, that they might possess all the compass of that hill, upon which their wigwams then stood, and so we departed with many welcomes from them."

This was the simple commencement of a work to which Eliot for more than half a century devoted time, care, and incessant labour, planting stations, writing books, translating the Bible, and enlisting the co-operation of men likeminded in New England, and in the mother country. In illustration of the spirit of the "Apostle to the Indians"—as Eliot has been justly termed—the following account of his visit to them to organize a settlement may suffice :—

"In the autumn of 1650," he says, "the present work of the Lord that is to be done among them, is to gather them from their scattered kind of life. First into civil society, then to ecclesiastical, and both by the divine direction of the Word of the Lord, they are still earnestly desirous of it: and this spring that is past, they were very importunately desirous to have been put upon that work, and to have planted corn in the place intended; but I did dissuade, and was forced to use this reason of delay, because I hoped for tools and means from England whereby to prosecute the work this summer. But when ships came, and no supply, you may easily think what a damping it was; and truly my heart smote me, that I had looked too much at man and means in stopping their earnest affections with that bar which proved a blank. I began without any such respect, and I thought that the Lord would have me so to go on, and only look to Him for help, whose work it is: and when I had just looked up to the Lord, I advised with our elders, and some other of our church, whose hearts consented with me; then I advised with divers of the elders at Boston Lecture, and Mr. Cotton's

answer was, 'My heart saith, go on, and look to the Lord only for help,' the rest also concurring. So I commended it to our church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer about it (together with other causes), and have been ever since a doing, according to our abilities: and this I account a favour of God, that that very night, before we came from our place of meeting, we had notice of a ship from England, whereby I received letters, and some encouragement in the work from our private friends: a mercy which God had in store, but unknown to me; and so contrived by the Lord that I should receive it as a fruit of prayer.

"The place is also of God's providing, as a fruit of prayer: for when I, with some that were with me, had rode to a place of some hopeful expectation, when we came to it, it was in no wise suitable. I went behind a rock, and looked to the Lord, and committed the matter to Him; and while I was travelling in woods, Christian friends were in prayer at home; and so it was, that though one of our company fell sick in the woods, so that we were forced home with speed, yet in the way home, the Indians in our company, upon inquiry describing a place to me, and guiding us over some part of it, the Lord did, both by his Providence there, and by after more diligent search of the place, discover that there it was his pleasure we should begin this work."

In due time the "Praying Indians" were formed into a church. A dying convert, turning to the company around him, said:—

"I now shall die, but Jesus Christ calleth you that live to go to Natick, that there the Lord might rule over you, that you might make a church, and have the ordinances of God among you, believe in his Word, and do as He commandeth you."

Eliot proceeded with great prudence in the matter. He writes:—

Church formed.

"I moved the elders that they would give me advice and assistance in this great business, and that they would at a fit season examine the Indians in point of their knowledge, because we found by the former trial that a day will be too little (if the Lord please to call them to church fellowship), examine them in point of knowledge, and hear their

confessions, and guide them unto the holy covenant of the Lord, seeing all these things are to be transacted in a strange language, and by interpreters, and with such a people as they be in these their first beginnings. But if they would spend a day on purpose to examine them in their knowledge, there would be so much more liberty to do it fully and thoroughly (as such a work ought to be) as also when they may be called together into Church communion, it may suffice that some of them should make a doctrinal confession before the Lord and his people, as the rule of faith which they build upon, the rest attesting their consent unto the same; and themselves, the elders I mean, if the Lord so far assist the Indians as to give them satisfaction, might testify that upon examination they have found a competency of knowledge in them to enable them unto such a work and state, and thus the work might be much shortened, and more comfortably expedited in one day. I found no unreadiness in the elders to further this work."

This is the place, perhaps, to mention an extraordinary weakness in the admirable missionary. Like many other good men of his day, he was impressed with the conviction that events were rapidly tending towards a change in society; when a new mode of government would be substituted for that which had so long existed, framed merely by human wisdom. The "Roman image would be broken." Eliot persuaded himself that he had discovered the form of civil government contained in the Word of God. In his preface to his "Christian Commonwealth" he says:—

"It pleased the Lord of his great mercy to me, in myself no way fitted for such a work, to put me on to instruct our poor, blind, and dark Indians in the good knowledge of the Lord: and who when, through grace, they tasted of the knowledge of God, of themselves, of Christ and redemption by Him, they desired to leave their wild and scattered manner of life and come under civil government and order; which did put me upon

search after the mind of the Lord in that respect: and this vow I did solemnly make unto the Lord concerning them, that they being a people without a form of government and now to choose —I should endeavour with all my might to bring them under the government of the Lord only: namely, that I would instruct them to embrace such government, both civil and ecclesiastical, as the Lord hath commanded in the Holy Scriptures, and to deduce all their laws from the Holy Scriptures; that so they may be the Lord's people, ruled by Him alone in all things."

The scheme of gradation suggested to Moses by Jethro seemed to Eliot to meet every imaginable case in the most perfect manner. What was suitable to the poor Indians would be found equally adapted to Christian nations:—

"The several courts gradually ascending one above another, and all cases among the people coming under such a certain and orderly way of receiving a speedy issue; all appeals have such a free and unprejudiced passage in their gradual ascent even to the highest and final determination.

"These, and other such things, made me think that it is a most desirable and peaceable form of government, and suitable to any Christian people who reverence the Word of God. Yea, the more eminent they be the more suitable for them. Especially, also, considering that though the single form of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands will be but of small capacity in great commonwealths and cities; yet the superior orders of myriads or ten thousands, fifty thousands, hundred thousands are exceeding comprehensive to extend government to the greatest people; and yet with that certain and peaceable order (without any interfering or confusion for speedy justice and determination of all causes) as that it seemeth to me to be the most excellent government that ever was in the world: and adding to this, above all considerations and commendations, that it is a divine institution, and sprang from the heavenly wisdom: and commanded in Scripture, filled with the Spirit of God which is able to carry on the wheels of government with a most irresistible and successful force and power, to the ends of government amongst men most effectually."

Eliot was not alone in these Utopian speculations. Baxter was still more confused in his elaborate scheme of the "Holy Commonwealth."

The Plymouth colony, a little before this time, lost its faithful guide in the death of Elder Brewster:

"I am to begin this year (1643)," says Bradford, "with that which was a matter of great sadness and mourning unto them all. About the 18th of April died their reverend elder and my dear and loving friend, Mr. William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the gospel's sake, and had borne his part in weal and woe with this poor persecuted church above thirty-six years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness; and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was near fourscore years of age (if not all out) when he died. He had the blessing, added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed, in peace; in the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him; and he again recomforted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long, and till the last day thereof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more than half a day, and then failed him; and about nine or ten o'clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better."

Death of Elder Brewster.

In the records of the church a sketch is given of his personal career, and it is added:—

"Removing into this country, a new course of living must be framed unto, in which he was no way unwilling to take his part, and to bear his burden with the rest; being many times without bread or corn many months together; having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drank nothing but water

His character.

for many years together, until five or six years of his death: and yet he lived, by the blessing of God, in health until very old age. And, besides that, he would labour with his hands in the fields as long as he was able. Yet, when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably to the great contentment of the hearers and their comfortable edification. Yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more, in this behalf in a year than many who have their hundreds a year do in all their lives. For his personal abilities he was qualified above many. He was wise and discreet, and well-spoken; having a grave, deliberate utterance; of a very cheerful spirit; very sociable and pleasant among his friends; of a humble and modest mind; of a peaceable disposition, undervaluing himself and his own abilities, and sometimes overvaluing others; inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation; which gained him the love of those without as well as those within. Yet he would tell them plainly of their faults and evils, both publicly and privately, but in such a manner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender-hearted, and compassionate of such as were in misery, but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank and were fallen into want and poverty, either for goodness' sake, or by the injury and oppression of others. He would say, of all men these deserved to be most pitied. And none did more offend and displease him, than such as would haughtily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being risen from nothing, and having little else in them but a few fine clothes, or a little riches more than others.

"In teaching he was very stirring, moving the affections; also very plain and distinct in what he taught, by which means he became more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before God, in the confession of sin, and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon thereof. *He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and divide their prayers than to be long and tedious in the same; except upon solemn and special occasions, as on days of humiliation and the like.* His reason was that the heart and spirits of all, especially the weak, could not stand and *continue bent*, as it were, so long towards God, as they ought to do in that duty, without flagging and falling off.

"For the government of the church, which was most proper to his office, he was careful to preserve good order in the same; and to preserve purity both in the doctrine and communion in the same; and to suppress any error or contention that might begin to arise among them. And God, accordingly gave good success to his endeavours herein all his days; and he saw the fruit of his labours in that behalf."

John Lothrop died at Barnstaple, Nov. 8, 1653. "He was a man," it is said, "of a humble and broken heart and spirit, lively in dispensation of the Word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment; willing to spend and to be spent, for the cause of the Church of Christ." Death of Lothrop.

"God was pleased," says Morton, "greatly to weaken this poor tottering colony of Plymouth, by taking away several of the most useful props thereof, both in Church and civil state: some others, who had been of singular use, now stooping under the infirmities of old age, could not be so serviceable as in times past; and others removed so from the centre of the government, that they could not, without great difficulties, attend their public concerns, nor could possibly so constantly as our necessities required, which did greatly aggravate our troubles: we were become weak when we had need of the greatest strength, had lost many of our chieftains, when we stood in need of the best conduct and guidance."

We return to the Theocracy. "You find fault," said Milton, "with our magistrates for admitting such a commonshore of all sorts of sects? Why should they not? It belongs to the church to cast them out of the communion of the faithful; not to the magistrate to banish them

the country, provided they do not offend against the civil laws of the state: men at first united into civil societies, that they might live safely, and enjoy their liberty, without being wronged or oppressed, and that they might live religiously according to the doctrine of Christianity, they united themselves into churches. Civil societies have laws, and churches have a discipline peculiar to themselves, and far differing from each other. And this hath been the occasion of so many wars in Christendom:—to wit, because the civil magistrate and the *church confounded their jurisdictions.*"

This was the practical error committed by the founders of Massachusetts.

Cases of Intolerance.

In an evil hour, and in the vain hope of keeping the colonies free from the intrusion of those who might disturb their ecclesiastical peace, the Massachusetts authorities passed, with other intolerant enactments, a law prohibiting Baptists from coming within their jurisdiction. It was intended chiefly as a warning, but John Clarke with two companions resolved to put the Theocracy to the test, and came from Rhode Island to Lynn for the purpose of visiting a church member. Thomas Cobbet, the minister of the place, was a well-known opponent of Toleration, and Clarke soon came into collision with the Court. His companions offered some submission, and were allowed to return home, but Clarke persisted in the assertion of his rights, and was publicly whipped: the excitement on the occasion was considerable. Public opinion as in England was divided, and other cases of persecution occurring, though of a milder kind, the

agitation increased. William Vassal, Samuel Gorton, and Clarke (with his strong case) hastened to England, and published an account of the persecutions they had suffered. A decided impression was made by these statements.

Appeal of Clarke in England.

Sir Richard Saltonshall, formerly first magistrate of Massachusetts, for example, wrote the following letter of remonstrance to Cotton and Wilson :—

"Reverend and dear friends, whom I unfeignedly love and respect.

"It doth not a little grieve my spirit, to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First, You compel such to come into your assemblies, as you know will not join you in your worship ; and when they show their dislike thereof, or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such, as you conceive, their public affronts. Truly, friends, this, your practice of compelling any in matters of worship, to do what whereof they are not fully persuaded, is to make them sin, for so the apostle (Rom. xiv. 23) tells us: and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of punishment. We pray for you, and wish you prosperity in every way ; hoped the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God's people here, and not to practise those courses in a wilderness which you went so far to prevent. These rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints. I do assure you, I have heard them pray in the public assemblies, that the Lord would give you such meek and humble spirits, not to strive so much for uniformity, as to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

Letter of Saltonshall.

The reply of Cotton to Clarke's pamphlet, was weak and evasive.

"You think," he says, "to compel men in matter of worship

is to make them sin. If the worship be lawful in itself, the magistrate compelling him to come to it, compelleth him not to sin; but the sin is in his will that needs to be compelled to a Christian duty. If it do make men hypocrites, yet better be hypocrites than profane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man; but the profane person giveth God neither outward nor inward man. You know us not if you think that we came into this wilderness to practise those courses here which we fled from in England. We believe there is a vast difference between men's inventions and God's institutions; we fled from men's inventions, to which we should else have been compelled; we compel none to man's inventions. If our ways, rigid ways as you call them, have laid us low in the hearts of God's people, yea, and of the saints, as you style them, we do not believe it is any part of their saintship. Nevertheless, I tell you the truth, we have tolerated in our churches some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, and some Seekers, and do so still at this day. We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves, or affecting uniformity. Uniformity God never required, infallibility He never granted us."*

Reply of Cotton to Clarke.

Thomas Cobbet, the minister of Lynn, without the slightest circumlocution, attempted to justify the course taken against the Baptist intruders from the right of the civil magistrate to advance the truth by the temporal power. The toleration of error, he said, would cause anarchy, undermine authority, and bring religion into contempt — as well tolerate the wolf amongst the flock. Clarke maintained that no servant of Christ Jesus hath any liberty, much less authority, to smite his fellow-servant. "Speak out," replied Cobbet, "like the old downright Anabaptists, and say 'that no Christian may be a magistrate, nor may use the civil sword, nor are there any church officers or rulers at all above any

Cobbet's Letter.

* Backus, i. 472; ii. 253

common brother.' Did not Christ smite the Jewish church members for their pollution of his Father's temple? Did not Peter strike Ananias and Sapphira dead?"

The "hat" question was a part of the case. "Your crime was civil," said Cobbet; "you came into a Christian assembly in a disorderly manner—unmannerly, I may call it — and sat with your hat on."

The pastor of Lynn submitted his views on Toleration to "the Right Honourable Oliver Cromwell," in full confidence of his Excellency's approval. His main point for justification was that of the example of State control in England.

"What doth this man," he says, in the tone of a "master in Israel," "but implicitly asperse all civil power whatsoever that put forth any power of the sword—any civil power in any matters of God's truth or worship—though with respect to the acts of the outward man that way, or with respect to any civil peace or good of the subjects of religious states concerned therein. What a dash and blemish would reflect upon that sacred *engagement* taken by that religious State of England to reform matters amiss in religion according to the word and the pattern of the best churches? How could that be in any ordinary way attained, unless the State use the ordinary means—even to put forth their civil power both legislatively and vindicatively to many things as were amiss in matters of religion—and as cause requireth, to restrain and punish such as would not be reformed themselves, or would obstruct so blessed a work, or abet others in any such gross abuses which they, according to God's mind, judge meet to be reformed? Why do they put forth their civil power to condemn and put down Episcopal government in the Church, and all that trash? Or why is common prayer as before used condemned and abolished, and it is made unlawful to use it any more? Will civil power restrain the outward man as to matters of worship merely, though corrupt? Shall civil power in England establish by law a 'Directory' in matters of God's

worship merely? or is not England's sword of steel drawn in a wrong cause, and the hand that useth it usurping the office of the spiritual administration of Christ's Vicar, the Spirit: *when in matters of truth and worship they make so sharp a law* (May 2, 1648) *against so many heretics and corrupt opinionists: against Arians, Antiscripturists, Antinomians, Familists,* ANABAPTISTS, etc.: or were they *not to blame* in making such *coercive* laws against *blasphemers?* or in making such a strict law about the sanctification of the Lord's-day; and much more in punishing sundry for such abuses in matters of religious truth and worship, merely as acted by the outward man?" *

The explanation of Winslow was more to the purpose:—

Explanation of Winslow.

"It is well known," he said, "that before these unhappy troubles arose in England and Scotland, there were divers gentlemen of Scotland that groaned under the heavy pressures of those times, wrote to New England to know whether they might be freely suffered to exercise their Presbyterial government amongst us; and it was answered affirmatively they might.

"But it will be objected, though you deal thus with the Presbyterian way, yet you have a severer law against Anabaptists: yea, *one* was whipped at Massachusetts for his religion: and your law banisheth them."

"ANSWER: 'Tis true the Massachusetts government have such a law to banish, but not to whip in that kind. And certain

* Unfortunately, England set a bad example in whipping persons who were ordered by the authorities to remove from a particular district. Orders to "depart," like the following, were given:—

"517. Margaret Lendall is appointed to depart this city, and if she be found here after Saturday next she *must be whipped* at the post: and Agnes Barnes *must be whipped* also, if she, the said Margaret, depart not as aforesaid; for the said Agnes took this Margaret Lendall unto her house after she was banished this city, contrary to order: and Agnes Hands, sister of Margaret Lendall, and wife of William Hands, *must be also whipped*, if the said Margaret depart not, for that she wished the widow Barnes to lodge her sister."

"519. Leonard Bedell, waterman, now come from London, is commanded to return to London on Monday next, or to be whipped."—Norwich Corporation Records.

men desiring some mitigation of it, it was answered in my hearing: ''Tis true we have a severe law, but we never did, nor will, execute the rigour of it upon any: and have men living amongst us—nay, some in our churches—of that judgment: and as long as they carry themselves peaceably, as hitherto they do, we will leave them to God, ourselves having performed the duty of brethren to them. And whereas there was *one* whipped amongst us, 'tis true we knew his judgment, what it was; but had he not carried himself so contemptuously towards the authority God hath betrusted us with in a high, exemplary measure, we had never so censured him: but the reason wherefore we are loath to repeal or alter the law is, because we would have it remain in force to bear witness against their judgment and practice, which we conceive them to be erroneous: and yet, nevertheless,' said the Governor to those who preferred the request, 'you may tell our friends in England, whither ye are some of you going, since the motion proceedeth from such as we know move it in love to us; we will seriously take it into consideration at our next General Court,'—so that thou mayest perceive, good reader, that the worst is spoken of things in that kind.

"Furthermore, *in the government of Plymouth*, to our great grief, not only the pastor of a congregation waiveth the administration of baptism to infants; but divers of his congregation are fallen with him: and yet all the means the civil power hath taken against him and them is to stir up our elders to give meeting, and see if by godly conference they may be able to convince and reclaim him, as in mercy, once before they had done, by God's blessing upon their labours. Only at the foresaid synod, two were ordered to write to him in the name of the assembly, and to request his presence at the next meeting aforesaid, to hold forth his light he goeth by in waiving the practice of the churches: *with promise, if it be light, to walk by it;* but if it appear otherwise, then they trust he will return again to the unity of practice with them. And for the other two governments of Connecticut and New Haven, if either have any law in force against them, or so much as need of a law in that kind, *'tis more than I have heard of.*"*

* Young's Chronicles, 404-5.

CHAPTER XIV.

On the sequestration of the parochial livings in the Commonwealth it was needful to supply the vacancies, and to provide the means of religious instruction for the people. Cromwell convened a meeting of divines representing the Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists to make suitable arrangements; the Episcopalians were excluded, from the fact of their avowed opposition to the new form of government and their known correspondence with Charles II. Committees were appointed to administer the funds for the support of the ministers and the professors at the universities. Triers were also nominated for the examination of candidates. The council attended to applications from various parishes and to complaints made of irregularities. Fourteen large volumes of petitions to Cromwell, from all parties in the State, furnish superabundant materials for a new history of that period. Our object is more simple. We cannot enter into the labyrinth of Republican politics. The intention of the Protector was to meet the ecclesiastical emergency in the best and most impartial manner. But there is ample proof

Provision for churches in the Commonwealth.

Anomalous position of State preachers.

that ministers appointed and salaried by the State were placed in a most unhappy position. We select a few examples for illustration :—

David Clarkson.

David Clarkson, afterwards co-pastor with Owen, was appointed in 1655 to Crayford, in the place of Edward May, removed for delinquency by a process of ejectment, who returned, nevertheless, and obtained possession of the pulpit by force. Clarkson was reinstated on an appeal to the council; but, as the following petition shows, he was deprived of his income :—

The humble petition of David Clarkson, minister of the gospel—

"Sheweth,—That the cause betwixt Mr. May and your petitioner, concerning the Rectory of Crayford in Kent, being heard and reported, the honourable Council, on Friday the 17th of August, inst., ordered that your petitioner should be permitted peaceably and quietly to receive the tithe and profits of the said rectory until further order: and that the said order was duly served and published; which, notwithstanding, May did on Wednesday following, insolently and in affront of the order of your Highness's Council, *cut up and carry away the hops* (being the most considerable profit belonging to the said rectory) to the value of above £80: and likewise *animate the parishioners to violate the said order in denying to pay the tithes to your petitioner, and barbarously assaulting his servant whilst he was setting them out.* Whereby the said order is rendered wholly ineffectual to your petitioner, and your authority highly condemned. May it therefore please your Highness and honourable Council to take such order with the said May and those of his complices that are responsible, as may vindicate your authority and repair the losses of your petitioner. And your petitioner shall ever pray, etc. DAVID CLARKSON."*

Cases of this nature occurred in every variety.

* S.P. Interregnum.

The ministers who were fortunate enough to enjoy the quiet possession of the living were not sure of peace in the congregation. Parishioners of conflicting opinions, including not a few of immoral character, demanded the indiscriminate administration of the Lord's Supper. The ministers of Congregational principles who accepted parochial appointments, formed churches apart from the parish congregations.

Thomas Brookes, of St. Mary's, Fish Street, was a pastor of this order. His refractory parishioners, in consequence, desired his removal:—

"Your petitioners," they said, "humbly make bold to offer to your honour's consideration that they have had trial of the said Mr. Brookes ever since your honour's order, but cannot find that comfort to their souls they hoped. Nor, indeed, is the said Mr. Brookes so qualified to your petitioners' understanding as to remain any longer with them. And, further, your petitioners say that the said Mr. Brookes refuseth to afford your petitioners the use of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, nor will he bury their dead. The petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your honour will be pleased to revoke your order, and give liberty to your petitioners for six months to present a fit person to your honour, to be their minister: and, in the meantime, that sequestrators may be appointed for the service of the cure out of such money as shall arise for tithes out of the said parish."

Thomas Brookes.

Brookes offered an enegetic defence:—

"I never had any such thing by one or other propounded to me to preach among them as probationer. At a full meeting I was chosen by the honest and well-affected of the parish to come and preach amongst them, and I did more than twice or thrice declare to them before I came, that if they expected anything else, I would not come.

"If the understanding of ignorant malignants, profane and scandalous persons should be the rule or standard by which the abilities or qualifications of such ministers that are ministers not

of the letter but of the spirit (2 Cor. iii. 6), should be measured and tried, doubtless, he that is no witch may easily conclude that there are no ministers in England qualified to their understandings; but such as are malignant, ignorant, profane, and scandalous as themselves.

"Comfort! This is just as if the patient should so cry out to the physician, that he can find no comfort in anything he prescribes him, when he is resolved beforehand that he will rather die than follow his prescriptions. God hath all along in the Scripture made a separation between sin and comfort.

"Though I do give the Lord's Supper to those to whom of right it belongs; yet I cannot, I dare not, give it to profane, ignorant, malignant, scandalous persons.

"Oh! how willing should I be, and those that walk with me, to give you the right hand of fellowship, if we could but see that the Lord hath taken you into fellowship with his blessed self, so that the ordinance might be a cordial, and not poison, to you."

Thomas Palmer.

THOMAS PALMER was charged at the Derby Assizes, before Justice Wyndham, by certain inhabitants of Aston-upon-Trent, 1658, with not administering the Holy Sacrament. The following colloquy arose:

JUDGE. "Do you not know that you are bound by the law to administer the Sacrament to your parishioners?"

PALMER. "No, my lord. I know no such law in force compelling me to administer the Holy Sacraments to my parishioners. Neither are ministers now enjoined any such thing when inducted into any living. Yet I humbly suppose if any such law were still unrepealed, it ought to be repealed, when so much against the law of Jesus Christ."

JUDGE. "Oh, you will teach Parliaments, etc. But if you do not know there is such a law in force, you shall know it. Clerk, read the statute of the 1st of Edward VI. What say you to this?"

PALMER. "My Lord, I will not dispute the law read; but humbly pray your Lordship to inform me whether ignorant, profane, and scandalous persons be included in the statute?"

JUDGE. "No."

PALMER. "Then I may deny to administer to such."

JUDGE. "What have you to do to exercise an arbitrary power over other men's consciences? Let a man examine himself."

PALMER. "No, my Lord. I have no such sole power in me as a minister, but I conceive it is in the Church, and that is the reason I have not administered these holy ordinances, as not having visible, godly people to join with me in approving who are fit, and who are not fit."

JUDGE. "But why did you not give the people liberty to get another to administer the Sacrament to them, and when you promised it?"

PALMER. "My promise and my desire was, in words, with limitation of a godly orthodox divine. But my parishioners nominated and offered to me such old malignant ministers formerly of the King's party as I could not approve of, and this sorely displeased."

JUDGE. "You, and such as you, are the causes of the divisions of the nation. But, I say, if I be upon my journey, and coming to an inn, if the innkeeper refuse to lodge me, I have an action against him, and I know not but the like will hold in this case."

HOULDEN (parishioner). "But, my Lord, what must we do?"

JUDGE. "I know not; but, if you will bring it before us, we will do right."

The judge ordered that if the minister would not administer the Sacrament, they might withhold tithes.

Thomas Manton says:

"Among all others, none have deserved worse of the Church of God in my judgment than those that plead for a loose way of receiving of all sorts of persons to holy things; and by promiscuous admissions prostitute the ordinance of God to every comer. I will not say for handfuls of barley and pieces of bread, though the opinion looketh as exactly calculated for a worldly interest; but at least out of a judgment much mistaken in the matters which do concern the glory of God's house.

Views of Manton.

"One great mischief of the *collapsed state of the Church* was this prostitution of church privileges: and, in the beginning of these contests, not only complained of as a grievance by the

godly, but confessed as a disorder by them, through whose neglect it first crept in: and 'tis strange that after the matter hath proceeded thus far, any professing godliness should interpose for the continuance of this dust and filth which was in so fair a way to be swept out of God's house, and holy communion in the glory of the Church. Holiness becometh thine house for ever (Ps. xciii. 5). Christ would not be the head of an ulcerous body, like that of Nebuchadnezzar's image, where the head was pure gold, but the members were made of brass, iron, clay, etc., a thing the Lord cannot endure: and, therefore, by a just providence all down along, He hath broken off the branches of the covenant—when they began to run wild—and cast off his people; *where by the intermission of a vigorous and strict discipline, they have suffered the Church to run into the world, and the world into the Church:* when the door hath been too wide, and kept too open, only mischief hath entered in. *Such a practice may fill the church, but heaven will be never the fuller.* Carnal men are hardened in their senselessness and security, whilst by man's charity they are suffered to enjoy privileges beyond God's allowance: and so as Salvian complained long ago, it falleth out that *whilst the church is multiplied, the faith is lessened: and, though more profess it, yet with less vigour and power.*

Objections to organized churches.

"*It was asked whether this be not half-way towards the Independents, and symbolize not with the Congregational way?* for what difference is there between their gathering a church, and this collecting of communicants, some of one place some of another? What material disparity is there between covenant with the church, and this admitting none without satisfaction given, and profession made of their sufficiency to the ministry? They admit any to the hearing of the Word, not to the communion, and such is the method also of the discipline. Are not both equally guilty of removing the ancient landmarks, and confounding of churches and limits? And taking in such of whose souls they have no law, nor consonancy to good order any proper or special cure."

The advocates of church discipline replied:—

"Though others be charged with us, we shall only answer for ourselves. *Independents are no such formidable creatures to*

us. There are many eminently godly men that lie under that distinction of judgment. We see some imperfections in their way, nor do we know our own altogether free: our present reformation is not the measure of our will, but of our power; though some difference between us and them be professed, yet we look upon them as dear brethren, and desire so to walk, waiting for theirs, and our fuller satisfaction. We agree in the greater and differ but in lesser things. *We conceive the interest of both parties to be the same, the rule one:* so that accommodation is neither sinful nor impossible. We are so much for peace that we could, if our hearts deceive us not, go many miles barefoot to meet it."

Outside the State paid establishment of preachers and lecturers, were the voluntary churches whom Cromwell protected against the opposition of the ministers of the "national way." Christian people who had met in secret places now worshipped openly; and as they had no means to erect suitable chapels, they applied to the Protector and his Council for the use of public buildings unoccupied at the time. The following documents may be taken as examples:—

Petitions of voluntary churches.

"The humble petition of the congregation of *Baptized believers* in and about CHARD:—

"Humbly sheweth:—That whereas your petitioners for conscience' sake upon Scripture grounds, are *separated from the public worship of this nation*, and that hitherto no provision hath been made in law for our place of meeting, but it is left wholly in your Highness's breast, together with your Honourable Council, in your clemency to grant us the privilege of a place to meet to worship the Lord in, neither of us having a house fit, may it therefore please your Highness, with your Honourable Council *to give us leave to meet in the Sheire Hall in Chard to the godly ends aforesaid, it being vacant and unoccupied:* and you will hereby further engage your humble petitioners to pray for your salvation by Jesus Christ, and for understanding hearts to go in and out before this great people, that

peace, through righteousness, may flourish in your day. So prayeth your humble petitioners in all duty to be commanded: read and ordered, 2nd Feb. 1654."

Nov. 4, 1658. The humble petition of divers well-affected, peaceable and good people being known by the name of a *Congregational or gathered church* meeting at the Shire House in the town of *Edmonsbury* in the county of Suffolk:—

"Humbly sheweth:—That whereas your petitioners having walked together for some time, in the order of the gospel and having behaved ourselves peaceably, in the enjoyment of the liberty of our consciences, a mercy for which we tune our spirits in daily and hourly praise, to the name of God, the author; so we humbly and cheerfully acknowledge the present government as the instrument thereof, and do greatly rejoice that we live under such a government, as in its fundamental constitution hath taken such prudent and tender care for the due liberties of the poor saints, a mercy which former ages have not, and other nations do not enjoy to this day. And, whereas, your petitioners, through the prevalencey of a party in the said town of different principles, have been for divers years together *overshadowed and discountenanced and shut up in a corner we meet in an obscure way*, and that to the hazard of our healths and lives in the winter season, by reason of the coldness of the place. And, whereas, the other party by whom we are oppressed are but one society, known by the name of the Presbyterian, and have two minister-officers to that particular people, who enjoy the advantage of both the parish meeting-houses, whilst your petitioners have none but the Shire House, a place very uncomfortable as to ourselves, and very offensive to others, and yet we are almost daily threatened by our brethren of the contrary party, to be turned out of that also, to the daily grief and wounding of our spirits, and the discouraging of others that are looking Zionward; and as we conceive to the advantage of the gospel, their appearing a whiteness unto the harvest in the willingness of the people, could our pastor be admitted to the exercise of his gifts, more publicly as is much desired.

"Wherefore, your petitioners humbly crave the timely inter-

position and influence of your Highness for the moderating of these exorbitances of our brethren, and the procuring for us either liberty of one of the meeting-places, there being work enough for both their ministers, who have beside the work of preaching twice every Lord's day, the care also of a constant lecture every Friday throughout the year, besides several accidental and some other state occasions of public preaching. And this we rather propose because it hath been usual until now of late time, to have two ministers for one parish, and that Mr. Jeremiah Burroughes and Mr. White, both eminently gifted, were ministers in the one, and Mr. Calamy now of this city, and Mr. Jewell in the other: at the same time there being no maintenance appropriate to either place, but is stated upon the persons at the pleasure of the corporation.

"Or, if that be not thought meet *that the chancel of Mary's parish may be parted from the body of the meeting-house*, for the petitioners to meet in, which place is so large, that there is room enough for two congregations to meet in, being parted; without any disturbance to each other, the *chancel being a mere superfluity* and useless to the parish as it is now, and your petitioners shall ever pray.

"On the behalf of themselves and the rest of the church." "JOHN HAZARD, "JAMES GRUNDY."

The Brethren of the Separation seem to have gained for themselves some consideration in the more privileged congregations. Happily the distinction between Congregational ministers salaried by the State, and the humbler but more consistent voluntary pastors, was soon to pass away.

The following entries in the Yarmouth Church Book are very remarkable as an indication of the change of sentiment:—

Union of Separatists with the Yarmouth Church.

"Feb. 1*st*, 1658-9. This day the *Church in Yarmouth called the Old Separatists* made a motion of uniting themselves unto us, which the church took time to consider of, and ordered the officers of the church with such brethren as would, to take an opportunity to speak more fully with them.

8*th.* The officers this day made report of their being with them, and did find *they were all satisfied with us in the matter and manner of our worship:* and so the Church ordered that with the first conveniency we should return an answer of our acceptance or non-acceptance of them.

15*th.* "This day the Church did consider the motion of the *Brethren of the Separation*, and after debate, it was ordered that *at the next meeting*, or when they did see it most convenient, they might come and tender themselves and should *be accepted.* Also ordered to speak in order to admission."

In the changes of the times, it may be noted that the Provincial Synod of London, established with the sanction of Parliament several years before this time, became extinct. The members of the presbyteries were irregular in attendance, and no business was done, "because of the distraction of the times." It was complained "that forty parishes in London had not a ministry settled amongst them by allowance of authority." "Many parishes were content with a wandering ministry." "Exhortations" were appointed to be written for "such as separate." The record closes with an unfinished exhortation to the following effect:—

Presbyterian Synod in London becomes extinct.

"When true doctrine, pure worship, and right discipline were *established by law*, we rejoiced in the light thereof for a season, and by assuring forwardness raised a great expectation in standers-by that we would run up the walls thereof, and soon make Sion a perfection of beauty. But, alas! how are we fallen! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Ascalon. Let it not be known abroad for shame, by losing of what we found, and loathing what was formerly delighted in. Our not touching with the finger what was then we thought both shoulders not sufficient for. The government not standing in its strength, but falling. Our ministers now may do, but will not, what we may. You lay the fault on others; but see not, own not, mind not, the fault

in ourselves. We cry out of the people, when the good people cry out of us. It is come to pass, much through our unworthiness, that *both our people and ourselves are without all government*, and know no other but our own wits, our own interest, our own ease, yea, sometimes our own passion. We may well with great sadness look upon our breaches in lesser and greater assemblies —only so much remaining as to tell how once were such things; for which is great thoughts of heart, some saying, 'Surely it is not of God: it is blasted as soon as it is grown up.'

"Are we totally apostatized? Is our backsliding incurable? Are we become like the deaf adder, that cannot be charmed? Dear brethren, let's be awakened out of sleep, let's come to resolutions becoming the watchmen of God and guides of his flock, and take hold of the yet opportunities while we may, and gather together, seek pardon and direction, seriously consult what is to be done, and resolve, as under the oath and covenant of God, vigorously to prosecute, in our several places, the work of reformation and executing. Then would our shame be taken away, the hearts of many made again to live, iniquity should stop her mouth, they about us would clap their hands for joy, ordinances would regain their due position, and the generations to come would stand up in the enjoyment of heavenly things, to bless God.

"That, therefore, things may not totally and irreparably fall to the ground, but that some speedy undertakings may be made effectual to the attaining of so happy ends, it is the earnest desire of the Provincial Assembly that you would at least be persuaded to give them a meeting, together with other of your brethren, at ——

"May 3, '47."

Here the record closes. We infer that the "Provincial Assembly" of London from that date became practically defunct: and that the ministers either had not the opportunity, or that they had no inclination to meet for a formal act of dissolution.

The acceptance of parochial livings by Congregational and Baptist ministers was severely con-

demned, and the agitation against tithes and their concomitants became general, and very determined. It was contended, that with the abolishment of the priesthood, sacrifices and legal oblations were also done away. Opposition to Tithes.

MILTON expressed his hate:—

"That they who have preached out bishops, prelates, or canonists, should, in what serves their own ends, retain their false opinions, their Pharisaical leaven, their avarice, and closely their ambition, their pluralities, their non-residences, their odious fees, and use their legal and Popish arguments for tithes: that Independents should take that name, as they may justly from the true freedom of Christian doctrine, and church discipline subject to no superior judge but God only, and yet seek to be *dependents* on the magistrates for the maintenance: *which two things, independence and State hire . . . can never consist long or certainly together:* for magistrates at one time or other, not like these at present, our patrons of Christian liberty, will pay none but such whom, by their committees of examination, they find conformable to their interests, and those opinions which they see pleasing to their paymasters, and, to seem right themselves, will force others as to the truth."

From resistance to State-paid "priests," others went to the extreme of opposing the ministerial office, the outward observance of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Not content with the ordinary methods of controversy, some of the more reckless opponents of the ministerial office entered the churches, and interrupted the preachers, and asked, "Who made you a minister?" "In what church were you made such?" Resistance to "Priests."

Baxter took a prominent part in the contention:

"Unthankful wretches," he said, "it is for your sakes and souls that the ministers study, and exhort, and labour, and when

Baxter.

they have done this, are made the drunkard's song, and the scorn of all the wicked in the country: and when they spend and are spent, the more they love the less are they beloved. In the times of this greatest prosperity of the church, they live under constant hatred and scorn from those that they would save and will not let alone in sin. And what do they endure all this for, but for God's honour and your salvation? Would we be ministers for any lower ends? Let shame from God and man be on the face of such a minister! I profess were it not for the belief of the greatness, and necessity, and excellency of the truths that I preach and for the will of God and the good of souls, I would be a plowman, or the meanest trade, if not a sweep-chimney, rather than a minister. Must we break our health and lay by all our worldly interest for *you*, even for *you*, and think not our lives and labours too good or too dear to further your salvation, and must be by *you*, even by *you* reproached after all? God will be judge between you and us, whether this be not inhuman ingratitude? and whether we deserve it at your hands?

"All those of your party which have a design to extirpate the gospel by the extirpation of a judicious, faithful ministry; and that by withdrawing their maintenance will find yourselves very much deceived. For if you do so far prevail by God's permission, for the ungrateful slighting of the gospel in this land, as to take down the 'stablished maintenance of the ministry, we are resolved to preach never a sermon the less, but labour with our hands: yea, beg our bread rather than give over the work of God, especially when, by the invasion of ignorance and schism, the church's necessities are increased. I tell the devil this too, if he do not know it, that he may know what success to expect of his present designs: and I hope all our faithful ministers do second me in these resolutions."

The Quakers, so called, came now into prominence as witnesses against priestly assumption, formalism, legal exactions in support of religion, and Popery in its form and spirit.

The principles, since lucidly explained in the writings of Barclay, Gurney, and others, command

respectful consideration from their temperate and forcible advocacy; but the controversial writings of the early Quakers are often so confused, violent, and vituperative that it is difficult either to understand their meaning or to give a fair account of them to others.

THOMAS HIGGENSON, one of their opponents in 1656, in a treatise entitled "A Testimony to the true Jesus and the Faith of Him," etc., concerning this people (the Quakers). He says the sum and scope of their doctrine and faith may be gathered up in these three following principles:—

"I. That the light which enlightens every man accusing of sin, is Christ and God: the Pure and Perfect, the Eternal and Just one, and so the Redeemer and Saviour and the All, to be known and believed: not as do others, in word, letter, or person without; but as within, redeeming, reconciling, and making atonement—not without, in another; but within ourselves, out of which light man departing, was lost in darkness and the Fall; into which light returning again—he is restored and redeemed as at the beginning.

"II. That this light, as condemning of sin and death and restoring out of it into righteousness and life; this is the blood and death of the cross, the resurrection and the second coming of the Son of God: and that obedience without mixture into this light, working all our works in us, this is our redemption and justification, mortification and sanctification, so much obedience, so much redeemed: thus the law and gospel, faith and obedience, death, resurrection, redemption, justification, and sanctification are not things distinct, but one and the same within us.

"III. That the way to come to all this, and to Christ, and the Father is the light in every man condemning of sin; the sure word of prophecy wherein we must wait within, and not as others go out unto Christ without a letter without; and Christ and the Scripture, only delivering their own experiences and conditions — not as a rule or word of faith to others, and

giving their testimony only to the light within, and not to any person, redemption, or operation without; also his and their ministration in work, words, or letter without being only the literal covenant that makes nothing perfect.

"Three principles of truth are perverted and denied by these three principles of theirs. The person of Christ as the object of faith. The Scriptures as the rule of faith. And faith itself as the evidence of things not seen."

In the course of an interesting discussion Higgenson says :—

"The Spirit and the Scriptures together—as they are a full witness to Christ and truth, so they are as the standing oracle or constant vision unto which all ought to come for the knowledge of truth, the perfect judge for ending all difference about spiritual matters, and the perfect rule for trial of all spirits and ways of religion : the Scriptures as the lantern, and the Spirit as the candle therein ; they as the commandment of Christ to his Church, and the Spirit as the judge giving the true understanding thereof, and bringing forth the mystery and majesty that lies hid therein : either of these if set up as under without the other, brings forth a twofold error, both perilous and hurtful.

"I. Imposing the letter of Scripture without the light of the Spirit, whether by churches or councils, may be an opposing the Scriptures against the Spirit, and sets up another dominion over the conscience, which is subject to Christ alone.

"II. Imposing anything for vision or spirit without liberty of appeal, or reference to Scripture, whether by an angel from heaven or an apostle, is a shaking men's minds from off the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone, and carrying them away as by a blast of wind unto another Jesus—another spirit of whom God never spake.

"The conclusion is—a call to any light, or voice, or word within us as the way to Christ—from the Spirit and Scriptures, unto spirits in distemper, who take apparitions of the night for dawnings of day—the sparklings of fancy for the true bearers of faith—unto such this may seem as a ministry of light ; but he that through grace has still the faith of Jesus, knows it to be

the foundation of Satan laid in the deep, in order to a blotting out the Gospel, and therein the face of the Mediator, the church in Him, their liberty, their joys, and songs in Christ.

"Let such teachers know, who cry up the Spirit to cry down the blood; who take Christ as an example, and cast out his atonement; let all such know, while they vaunt of sublime divinity and mysterious truth, they do but set Christ in Moses' chair as Lawgiver and Judge, but the great love in Him as propitiation for sins they know nothing of."

As to "opposition and persecution raised against the Quakers," Higgenson says, "opposition may proceed either from ignorance, enmity, or truth;" either from those who have no clear, spiritual perception, or from those who, "having begun in the spirit, are turned back to the flesh."

"Stinted forms of words and worship were the interest of the bishops: stinted measures of light and profession are the interest of these: those were at war with what is beside their measure, because against their interest, while the tyranny of princes and idolatry of religion was heavy upon them, that righteousness and light was sweet that redeemed them and led them out. Liberty and pleasures in the flesh having since flattered them into the policies and customs of the world, they take up the same weapons against increase of light and reformation in others which their oppressors took up against the beginnings of it, in themselves: by this sort are this people and others opposed and persecuted; because pretending to higher measures of light and righteousness than they can bear, unto such, I say it is a shame and sadness, in such a day as this, that for mere differences and offences about spiritual things, where no more occasion is given, men should be delivered up into bonds, prisons, and unreasonable men. Let them live under you in peace who break not your peace: let the true Jesus and the true Gospel Spirit shine forth in our hearts and ways, and there will not need the arm of flesh either against the 'whore' or the 'beast,' spiritual or outward enemies. Truth, as it is in Jesus, is the only principle whereby to oppose error."

Whatever might be thought of the views of Higgenson, the dispassionate and friendly tone of his writings entitled him to a candid and respectful reply; but his Quaker opponents met him with virulent abuse. There is neither pleasure nor instruction, therefore, to be derived from the analysis of this kind of literature. It is rarely that we meet with a statement of the controverted points, given in a form worthy of being reproduced. The account of Adam Martindale is as unexceptionable as any we have met with. He says of the Quakers :—

"Nothing would serve their turn but a public disputation. They had got to their champion the famous Richard Hubberthorne, well known by his printed pamphlets, and, to speak the truth, the most rational, calm-spirited man of his judgment that I was ever publicly engaged against; besides divers inferior disputants that they did not so much confide in. Yet for all his dexterity we clearly proved against him the following points by plain Scriptures:—

1. "That the doctrines of men pretending to be guided by the Spirit ought to be examined by the Holy Scriptures. Acts xvii. 11; Isa. viii. 20; 1 John iv. 1.

2. "That the common light that is in every man is not sufficient to bring a man to eternal salvation, though attended and waited on; for if it was a natural light that they meant it was not saving (1 Cor. ii. 14), if a spiritual light, every man hath it not. John xiv. 17; Jude 19; Rom. viii. 9.

3. "That men received the Spirit in Gospel times, not by waiting on the light within, for of that they could not give one instance, but upon a sent ministry, etc. Acts x. 44, and xix. 6; Gal. iii. 2.

4. "That none can be so pure in spirit, soul, and body as to be free from sin, and fulfil all righteousness that God requires. Prov. xx. 9; Eccles. vii. 20; 1 John i. 8.

5. "That Baptism with water, which they reject, is a gospel ordinance. Acts viii. 36—38; and x. 47, 48. We offered to prove the like concerning the Lord's Supper, which they also

reject, but time was so far spent by the Quaker's tergiversations in the former questions to have drawn us off from their true scope, that we were forced to give over. This was the most calm, methodical, and useful dispute with this sort of people at which I was ever present: that at Shadow Moss upon Christmas Day before was but a confused meeting to it. We had then to deal with ramblers and railers, whose logick and rhetoric was scurrilous and spiteful language, and we did not then so well know (I am sure I did not) the way of dealing with such unreasonable people as afterwards. That at Swettenham, which followed not long after this of ours, was most notably and triumphantly managed by the chief opponent, Mr. Samuel Langley, minister of that place. But the rise of it being from a frivolous and contumelious letter of a neighbour Quaker, a great part of the day was spent upon questions of small moment; as to whether it were not a wrong to call a church by the name of a steeple-house?

2. "Whether our pulpits be equivalent to the chief seats of the synagogues affected by the Scribes and the Pharisees?

3. "Whether we were called Masters in the sense by our Saviour forbidden?

4. "Whether tithes were to be paid?

5. "Whether respect to persons of quality were not that respect of persons reproved by St. James, chap. ii., etc. But the questions managed by us at Knutsford Heath concerned the very vitals of their cause, and these closely brought home *without a foul word:* and the success, through the mercy of God, was in some good measure answerable."

Amongst some of the treatises written by the early "Friends" may be found some manifestoes against State churches, tithes, and priestly intolerance, lucid in statement, calm in tone, and powerful in argument; masterpieces, indeed, on the subjects discussed. Even in the missions undertaken by a personal "concern" to the monks on the Continent, and to his Holiness himself, the testimonies in Latin left by them at the gates of the convents, or at the Vatican, contain admirable expositions of

Christian truth and faithful warnings given in the spirit of charity.

They held no clandestine meetings, and were remarkable for the frank, direct, and unequivocating declaration of their opinions; but in many instances their boldness degenerated into offensive audacity, and in their freedom they became rash and indiscriminating. The doctrine they held of personal inspiration, and of the gift of prophecy, led the weak and fanatical into the wildest absurdities. Some went through the market-places in a state of nudity, as a "sign" to the people.*

Thomas Ewen.

In illustration of the way in which some of the more ardent Quakers crossed the path of other religious people, take the case narrated by THOMAS EWEN, of Bristol. Dennis Hollister complained that the Quakers suffered persecution. Ewen, in reply, says:—

"Some of you may have shouted and cried 'Hosanna! holy, holy, King of Israel!' to James Naylor.

"You make mention of some of us beating in our meetings like the enemies of Christ in their synagogues, etc. Now, as we cannot but wonder at your shamelessness in printing such a thing, so we cannot but declare to all the world the truth of this story. You know it hath been the practice of the women of this congregation, for some years past (especially since the apostacy of you and others from us) every second day of the week, towards evening, to seek the Lord by supplication and prayer, by themselves, at which Satan hath much raged: and some of you may have come several times to disturb them: and in particular upon the day you mention there came two women—one of whom had been an old *Ranter*, but now fallen into your way; the other a late member of this church, but now turned to your opinion: *these two wretched women came rushing into the room, one of our*

* S. P. Dom.

sisters being then in prayer, and so did in a most unchristian, un civil, and inhuman manner, walk up and down the room, humming and making a loud voice. At length they came to the woman that was in prayer, and putting their mouths to her ear, uttered these words: 'The prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord,' and so forced her to give over praying: whereupon, after many civil entreaties by some to cause them to depart, and to leave off, telling them that there was no place for them unless they would be quiet: but this not prevailing, one of the company—an ancient, godly woman—took one of them by the arm, and would have put her forth at the door, but could not, she being too strong for her—which striving together is that which you call a beating: and so at length the woman of the house, claiming her privilege, did command them to depart; and this was all the beating and occasion of it," etc.

That the Quakers suffered severe persecution in the time of the Commonwealth there can be no doubt. The treatment they received in the gaols was cruel in the extreme. Many died from want, the gaolers refusing to give to them the supplies of food sent to them by their friends.

The following memorials were presented to the Protector by them, representing the condition of their friends in prison:—

"A list of prisoners now in England for conscience, Oct. 5, 1658.

"Many of these prisoners have bine in about two years, and sume for, it may be, biding the priest repent, and wishing the people to feare God; and sume for not swearing, and others for not doffing their hatts to A proud man, but all for consciens' sake doe they now lye in prisons, and for the truth suffer, and not one of them for evill-dooing; and this is but A fourth of the servants of the Lord's sufferings in the nation. Sume are trailed out of their meetings and whipt, and many indited for not coming to the steple-house, all though they keep constant Christian meeting. Therefore consider these things now they are

Memorials of the Quakers to the Protector.

come before thee, and apeare for them, then thou wilt answer that of God in thy consciens, which crys for justice: and remember the goodnes of the Lord, how Hee hath covered thy head in the warrs, and consider to what purpose Hee gave thee thy life, and forgett not his mercys."

"To the Protector and his Council.

"Friends,—It may seem strange unto you, as it doth to others, to hear that so many of our friends should be cast into prison.

"May we not ask what hath been done by our friends? what laws are these which they have broken? whose persons or possessions have they wronged? what force or violence to any man have they used? Have you found them in plots, or guilty of sedition? or making resistance against authority? Have they not patiently borne the greatest sufferings of any people of this nation ever lay under since Queen Mary's days, without murmuring or discontent? and when have they sought to avenge themselves, or troubled you or others to be repaired for those many injuries and false imprisonments which they have endured? How have they been counted as sheep for the slaughter, persecuted and despised, beaten, stoned, wounded, stocked, whipped, trailed out of your synagogues, and cast in dungeons and noisome vaults; where many of them have died in bonds, shut up from their friends, denied needful sustenance for several days together, not suffered to have ink or paper; and when they have laid there for months, and some of them years, denied a legal trial: continued from sessions to assizes, and from one assize to another, and no equity to be found from judge or justices?

"If it be answered to us: they are common disturbers of ministers, they will not pay tithes, they will not swear, they will not put off their hats, they travel up and down from one country to another without magistrates' pass, and on the first day to meetings at great distance; they will not pay fees when they are brought into courts, nor plead in the forms there used, nor give security to keep the peace, or to be of good behaviour when the justices of peace require it; and we have laws or customs that require these things should be done.

"It is forgotten what was one of the great causes of our late wars, the sufferings that then were imposed and lay upon many for matters of conscience; and was it not a chief pretence of our

fighting that we might enjoy the freedom of conscience as well as outward rights? Not only in the inner man, for that the bishops or High Commission Court could not hinder; but the free exercise in all acts of piety and religion of what the Lord should manifest unto us. But whether this was then intended, or is now perverted, it is that which is our right, which we must claim and no man may take from us: for this we know, the Lord Jesus Christ alone hath right to rule over the consciences of men, unto whom every one must give account of himself, according to the just, perfect, and unchangeable law of God which is revealed; with that alone of God is made manifest in man, which He hath showed unto him, by which every one shall be judged at the last day when the book of consciences shall be opened; and, therefore, all unequal, imperfect, and changeable laws of men—we do deny, and by them or for their transgression we shall not be judged of the Lord."

Inquiry was immediately instituted, and the gaolers were directed to send a report of each prisoner, stating the date of the warrant and cause of committal. The returns were promptly made, and are still preserved.

The following is a draft of the letter sent to the justices of the peace:—

"GENTLEMEN:—His Highness and the Council having received several addresses on the behalf of divers persons, commonly called Quakers, who are imprisoned in several places; some of them for not pulling off their hats, and others for not finding sureties for their good behaviour or for their return to their own homes; and some of them having lain long in prison, and not likely to get out by conforming to what might be expected from them and becomes them to do; his Highness and his Council, though they are far from giving countenance to the mistaken principles or practices of such men, especially in their disturbances of godly ministers, or in any affronts put upon the magistrates whose dignity ought to be maintained; yet, finding that the same doth for the most part proceed from a spirit of error which hath seduced them, than from a malicious opposition to

Action of the Council.

authority, in which case they, especially such among them as are otherwise of sober conversation, are to be pitied, and dealt with as persons under a strong delusion, who choose rather to suffer and perish than to do anything contrary to their (though ungrounded and corrupt) principles. Therefore his Highness and the Council have thought fit to recommend their condition unto your prudence; and to take such cause for the discharge of such of them as are in prison within your county, as, having put a discountenance on their miscarriages, their lives may be preserved, divers of them having died in their imprisonment: and that, out of a tenderness towards such poor deluded persons, you would as much as in you lies endeavour to prevent their running into such contempts for not giving that civil respect which they owe to you as magistrates when they are brought before you, by causing their hats to be pulled off beforehand: or that for such contempts, such punishments may be inflicted as may rather discountenance their folly than endanger their lives. His Highness and the Council judge it safer in dealing with persons, whose miscarriages arise from defects in their understanding than from malice in their wills, to exercise so much lenity than so much severity."

Opposition to the government of Cromwell.

Opposition to the authority of Cromwell was made throughout the Protectorate by the Fifth Monarchists and various discontented parties. Presbyterians continued their correspondence with Charles II., who watched for the opportunity caused by the divisions of the Republicans to recover his power.

Thomas Kelsay writes to the Protector from Chatham, 26th of August, 1656, to inform him that at—

"The election for Maidstone, Presbyterians and Cavaliers combined and manifested a bitter spirit against swordsmen, decimators, and courtiers. He fears that all will be brought to blood and confusion, and urges Cromwell to maintain 'the Instrument of Government.' There is such a perverseness in those that are chosen, that without resolution of spirit in your Highness and Council to maintain the interest of God's

people, which is to be preferred to a thousand parliaments, we shall return again to our Egyptian taskmasters.

"If Parliament will not do it, then take such to your assistance as will stand by you in that work which God hath begun; and will yet undoubtedly own and carry on maugre all our enemies. If the Lord shall take pleasure in us, He will carry us well through the seas of blood threatened against us, and the waste howling wilderness of our straits and difficulties, and at length bring us to that blessed haven of reformation endeavoured by us."

Some of the churches in Wales offered a vehement protest against the change in the government.

To form an idea of the ferment existing in the community, let us glance at an evening meeting held at Blackfriars.

Vavasor Powell and the Meeting at Blackfriars.

First, we have a minister from Shoreditch, very moderate. Mr. Teake, rather prosy on the "nine characters" of the "Little Horn," in the seventh of Daniel. "I know," he says, "some would have the late King Charles to be meant, but I'll name nobody. God will make it clear to his people shortly who is meant by the 'Little Horn.'"

But Mr. Vavasor Powell is the oracle of the occasion. He is "very broad," "enlarging himself out of the eleventh Daniel, and very bitter against the 'Great Commander, the sole cause of the taxes.'" "Lord!" he says, "what, have our army well nigh all apostatized from their principles? What is become of all their declarations, protestations, and professions? Are they choked with lands, and parks, and manors? Let us go home and pray, and say, 'Lord, wilt Thou have Oliver Cromwell to reign over us, or Jesus Christ to reign over us?' I know

there are many gracious souls in the army, and of good principles but the greater they grew, the more corrupted they grew, with lands and honours. I'll tell you it was a common proverb that we had amongst us of the General: 'That in the field he was the graciousest and most gallant man in the world, and when he came home again the worst:' they say snares are laid for us, and spies set over us, and that we shall be deprived of meeting in this place, then we will meet in another, and if we be driven thence, we will meet in private houses, then if we cannot have liberty we will meet in the fields. Some of you are drawing back. Lord, hold up the meeting."

A man rises in the corner of the gallery, and for half an hour tries to speak amidst the greatest tumult. Mr. Cockayne follows, but cannot be heard. Another minister succeeds better in gaining attention, and is about to enter on the first five verses of Hosea, but we have had enough.

These men, with others equally rash and impetuous, were busy in scuttling the ship when the grand old pilot was called from the helm.

Death of Cromwell.

On the 3rd of September, 1658, the Protector closed his wonderful career. Two or three days before he died amid the howling tempest, he was heard to utter this prayer:—

"Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service, and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death: Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue, and go on to do

good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation, and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on thy instruments, to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer: even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure."

On Thursday night (Sept. 2) with oppressed voice, he said:—

"Truly, God is good; indeed He is; He will not." Then his speech failed him. Again he said, "I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people; but my work is done. Yet God will be with his people." He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself. And there being something offered him, he was desired to take the same, and endeavoured to sleep. Unto which he answered, "It is not my design to drink or sleep; but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone." Afterwards, towards morning, he used divers holy expressions, implying much inward consolation and peace; among the rest he spake some exceedingly self-debasing words, annihilating and judging himself. And, truly, it was observed that a public spirit to God's cause did breathe in him, as in his lifetime, so now to his very last. Between three and four on the following day he passed away.

"The consternation and astonishment of all people," writes Fauconberg, "are inexpressible; their hearts seem as if sunk within them. My poor wife, I know not what on earth to do with her; when seemingly quieted, she bursts out again

into a passion that tears her very heart to pieces."

RICHARD, the new Protector, could not keep on his feet sufficient time to make a decent pretence of ruling. The advice of Edward Burroughes was perhaps the most sensible he received:—

Richard Cromwell and the Quakers.

"*As for such called ministers, they will be hurrying about thee, and flatter thee with fear and crafty words, and smooth petitions, and requests for protection and establishment from thee, and for large stipends and tithes.* Possibly they may complain to thee against such as cannot give them hire and tithes, but may reprove their evil and covetousness, and wickedness; begging for laws against such, and crying out against error and heresy, because some may be moved to cry against their deceits and oppressions: and for the like causes they will run about thee, and seek their own advantage, and this we know their nature and spirit is such and hath been for many ages. But now, friend, do thou stand in God's authority, out of and over all such teachers and sects, and come not under any of them that have the form of godliness, but want the power."

Another "Friend" felt a special call to give similar advice:—

"Thomas Modford, a Quaker, to Richard, Lord Protector.

"Meddle not with setting up any worship for God. Let the oppressed and prisoners go free, which are in bonds for testifying against hireling teachers and not paying tithes: the reason which I came to thy chapel at Whitehall was, because I could not be suffered to wait in thy outward courts, or in thy park, till I had spoken with thee, and I took my journey towards my family, and outward being again, and passed sixty-two miles in the way, being willing if it might have stood with the will of my God to have returned to my outward calling, but all the way as was passing that sixty-two miles, a great weight and burden was on me, and secret drawing to return."

The anti-Puritan party in the country soon

began to move, as we learn from the following memorial to the new Protector.

The humble petition of several of the inhabitants of Bungay, in the county of Suffolk,

"Humbly Sheweth:—That your poor petitioners, being by the blessing of God, and the especial care and prudence of that never-to-be-forgotten nurse of religion, your Highness's late father, the loss of whom we cannot but sadly lament, settled in the enjoyment of our godly minister. Such hath been the enmity of certain persons, inhabitants of the said town, who taking encouragement from the death of our gracious governor, your Highness's late father, procured one Harwood, a malignant minister, to preach in the said town, of whom some of our petitioners, to the grief of our hearts, have had sad experience of his teaching; not only to reproach the strict professors of religion, but also in reviling and speaking against the government of these nations under your Highness's late father: and because, Mr. Smith, our minister could not in conscience consent that the said Harwood should preach, and fearing for the future such ministers might be brought in, made our complaint to Colonel Humphrey Brewster, a magistrate adjacent, who, with the desire and consent of many of the inhabitants of the said town, displaced the old sexton, and made one Plumbe, sexton in his room. Since which time, some of our adversaries, who all along have opposed the settlement of a godly minister, being ffeofees of certain lands given to the said town for pious and charitable uses, have so oppressed and opposed our said minister and your petitioners, in the ways of the Lord, and imprisoned the poor man, our new sexton—for what cause we know not—to the weakening of our hands in the work of the Lord, in the encouragement of profaneness, insomuch as your petitioners cannot enjoy our liberties, nor the preaching of the gospel in peace and safety. Now, so may it please your Highness, that our good God having opened to us a door of hope under our dark cloud and affliction, raising your Highness to the seat of government, for whom we cannot but be earnest with the Father of mercies, who to the praise of his grace, hath made us in your Highness to behold a double portion of your late father's spirit, in strengthening the weak hands of those that fear the Lord.

Wherefore, we have taken this to present our petition for a commission of inquiry.

"ZEPH SMYTH, etc.,

"Nov. 24, 1658. "BECCLES, ROBERT BREWSTER, etc."

Richard was not in a position to secure the petitioners redress.

Party schemes.

The officers of the army in Scotland issued a declaration to the Churches in Christ in the three nations, Nov. 2, 1659, "stating their assent to the undoubted right of the churches," but intimating that "the present exigent might enforce them to the restraint of some of their brethren and friends," because of their "mistakes about the way to the end," and much more to the same ambiguous effect. Baxter had a favourite scheme of union and accommodation, in which he wished the Protector to be interested by John Howe, qualified like the declaration of the officers, by various restrictions.

Savoy Confession.

Two hundred delegates from a hundred and twenty churches met at the Savoy, Oct. 12, 1658, to frame a Declaration of Faith and Order. In the preceding year, Cromwell consented to a petition that a Confession of Faith might be set forth, the signing of which should secure legal protection to ministers, although differing in their judgment and practice in matters of worship and discipline. The Savoy Confession appears to have been published to justify the toleration allowed by "the Prince" (Richard), and to show that there should be friendly relations between those who differed on points of discipline. "*The differences*," they said, "*that are between Presbyterians and Inde-*

pendents, are differences between fellow-servants, and neither of them have authority given from God or man to impose their opinions, one more than the other."

Toleration to this extent they were all ready to admit, but stipendiaries of the State began to tremble for their "livings," and declared their abhorrence of a general toleration.

The following "*Declaration*" of several of the people called *Anabaptists*, in and about the City of London, was issued in 1659:—

Petition of Baptists against Universal Toleration.

"Whereas, we are charged with endeavouring an universal toleration of all miscarriages, both in things religious and civil, under pretence of liberty of conscience: it is in both respects notoriously false: and we do before the Lord, that shall judge both quick and dead—yea, before angels and men—declare our utter detestation of such a toleration; for in matters civil we desire there may not be the least toleration of miscarriage in any, much less in ourselves. Nor desire we in matters of religion that Popery should not be tolerated—the blood of many thousands of the people of God having been barbarously shed by the professors thereof; nor any persons tolerated of that (mode of) worship; nor any that speak contemptuously and reproachfully of our Lord Jesus Christ; nor any that deny the Holy Scriptures contained in the books of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God; and yet we are not against tolerating of Episcopacy, Presbytery, or any stinted form; provided they do not compel any others to a compliance therewith, or a conformity thereunto: for whatever composers of any form of worship may possibly err, it is derogatory from God and his holy Word, and injurious to men, to compel any to the practice thereof."

On the report of the Conference in London, the church at Norwich adopted, amongst others, the following resolutions:—

"As touching the magistrates' power in matters of faith and worship, we have declared our judgment in our late Confession,

issued from the Savoy Conference; and though we greatly prize our Christian liberties, yet we profess our utter dislike and abhorrence of a universal toleration, as being contrary to the mind of God, in his Word.

Resolutions of Yarmouth Church.

"We judge that the taking away of tithes for the maintenance of ministers until as full a maintenance be equally secured and as legally settled, will tend much to the destruction of the ministry and the preaching of the gospel in these nations."

James Naylor, reputed to be the most notorious and extraordinary fanatic of the time, administered the following rebuke:—

"What your judgment in your late Confession was, I know not, but you might do well to show your judgment in plainness, what this universal toleration is which you dislike and abhor. Whether it be that you abhor that any should be tolerated but your own sect, or such as are against your errors. If this be it, as like it is, then it is too selfish to be sound judgment or safe counsel to be followed, being against the rule of Christ, to do unto all men as you would be done unto.

Rebuke of Naylor the Quaker.

"This is your judgment, that taking away tithes tends to the destruction of the ministry, may be believed herein, being now upon the mark you aim at; and the prize of your calling and preaching in these nations; and you do but declare in words what all seeing people in these nations did foreknow was in your hearts; but the word gospel you cannot bring in with this carnal stuff—that is taken from you, and must no longer cover you. What, will the gospel be destroyed for lack of tithes or a maintenance secured from a forcible law? Blush for shame! It was never known that forced hire or agreement beforehand had ever the least place in the free gospel ministry. This cannot stand, not with a spiritual call or free gift: nay, it exceeds the legal priesthood and false prophets, and goes beyond Balaam in error. What, either tithes, or as full as tithes so secured, and by the same law, must Papists' laws up still, or else the gospel falls? This is none of Christ's gospel that thus depends; nor is this the hire of his servants, whose reward it is to make the gospel without charge. Was it ever known that any of his seed

came to the earthly powers to beg their bread, or to take it by force? Doth He thus maintain his family? Search the Scriptures, and be ashamed, and stop your mouth from ever pretending to be ministers of the letter who are gone out from both."

Milton appealed to the Parliament in favour of non-intervention in ecclesiastical causes:—

"It is unlawful for the civil magistrate to use force in matters of religion, because, to judge of such things, though the magistrate were able, yet hath he no right. Christ hath a government of his own, sufficient of itself to all his ends and purposes in governing his Church; but widely different from that of the civil magistrate: and this difference principally consists in this, that He governs not by outward force; for two reasons: 1. Because this government deals only with the inward man and his actions, which are all spiritual, and so not liable to outward force. 2. To show us the divine excellence of his spiritual kingdom—able, without worldly force, to subdue all the powers and kingdoms of this world, which are upheld wholly by outward force."

Appeal of Milton.

The Presbyterians were bent on their great object —the establishment of their system to the exclusion of the "Sectaries" — confident that the hour of triumph was near. The parties in favour of religious liberty unwisely, inconsistently, and to the ruin of their cause, looked to the army. A meeting of officers was held at Wallingford House,* the residence of Fleetwood; they demanded the election of their own Commander-in-Chief. A conference was held at St. James's with the Independent and Baptist ministers, which Owen opened with prayer. RICHARD had been proclaimed with unanimity and enthusiasm throughout the country; but the military leaders were resolved that his Government should be under their

Meeting at Wallingford House.

* It stood on the site of the present Admiralty.

control. Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy in Ireland, remonstrated with Fleetwood. In a remarkable letter, dated Oct. 20, 1658, he writes:—

Letter of Henry Cromwell.

"How came these two or three hundred officers together? If they came of their own heads, the being absent from their charges without licence would have flown in their face when they petitioned for a due observance of martial discipline. If they were called together, were they not also told what to say and do? If they were called, was it with their Highness' privity? If they met without leave in so great a number, were they told of their error? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition, though some things in it do unhandsomely reflect not only upon his present, but his late Highness. I wish with all my heart you were Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in the three nations; but I had rather have it done by his Highness' special grace and mere motion than put upon you in a tumultuary, unsoldierly way. But, dear brother, I must tell you; and I cannot do it without tears; I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late Highness at that great meeting: they were exhorted to stand up for that good old cause which had long laid asleep, etc. I thought my dear father had pursued it to the last. He died like a servant of God, and prayed for those 'that desired to trample upon his dust, for they were God's people.' Oh, dear brother! let us not render evil for good: let us not make his memory stink, before he is underground: let us remember his last legacy, and even for his sake render his successor considerable, and not make him a vile thing, a thing of nought and a byword. Oh, whither do these things tend? Surely God hath a controversy with us. What a hurly-burly is then made—a hundred Independent ministers called together. A Council, as you call it, of two or three hundred officers of a judgment! *Remember what has fallen upon imposing spirits. Will not the loins of an imposing Anabaptist be as heavy as the loins of an imposing prelate or presbyter?* And is it a dangerous error that dominion is founded in grace, when it is held by the Church of Rome; and a sound principle when it is held by the Fifth Monarchy? Dear brother, let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we be partakers of their plagues, the *people of God*,

though under different forms; yea, even those whom you count *without, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty*, and that *no one party may tread upon the neck of another. It doth not become the magistrate to descend into parties,** but can the things you do tend to this end? *Can those things be done, and the world not think his Highness a knave or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits?* Oh, dear brother, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the consideration of the miserable estate of the innocent people of these three poor nations? *What have these sheep done, that their blood should be the price of our lust, and remember how his late Highness loved you;* how he honoured you with the highest trust in the world by leaving the sword in your hand, which must defend or destroy us: and his declaring his Highness his successor, shows that he left it there to preserve him and his reputation. Oh, brother, use it to curb the extravagant spirits and busy-bodies; *but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary power. Let us be governed by the known laws of the land, and let all things be kept in their proper channels:* and let the army be so governed that *the world may never hear of them* unless there be occasion to fight: and truly, brother, you must pardon me if I say God and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all the miscarriages in the army in point of discipline at your door. You see I deal plainly with you as becomes your friend and a good subject: and the great God, in whose presence I speak this, He knows that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulness to you, and you may rest assured that you shall always find me your true friend and loving brother."†

It was too late. The sluices of disaffection were opened too widely to be closed.

* Henry Cromwell acted on these principles during his administration in Ireland. The Chancellor of Ireland (an Independent) complained that his party were not favoured more than others. "I wish," said Henry Cromwell, "I could truly say that the Independents were not dissatisfied. It may be some of them thought they should ride when they had thrown the Anabaptists out of the saddle. But *I must neither respect persons, nor parties, nor rumours, so as to be thereby diverted from an equal distribution of respect and justice to all:* though I hope I shall always take a good care of all, and in what form soever, in whom I see the least appearance of godliness."

† Thurloe State Papers.

From one step to another, Desborough, and the officers with him, conspired to eject the Parliament, and for this purpose sent a military party to the house of the Protector at Whitehall.

M. de Bourdeaux, in a letter to Cardinal Mazarin, May 5, 1659, describes the movement:—

Letter of Bourdeaux.

"The leaders of the army, feeling that they were being deluded by negotiation, whilst the friends of the Protector, in pressing Parliament to adopt resolutions tending to his safety and their overthrow, thought it advisable to provide for their own safety, and to effect by force that which they had been unable to obtain by fair means. With this intent on Thursday, *towards midnight, they placed the troops under arms in the neighbourhood of Whitehall*, and the principal men among them having assembled at St. James's, refused to admit to their conclave those who were known to be well-intentioned towards the Court, and sent Major-General Desborough, with about a dozen officers, to demand of the Protector that he should dissolve Parliament in person on the following day. They found his Highness with a few officers who were friendly to him, and soon learned that he was already aware of the resolution which had been adopted by the Council of War! But at the same time he had lost the confidence he had formerly in several regiments, all the subaltern officers of which had abandoned their Colonels to follow the example of another corps: and one squadron of cavalry had even gone so far as to refuse to follow their captain, who was leading them to Whitehall. Although the Protector was aware of this general alienation, and his friends had *scarcely been able to find two hundred men in the whole army who were disposed to back him, he, nevertheless, exhibited great firmness*, and declared he would suffer any violence rather than grant the demand which was made of him. This refusal obliged General Desborough to come to threats, and to inform him that he was not in a position *to defer for an hour* the execution of the resolution which the army had adopted; leaving him at liberty to commission some member of his Council to dissolve the Parliament, if he were unwilling to do it in person. His Highness, *seeing the necessity was inevitable*,

and that *those that were with him were of opinion he must submit to force*, after having again expressed his displeasure and repugnance, *promised that which he was unable to refuse*. Thereupon General Desborough and the others withdrew, and went to a neighbouring house to await the performance of the promise, and betwixt *two or three o'clock in the morning* the Secretary of State brought them the necessary orders, addressed to the Keeper of the Seals. In the meanwhile, some companies of cavalry and infantry entered the courtyard, and behaved themselves with considerable license, particularly in the cellars, and there were also many parleys, and it was resolved not to overthrow the Protector entirely, but to allow him to govern with a council, though not permitted to interfere with the army."*

This act of violence alarmed the Presbyterians, and accelerated their negotiations with General Monk and the friends of the King, to restore him to the throne on their own conditions. The event proved that they had no power to enforce the terms so often proposed to him before.

After a rapid succession of changes, Charles II. became master of the situation. For a short time the party of the Solemn League and Covenant were under the illusion that the ecclesiastical future of England was in their own hands. They enacted the most exclusive and intolerant laws. Philip Nye warned them of the ruinous consequences that must follow to themselves. EDWARD BAGSHAWE reasoned in a most conclusive manner on the duty of the magistrate to leave "things indifferent in religious worship" alone.

Intolerance of Presbyterians.

Edward Bagshawe.

Heresies are not to be suppressed by the sword. In a vitiated moral atmosphere, there are sure to be

* French Archives, cited by Guizot.

those that turn away from the truth, "there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest unto you." "Heresies," said Bagshawe, "are for the trial of the godly, and the occasion of stumbling to the reprobate. When God sees a company of lazy vicious men, who are weary of the powerful plainness of truth, then He lets some corrupt doctrines be scattered abroad, which may fit those inclinations they are already principled with: and likewise, when others have itching ears and sound doctrine will not relish with them, then God suffers some lofty airy speculations to be broached, by study of which they may grow drunk with pride and prejudice against more wholesome truths."

The Protector meant well. In a proclamation apparently prepared by John Howe, he counselled the ministers to cultivate a brotherly spirit.

Explaining the crisis to Baxter, Howe writes, May 21:—

Letter of John Howe.

"It cannot be new to you that the Council in the old Protector's time was divided into two parties: the one was for a settlement on such terms as might please the nation, as he himself also was; those except one of late, had no present relation to the army; the other, who were the chief of them, not much pleased with, nor did study any such thing, but thought it their duty, in order to the safety of religion and liberty of conscience, to keep up the power of the army as much as they could, and thereby to *curb and repress the spirit of the nation as they used to phrase it.* The young Protector following (in this) his father's steps, I mean, in the study and endeavour of a *civil settlement*, whereby *a just provision might be made also for religious liberty, without having the nation under a force*, and that things might run in their natural channel; is looked upon with a jealousy by the military

part of the council, lest he should mingle interests with the nation and master theirs: and so the army, wherein their places of power and profit lay, by degrees become insignificant. To obviate this, upon his entrance into government, they attempt to vote the army independent on him. They easily perceive that whatever shall be done by the Commons, in order to the restraining of religious liberty and the subjugating of the army to the civil government, is likely to meet with no great opposition in the other House, therefore they (the army) think it necessary to have the Parliament *gospelled* or dissolved: and because they cannot procure this by persuasion, they embody and resolve upon force.

"Such persons as are now at the head of affairs will blast religion, if God prevent not the design you writ me of some time since: to introduce infidelity or Popery, they have opportunity enough to effect. Religion is lost out of England, further than as it can creep into corners."

When Monk commenced his march from Scotland, Owen, alarmed for the interests of Nonconformity, sent a communication to him by a deputation of ministers. Monk replied: "I do promise you, for myself and the rest of the officers here, that your interest, liberty, and encouragement shall be very dear to us. I do assure you, that the great things that have been upon my heart to secure and provide for, are our liberties and freedom, as the subjects and servants of Jesus Christ, which we have conveyed to us in the covenant of grace assured in the promises purchased and preached in the Congregational churches in England, agreed upon and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting held in the Savoy." An Act was read for the third time on the 2nd of March, "declaring the public Confession of Faith, of the Church of England, and the Solemn

Advance of Monk.

League and Covenant ordered to be printed and published, set up in every church, and put in the house." In a printed letter to General Monk, Jan. 22, 1659, from "Old Puritans," he was assured that "the greatest part of the godly people and ministers in England who adhered to the Parliament in their contest with the King, never did own, nor never can prevail upon their consciences to own, those men that now sit at Westminster for the Parliament of England; *the most of them friends to all sects*, even to Popery itself: witness their repealing penal statutes made against Popish recusants before the breaking up in 1653. Their vote passed in the Speaker's Chamber on or before the last breaking up, whereby they gave Papists equal protection with the most orthodox Protestants."

Return of the King.

The return of the King was intimated to leading Nonconformists in a most unpleasant way. A company of officers and soldiers came at midnight to the house of William Kiffin and others, to the great alarm of the families, searched the rooms, and took them prisoners without warrant or explanation, except a message to the effect that "they had orders from General Monk."

Exultation of the Royalists.

In the country the Royalists gave vent to their exultation in beating the ministers in the streets, and pelting them with stones. As a significant intimation of the change at Norwich, the doors of the meeting-house were nailed up. Brewster and others, in Bungay, Suffolk, complained that their minister was removed by force, and his "scandalous predecessor restored,

against the wishes of the people, and in violation of law and order."

The clergy manifested their elation in addresses to "His Most Sacred Majesty," couched in terms of the meanest servility. The bishops gratified the royal libertine by sharing the joviality of the Court.

Jollity of the Bishops at Court.

"You will hear," writes Hooke* to Davenport, "by the bearer, of the play of the 'Puritan' before the highest, where were present, as they say, the E. Manchester and three bishops, and London one of them. In it were represented Presbyterians under the form of Mr. Baxter and Mr. Calamy, whose habits and actions were set forth. Prayers were made in imitation of the Puritan, with such Scripture expressions as I am loath to mention—the matter being such as might have been used by any godly man in a right manner. The case of Zion lying in the dust was spread before the Lord, and God's former deliverance of his people urged in such phrases, would amaze you if you heard them, with eyes lifted up to Heaven. One representing the Puritan put in the stocks for stealing a pig, and the stocks found by him unlockt, which he admires at as a wonderful providence and fruit of prayer; upon which he consults about his call, whether he should come forth or not; and at last perceived it was his way, and forth he comes, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and falls to prayer and thanks." †

For a time the leading Presbyterian ministers were kept amused by the prospect of the mitre, and there was a great talk of comprehension; but when it was found that they were not soft enough to be

* William Hooke, a native of Southampton, and graduate of Oxford, went to New England in 1636, and became minister successively of Taunton and New Haven, as associate with Davenport, on the return of Samuel Eaton to England. He was the cousin, by marriage, of Oliver Cromwell, and left New Haven to become his domestic chaplain, in 1656, with Hugh Peters and John Howe. He died, March 21, 1678, aged eighty-seven, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

† Mather Papers. Fourth Series, Eighth Vol.

kneaded into the proper form, the bishops turned against them more fiercely than ever. Even the "Latitude men" had no mercy. Jeremy Taylor, who, in the time of his comfortable retreat at Golden Grove, had entertained thoughts of moderation and liberty, began to strike down the Presbyterians in his diocese without scruple or remorse. He declared thirty-six churches vacant in one day. In his sermon, preached at the opening of the Parliament of Ireland, May 8, 1661, he said: "I hope the Presbyterian will join with the Protestant, and say that the Papist, and the Socinian, and the Independent, and the Anabaptist, and the Quaker, are guilty of rebellion and disobedience, for all their pretence of the Word of God to be on their side: and I am more sure that all these will join with the Protestant, and say that the Presbyterian hath no reason to disobey authority upon pretence of their new government, concerning which they do but dream dreams, when they think they see visions. Certain it is that the biggest part of Dissenters in the whole world are criminally disobedient, and it is a thousand to one but that authority is in the right against them, and ought to be obeyed. If *weak brethren shall still plead for toleration* and compliance, I hope, my lords, the bishops will consider when it can do good and do no harm, and when they are permitted and themselves are bound up by the laws, and in all things where it is safe and holy, to labour to bring them ease and to give them remedy; but to think of removing the disease by feeding the humour, I confess it is a strange cure to our present distempers."

Intolerance of Jeremy Taylor.

CHAPTER XV.

At an early part of the reign of Charles II., negotiations were opened in a rather indirect and informal manner with the representatives of the Papacy, on the recovery of England to the Romish Church. There exists in the archives of France a document,* dated Feb. 18, 1663, in which the offer is made on the part of Charles II. to relinquish Protestantism, and to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. The King declared himself ready to accept the Confession set forth by Pius IV., the decisions of the Tridentine Councils with those of Innocent X. and Alexander III. on the controversies of the Jansenists; and not only so, but also to assimilate the Anglican Church to that under the Papal sway. It is proposed in this ecclesiastical scheme that the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be raised to the dignity of Patriarch of the three kingdoms, the rights of the Apostolic See being carefully reserved as having supreme authority; the present bishops and archbishops to remain for a time in the same position, until ordination can be obtained from three apostolical legates, who shall reside in Great Britain. The married clergy to retain their wives, but celibacy to be gradually

Proposal to restore England to the Papacy.

* Angleterre, nr. 81.

introduced as the rule for the future. The Mass to be celebrated in Latin, but accompanied with an English Liturgy. The Catholic priests to be encouraged to vie in the pulpit with Protestant preachers; but with a prudent reticence on the miracles performed by saints, and a careful avoidance of controverted topics in relation to the prerogatives of the Pope. Certain monastic orders to be received—the Benedictines of St. Maur, for psalmody, and other orders for conventual seclusion and the care of the sick; the Jesuit Fathers also for the schools. Various details are given to complete the symmetrical system. Secretary Bennet intimated that his Majesty could not effect the desired ecclesiastical change without the concurrence of Parliament. Clarendon concurred in this view. The King said that his first care would be to secure the true Protestant faith and the discipline of the English Church; but this being attended to by an Act of Uniformity, in accordance with his promise at Breda, he would then take into consideration the settlement of ecclesiastical matters outside the National Church as then constituted.*

A bill had been proposed in Parliament to confirm the Puritan ministers in their livings, and to make arrangements that might accommodate all parties; but all such overtures were speedily dismissed from consideration. Yet the scheme for-

Difficulties in the way.

mulated in outline in relation to Rome, in the state of the country, was one that could not easily be introduced, and the complications in the way were not to be removed without

* Englische Geschichte von Leopold Ranke, Berlin, 1863, vol. iv., 237—247.

consummate tact and skilful manœuvres of the most diversified character. "How," for example, it might be inquired, "will the King clear himself of the responsibility of his engagements to the Presbyterian ministers at Breda? By what arrangement will he reconcile the Nonconformists generally? And by what means will it be possible to meet the demands of the Covenanters in Scotland? And finally, all parties being harmonized, how will his Majesty secure a firm position for the Romish hierarchy?"

Impracticable as the design might seem, Charles II. possessed many qualifications adapted for the arduous and dishonourable undertaking. He had a pleasing address, and was altogether unscrupulous, he could alternately fascinate parties of the most opposite views, and send the weak and credulous of their number gratified with the audience, and sanguine in their expectations of success. His correspondence with the Roman Catholic powers made him well acquainted with the agencies required, and his "intelligencers" on the Continent were prompt to convey the information needful for the furtherance of his plans.

In the light of the policy just marked out, we have a clue to the meaning of the royal deceiver in the steps he now took in relation to the Nonconformists. To begin with the expectant Presbyterian ministers. The King adroitly set aside the consideration of their claims to "a more convenient season." Listen!

"When we were in Holland, we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from thence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal asserters of the Presby-

terian opinions, with whom we had much conference as the multitude of affairs which were then upon us would permit us to have, and *to our great comfort and satisfaction* found them *persons full of affection to us* and of zeal for the peace of the Church and State: *and neither enemies*, as they have been given out to be, to *Episcopacy or Liturgy;* but *modestly to desire* such alterations in either as without shaking foundations, might *best allay the present distemper*, which the indisposition of the time and the tenderness of some men's consciences had contracted. For the better doing whereof we *did* intend *upon our first arrival* in this kingdom, to call a synod of divines, as the most proper expedient to provide a proper remedy for all those differences and dissatisfactions which had arisen or should arise on matters of religion: and in the meantime, we *published* in our declaration from Breda, *a liberty for tender consciences*, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.

Presbyterians set aside for their turbulence.

"Whilst we *continued in this temper of mind*, we have found ourselves not so candidly dealt with as we have deserved: and that there are unquiet and restless spirits who without abating any of their own distempers, in *recompense of the moderation they find in us*, continue their bitterness against the Church, and endeavour to raise jealousies of us, and to lessen our reputation by their reproaches: *as if we were not true to the professions we have made:* and in order thereunto they have very unreasonably caused to be *printed and dispersed throughout the kingdom, a declaration heretofore printed in our name, during the time of our being in Scotland*, of which we shall say no more, than *the circumstances by which we were enforced to sign that* declaration are enough known to the world: and the worthiest and greatest part of that nation did even then *detest and abhor the ill usage of us in that particular*. When the same tyranny was exercised there by the power of a few ill men, which at that time had spread itself over this kingdom: and therefore we had no reason to expect that we should at this season, when we are doing all we can to wipe out the memory of all that hath been done amiss by other men, and we thank God have wiped it out of our own remem-

brance, have been ourself assaulted with those reproaches which we will likewise forget.

"Since this declaration some have had the hardiness to publish that the doctrine of the Church against which no man with whom we have conferred, hath excepted; ought to be reformed as well as the discipline.

"*This over passionate and turbulent way of proceeding*, and the impatience we find in many for some speedy determination in these matters, whereby the minds of men may be composed, and the peace of the Church established; *hath prevailed with us to invert the method we had proposed* to ourself: and even in order to the better calling and composing of a synod, which the present jealousies will hardly agree upon, by the assistance of God's blessed spirit, which *we daily invoke and supplicate*, to give some determination ourself to the matters in difference, *until a synod may be called*, as may without passion or prejudice give us such further assistance towards a *perfect union of affection* as well as *submission to authority* as is necessary: and we are the rather induced to take this upon us, by finding upon the full conference we have had with the learned men of several persuasions, that the mischiefs under which both the Church and State do at present suffer, *do not result* from any formed doctrine or conclusion which either party maintains or avows; but from the *passion, appetite, and interest of particular persons* who contract greater prejudices to each other from those affections, than would naturally arise from their opinions: and *those distempers must be in some degree allayed before the meeting in a synod can be attended with better success than their meeting in other places*, and their discourses in pulpits have hitherto been, and till all thoughts of victory are laid aside, and the humble and necessary thoughts for the vindication of truth cannot be enough entertained.

"We must for the honour of all those of either persuasion, with whom we have conferred, declare that the professions and desires of *all*, for the advancement of piety and true godliness are *the same;* their professions of zeal for the peace of the church *the same;* of affection and duty to us *the same;* they all *approve Episcopacy, they all approve a set form of Liturgy*, and they *all disapprove and dislike the sin of sacrilege, and the alienation of the revenues of the Church:* and if upon these excellent foundations in submission to which there is such a harmony of affec-

tion any superstructures should be raised in the shaking those foundations and to the contracting and lessening the blessed gift of charity which is a vital part of Christian religion, we shall think ourself very unfortunate, and even suspect that we are defective in that administration of government with which God hath intrusted us."

Long and profitless mutual explanations and fruitless discussions followed the royal declaration. The severest test was applied in the provisions of the "Act of Uniformity," to prove how far "interest and affection" or conscientious principle had sway in the Nonconforming ministers. Instead of a few "particular persons" of restless spirit, two thousand ministers, more or less, on Bartholomew's Day, relinquished their livings, and, with their weeping wives and families, left their homes, with the immediate prospect before them of a dreary winter, in obedience to conscience, and after some months of mature deliberation. In the privations they endured, and the spirit of their surrender, they gave an example of collective fidelity, the moral influence of which, after more than two centuries, is still widely felt.

Bartholomew's Day.

After the infliction of this terrible stroke, intended to confound and subdue the Nonconformists, Charles II., in the fulfilment of his secret design, tried the effect of a lenitive in the proposal of a "dispensing power." Clarendon made a feint (March 17, 1662) of introducing a proviso in the Act of Uniformity, empowering the King to grant a dispensation that would exempt those who received it from the deprivation of their benefices. The same proposal was made in a more formal manner by Lord Roberts, in

Dispensing power proposed in the House of Lords.

the House of Peers, Feb. 25, 1663, in the following terms:—

"Whereas divers of her Majesty's subjects, through error of judgment and misguided consciences (whereunto the licentiousness of these late unhappy times have much contributed), do not conform themselves to the order of divine worship and service established by law; and although his Majesty and both Houses of Parliament are fully satisfied that those scruples of conscience from whence this Nonconformity ariseth are ill-grounded, and that the government of the Church, with the service thereof, as now established, is the best that is anywhere extant, and most effectual to the preservation of the Protestant religion; yet, notwithstanding that *clemency and indulgence may in time wear out these prejudices, and reduce the Dissenters to the unity of the Church;* and considering that this indulgence, how necessary soever, cannot be dispensed by any certain rule, but must vary according to the circumstances of time and the temper and principles of those to whom it is to be granted; and *his Majesty being the best judge when and to whom this indulgence is to be dispensed*, or as may not become consistent with the public peace, and without just cause of offence to others; and to this end his Majesty may be enabled to *exercise it with universal satisfaction.* Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by advice and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority thereof; that the King's Majesty may, by letters patent, under the Great Seal, or by such other ways as to his Majesty shall seem meet, *dispense with* one Act or law made last Session of this Parliament, entitled 'An Act for the Uniformity,' etc., *and with any other laws* or statutes concerning the same, or requiring oaths or subscriptions, or which do enjoin conformity to the order, discipline, and worship established in this Church, and the penalties in the said laws imposed, or any of them, and may grant licenses to such of his Majesty's subjects of the Protestant religion of whose *inoffensive and peaceable disposition he shall be persuaded*, to enjoy the use and exercise of their religion and worship, though differing from the public rule. The said laws and statutes, or any disabilities, incapacities notwithstanding, or penalties in them or any of them, or any matter or thing thereof

Provided always, and be it enacted, that no such indulgence, licence, or dispensation hereby to be granted shall be construed to extend to the tolerating or permitting the use or exercise of the Popish or Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom."

The Commons, in an address to the King, Feb. 27, 1662-3, replied:—

Address of the House of Commons.

"We have considered the nature of your Majesty's Declaration from Breda. We have also considered the nature of the indulgence proposed with reference to those consequences which must necessarily attend it. It will establish schism by law, and make the whole government of the Church precarious, and the censures of it of no moment or consideration at all. It will no way become the gravity or wisdom of a Parliament to pass a law at one Session for uniformity, and at the next (the reason for uniformity continuing still the same) to pass another law to frustrate the execution of it. It will expose your Majesty to the restless importunity of every sect or opinion, and of every single person that shall presume to dissent from the Church of England. It will be a cause of increasing sects and sectaries, whose numbers will weaken the true Protestant profession so far, that it will at last become difficult for it to defend itself against them: and which is yet further to be considered, those which, by being troublesome to the Government, find they cannot arrive at an indulgence, will, as their numbers increase, be yet more troublesome, that so at length they may arrive to a general toleration, which your Majesty hath declared against: and in time some prevalent sect will at last contend for an establishment, which, for aught that can be foreseen, may end in Popery. It is a thing altogether without precedent, and will take away all means of convicting recusants, and inconsistent with our methods of proceeding, and of the laws of the kingdom."

Such was the "counsel of the rulers" against the people who had given proof of the sincerity of their religious convictions, and of their concern in all things to "obey God." On their withdrawment from the parish churches, the Nonconformists were

reluctant to meet for worship in unconsecrated places; but gradually they united with the Separatists in any place where they heard the word preached: in a private dwelling, a quiet room at an inn, a barn, or other out-building. Hooke, in a letter to Davenport, dated "the last March, 1662," writes:—

"None dare preach in any place not consecrated, which occasioneth Congregational men to crave leave of others of them who have yet temples to meet in. Mr. Caryl admits two companies into his place. This, we think, will not hold long. Mr. Bridge hath no place, and many others as well as he, in city and country. Mr. Allen, of Norwich, and his company, as yet meet in a consecrated place, formerly purchased by themselves. Dr. Goodwin lieth about Moorfields, as also Mr. Walley. Dr. Owen is meditating his removal out of the land. The Presbyterians are in extreme contempt, and their forwardness to bring in the King not at all regarded. The City swarms with beggars. Many ministers and other good men are imprisoned and brought to the assizes. Crofton is in the Tower. Vavasor Powel in the Fleet. Jessey under restraint. Oxenbridge going to Surinam, and Maldon to Amsterdam. Mr. Geoffry died like a stout Christian. Gillaspy escaped."

Nonconformists scattered.

On June 24, 1663, Hooke writes to Davenport:—

"Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Caryl, and one more of our Congregational brethren, were sent for by the King, who gave them his hand to kiss. He was with them above an hour. He stood bare all the time, and treated them very graciously. Dr. Goodwin being their mouth, by agreement, acquainted the King how that in doctrinals we agree with all Protestant churches, and that we have in our churches all parts of worship, as preaching, praying, reading, and singing of psalms, and the sacraments: and then he showed how our principles were consistent with ecclesiastical and civil estate. As for differing from the common way in point of discipline, he answered that from instances abroad in other nations. The King declared that h ever was and should be against persecuting men for their faith

Congregational Ministers sent for by the King.

and consciences, for that was of God, and man could not help it. He also declared that he would not be King of a party, but of the whole, and that he would do all he could for their liberty, and that he *would keep off all severity from them.* He also advised them to *meet wisely, and not in too great number*, for the present, till they see what the Parliament might be wrought to: and also advised them to look to their teaching, that no offence might be given that way. The King carried it very frankly, freely, heartily, and candidly towards them, and declared his satisfaction in what they had said to him, and desired them to be so charitable towards him as to believe that he spoke his heart to them, and that he intended to act what he had said."

Perplexity of the people.

A few weeks after this deceptive interlude, Hooke writes, June 24, 1663: "Several meetings and ministers have been of late discovered and scattered. Mr. Bridge was lately in the City, and at his last meeting found out with a company by the officers, and by the courage and wisdom of a dear friend of his and mine there present, was well brought off. The officer would have dismissed all but him; but he was prevailed with, through the goodness of God. But Mr. Bridge was fain to leave the City next day. The people of God are very sad, not knowing what to do or whither to go."

The Cavalier soldiers were anxious to have a commission to make a raid amongst the conventicles. Sir Thomas Bridges writes:—

"Keynsham, near Bristol,
"October 5, 1663.

"An information was brought me but yesterday, which I shall improve to the King's advantage the best I can, of a conventicle held by three Nonconformists, called ministers (who lurk in or about Bristol, in Gloucestershire), at a farmer's house, about four miles distant from me and about eight from Bath. So bold are

they in the abuse of his Majesty's mercy, and so close in their contrivances, which derive a *great advantage from the affections of a people apt to conceal them*, with these old incendiaries who now endeavour to draw pity by the badge of persecution which they assume. There were assembled, as my intelligencer assures me, above three hundred persons from Bristol and several parts of the country: what their designs are, the issue of their former covering themselves with sheep's clothing gives us just cause to fear and be cautious to prevent their mischievous effects. But whence they should take encouragement to so high presumption I cannot guess, unless from the long unsettledness of our militia, for which we have but newly received commission, and from the ill-posture of that of Bristol, one of the most considerable towns under his Majesty's subjection.

Cavaliers ask to put down Meetings by Military force.

"*I perceive that imprisonment by justices of the peace have not the operation upon these presuming Sectaries as possibly the sight of a troop of horse now and then might have, which we shall be ready to put in motion: a troop at a time, and relieve them after a week's duty in the service of marching up and down and hovering about those places where the Sectaries are most numerous; if we may receive instructions how to provide for the payment of them. Which though, probably, it may not terrify those who have formerly endeavoured to justify their seditious principles by arms; yet such vigilance will abate their confidence and never fail to strike a fear into the hearts of the country people and make them quit the valour they used to show, when they think there is nothing to oppose them*, and will be of considerable use in disciplining our militia troops—their country affairs being now well near dispatched. Yesterday I sent to the places near where this assembly was held to gain clearer information of the persons present at it. But, being engaged to attend the business of the subsidies, I can yet proceed no further in it myself, and, therefore, have referred the examination of it to another justice of the peace who goes not to our Sessions, and is a nearer neighbour to the place than myself, from whose diligence on it I hope to obtain a capacity at my return to give a more perfect account of it with the result of our consultations concerning his Majesty's supplies. In the meantime, sir, let me beg the favour of your

concealing my name and your permission to assume the title, which, with extremest industry, I shall endeavour to merit.—Sir, your most obedient servant, "THO. BRIDGES."

Military occupation of Bristol.

Sir Thomas received the royal command to enter upon the military occupation of Bristol. In a week, such was his promptitude in the emergency, he had the capacity to report the result of his expedition. With the effective co-operation of the Duke of Richmond and Sir Hugh Smith, the requisite troops were mustered, and kept continual guard. The Sectaries were circumvented. On the tenth, the house of Richard Moore, the bookseller, and his shop were searched; "but," to quote the words of the brave commander, "they could not find any seditious books or papers, excepting only two books called 'Mirabilis Annus Secundus,' and I found three other seditious books of that sort in another shop, which I shall cause to be burnt. I cannot find who were the authors of them."

Seizure of Books.

Sir Thomas exercised great discretion in destroying the books if they contained no more evidence of sedition than "certain letters" sent with the examination of the captured bookseller. "The last of the letters," John Knight says, "having neither name nor date unto, makes it somewhat doubtful that there are terms in it of dangerous consequence: he confesseth that he received this letter from Mr. Thomas Brewster, a bookseller in London, on Thursday last. The letters by post this day have been searched. As the carrier cometh to this city his packs shall also be searched. For these pamphlets I have im-

prisoned the said Richard Moore, who saith that he hath not received any pamphlets, nor doth he know or hath advice of any that are coming to him. I cannot make him explain what Brewster meaneth in his letter by the words 'to the Athenians,' nor by that expression, 'that the Lord is going to do his work.' When you have examined Brewster I desire to know if I shall keep the said Moore in custody?"

The documents are still carefully preserved, and consist simply of receipts for money paid, hastily scribbled, with a word of kind "remembrance to the Athenians," and the assurance that "the Lord is going to do his work."

In another letter to the King from a military correspondent, we have the correct portrait of an "ould Cavaleer," unconsciously drawn by himself. The spelling is a little peculiar and sometimes rather beclouds the sense; but this will be excused from the exact view given in a literatim copy of the character and attainments of the writer. We have only to premise that he was in debt to the amount of eighty-nine pounds, and anxious for "protection." This may account in some degree for his incoherence:—

Letter of an old Cavalier.

"Dread Sufrene,—In ye time of yor maty's banishment yor truly loyale subjecte did write a few observations collected out of Hollye Scriptures, provinge thereby that these times weare the times of the Antichrist, which of ould were spoken of the holley apostells and profits accordinge ye true caracters which they had laid down concerninge him: that is for his name, his marke, and number of his name, and allso what he should doe, all fullfilled in yor days; the which observations yor loyal subjecte did

presente to your sacred Ma^ty upon yo^r restoration to yo^r kingdom: and seeinge that upon yo^r restoration the head of that abominable Beaste was broken, yet by yo^r unparalleled pardon the viperous broode and spawne of y^e Beaste remained. Yo^r loyale subjecte did know upon a certainty that they would not acksepte thereof (beinge unkababele of pardon) seeigne they will not acknowledge theyr gilte, and therefore, apte and readye to make insurrection upon all occasions: therefore, upon yo^r first cawlinge of this honourable Parlement by yo^r Ma^ty's write, yo^r loyale subjecte, accordigne to his dutye, write up to one of yo^r House of Comons signifying that our trained band was inconsiderable for y^e security of yo^r Ma^ty's kingdom in peace, seeinge they weare a mixed people of several judgements (tho' the oficers weare good), and that a standing army of horse in everye countie, a fite proportion might be redye to move upon anye occasion, and yo^r *ould cavaleers employed therein*—signifyinge that in so doinge seceuratye would redound to yo^r Ma^ty and peopele, and allso it would *helpe to gratifye yo^r loyalle party for their former services.* This being moved in the House and consented to, yet laid aside, I feared that which came to pas, thoe by God's goodness prevented. Yet I am confidente they will niver be at quiete, till there be a course taken that they may se pallpabelly an impossabilatie to get ahead to prevaile. ffor as for y^e Puritanicale Presbyterians in these parts it is mad knowne to me by one of theyre owne partie that *there is above seven score nonformable ministers in this countie*, then what greate number may theyre favourits be: and as for the Independents, there is many more, consistinge of Anabaptists, Millanaries, and Quakers, all of which is like Samson's foxe's tied togither by the tailes, tho' they loke severall ways with theyr heads; yet all of them joyntly agaynst monarke and apeoscapasye. And not only so, but these wicked wretches pretends that there is as much reason that they should be tolerated as the Papists: and sum of y^e loyale partie blined with that opinion, niver consideringe that the Papists was not giltie of y^e late damnable war; but, faithful to their supreme, lost theyre lives in the wars; and sum of them put to death in could blode in severall parts of your nasion. They allways agreeinge with us for monarcye and apeoscapasye and many other principales. Whereas the Puritanicale Presbyterians was allways

disturbers of Church and State wheresoever they weare: the Anabaptists, Indipendents, and Quakers in like maner, all these active in the late dismall warres. Still retaininge theyr damnable opinion which led them thereunto; therefore what can we expecte from them if they be parmitted, and iff all that profes themselves such and those that faver them weare numbered, I am confidante they would excede two parts of y^e^ common peopele: and for y^e^ gentrie and nobileatye of such as are truley loyale ar not the most of them eyther of consangunaty or else united in afinatye with such as hath bene and (is to be feared) still our enemyes—all which hinder: so that it is very hard to give a fit purgation *without compitente force in the fielde which advansed it weare easse to be done.*

"O, my lord, let no man hinder you of a spedye remedye leaste our Christian profession be dashte, yo^r^ loyale people destroyed, yo^r^ sacred Ma^tie^ and royal familye in danger whose lives are of more worth than ten thousand of the best subjects: and *let yo^r^ peopel know that you can strike.* Let not any hinder you. Rede, I humbly pray you, yo^r^ grandfather's booke (of ever blesed memory) who, Saloman-like, wrote to yo^r^ onckell Henry, that ffamous Prinse, and amongst other things did advise him not to trust a Puritane more than he woulde truste a hylander or a borderinge thefe: and not so much as sufer one in his kingdom, excepte one, and that one for the exercise of his pasience, as Socrateese did with his ill wife. That booke was yo^r^ father's, of ever blesed memory, after his brother's death: for it was suficient counsell write from experience: yea, like a profite, that which is hinted and forwarned by him was wofully fulfilled in o^r^ dayes: but the Lord God of heaven and earth who hath preserved yo^r^ sacred Ma^ty^ be with you to purge out of yo^r^ dominions y^e^ remnantes of y^e^ abominable broude of Antichrist yet remaininge: and then I doute not but yo^r^ name shal be made famus throw y^e^ earth, God makinge you *an instrument to reconcile the churches of Christendome and most chiefly the Church of Rome and us*, who by y^e^ fiery spirits of Antichristian Puritanes in former ages weare divided: most chiefly by that hote spirit of John Wiclif, of Oxford, whose tenantes went into Germany, and Holley; Brandinge, the Bishope of Rome, with y^e^ titele of Antichriste wherof he himself was giltie, and a forerunner of the Antichrist: and though I am ould yet I hope

to see a reformation (by yo^r Ma^tie's means) throw Christendome, that as the Antichriste acted his pageants against monarcye and apeoscapasye in yo^r father's dayes and prevailed, so yo^r Majesty shall expell Antichrist out of yo^r dominions, and the rise of y^e christian world in yo^r days and then God shall be glorified when it is fulfilled acordinge to the sayinge of y^e profite, there shall be one Lord and his name one throw y^e earth. O, my dread sufrene lord, pardon yo^r loyall subjecte. I pray you that I may find some favour in yo^r sight. Yo^r Ma^ty's truly loyale subjecte,

"ABRAHAM NELSON,

"Garsdall, in Yorkshire."

"Nov^r the first day, 1664.

"Maney thinges more (dread sufrene) I might ad tendinge to y^e discovery of their disloyalty, as theyr cheating yo^r Ma^ty of yo^r harth money—through lyes and scandells—theyr takinge everye thinge which is done in Church and State in y^e worst sence thay can invente, and so implicitly and covertly they will speake—wary to kepe themselves from y^e halter—but to hatch disobedience in y^e hearers, which makes me mourne in secrite, and also to write these lines to yo^r Ma^ty. Besides all this they are so craftie that they know yo^r Ma^ty cannot, as the case stands at present, eyther forse them to be conformable (they are so numerous) withoute puttinge your kingdom in danger. But if you had a compident forse in y^e field, then they might be brought to theyr allegiance, and acknowledge yo^r supremacy; or by theyr unavoidable obstinasee sentensed justly to death or banishment. Oh, my lord, I beseech yo^r Ma^ty to pardon yo^r servant's boldnes. "A. N."*

Comprehension.

Alternated with the violence of persecution, the proposal of comprehension was renewed. Buckingham was particularly anxious to combine all parties in an ecclesiastical conglomeration. Many Christian people, wearied with oppression, driven into corners, and deprived of religious ordinances, were disposed to surrender their rights, so that they might again hear the preachers they so much esteemed. It was a time of great national

* S. P. Dom.

peril, requiring the utmost care and discretion, combined with fidelity and courage on the part of a public leader on the side of freedom. Many ministers of exemplary piety, and large Christian experience, were occupied as they had opportunity in teaching the people, and in preparing the theological literature known as that of the Puritan Divines.

Devotedness of the Ejected ministers.

At the time of the Plague, and of the Great Fire in London, they went incessantly amongst the sick and dying; occupying at the risk of imprisonment the pulpits vacated by the clergy, who had fled in panic from the desolated city. But we look in vain for any band of men who were prepared to stand in the breach, and to contend with firmness and wisdom for truth and freedom with the faithless king, arbitrary statesmen, and a licentious Court. John Howe, soaring on the wings of holy imagination, sought repose for his spirit in an empyrean region of purity and love.

He retired from the "strife of tongues," first to his quiet home at Great Torrington, then to the mansion of his friend Lord Massarene, at Antrim in Ireland, and finally to Holland, with Lord Wharton. On special occasions he could write with considerable pungency, blended with refined sensibility to a persecuting prelate; but he could make no bold or direct stand against the wickedness and tyranny in high places. Splendidly endowed with spiritual gifts, he had neither commanding personal address nor ready utterance.

"I am naturally bashful," he says, "pusillanimous, easily brow-beaten, solicitous about the fitness and unfitness of speech or silence, afraid, especially

having to do with those who are constant in the *arcana imperii* of being accounted uncivil or busy, etc., and the distemper being natural (most intrinsically) is less curable."

Baxter, matchless as a faithful and earnest preacher, and of marvellous activity, was unequal to the kind of service demanded. He was wanting in self-control, and in the excitement of polemics, expressed himself with bitterness that gave the enemy complete advantage.

Owen, the Representative of the Nonconformists.

Evangelical nonconformity found a noble bulwark, under Providence, in John Owen. Every question in theology, either for exposition or defence, he handled with the freedom and power of an acknowledged master. He had a thorough acquaintance with public affairs, and was equally informed as to the state and condition of religious parties. Judicious in counsel, and prompt in acts of benevolence, he was trusted by all He was ready to speak or to act in any crisis with the energy required; and yet with the wisdom that rendered his advocacy as safe as it was powerful.

The King sent for him more than once as the medium of communication worthy of the most confidence; but there is no trace of corrupt compliance, or the betrayal of the interests of his persecuted brethren.

Increased severities.

Laws were now passed to increase the pressure on the Nonconformists. An Act to Suppress Seditious Conventicles, in 1664, declaring it to be a transportable offence for more than five persons to unite in religious worship; except

according to the forms of the Church of England, the Oxford, or Five Mile Act, in 1665 (banishing all Nonconformists from corporate towns); the Conventicle Act in 1670 (forbidding the attendance of any religious meeting, except in the Church of England) on pain of fine, imprisonment, banishment and death. Owen from time to time offered his manly protest:—

"Let the prelates or rulers of the Church," he said "advise, press unto, and exercise this coercive power whilst they please. They may as evidently see the issue of it as if it were already accomplished. Some may be ruined; multitudes provoked; some few be enforced into a hypocritical compliance with what is against the light of the conscience; compassion be stirred up in the residue of the people for innocent sufferers; and by all indignation against themselves and their ways increased. Considering what are the things about which these differences are; how deeply rooted a dissent from the present Establishment is in the mind of multitudes; for how long a season that persuasion hath been delivered down unto them, even ever since the first reformation, gradually increasing in its suffrage to this day. The advantages that it hath had for its growth and improvement, with successes evidently suitable unto them; and the resolution that men's spirits are raised unto to suffer and forego the utmost of their earthly concernments rather than to live and die in an open rebellion to the commanding light of God in their consciences; it is the utmost vanity to have other expectations of the end of such a course of rigour and persecution. In the meantime I am sure, whoever gets by persecution, the King loseth by it." Protest of Owen.

Confirmatory of this picture of the decay of the country, we have the statement made in a memorial to Charles II. by Lord Ashley on the expiration of the first Conventicle Act:—

"A considerable number of your Majesty's subjects," he says, "are constantly transported to the American plantations for servants, and also transport themselves to those and other

parts, to enjoy the liberty of their mistaken consciences: and our products of lands thus increasing, and the persons decreasing, who should make the consumption of them, it must necessarily follow that the value of our lands must be reduced to a disability of maintaining the owners, and paying your Majesty's necessary aids: and our manufactures become few and so costly, that they will not be tendered to foreign markets at such rates as our neighbours can afford them; whereby the merchant must lose the trade, and your Majesty the revenue of it.

Memorial of Lord Ashley.

"If this be admitted to be the cause of the decay of rents, then, certainly, the recovery must be by using all rational and just ways and means to invite persons from foreign parts to supply the present defect, and stop the drain that carries away the natives from us.

"In order whereunto, it is humbly offered to your Majesty, whether any other expedient whatsoever will be effective to this great and good end without granting that liberty in their religion which every man is fond of: and on what mistakes soever their profession be taken up, whether in point of blind zeal or in point of reputation they will hardly recede from it for any consideration, as we find by too sad experience of the many factions which the late unhappy times have made among us, whom no severity of law in the execution thereof can reclaim in the Church of England.

"It seems to me, that the late act against conventicles hath put it out of question that a toleration is lawful; for it tolerates any Dissenters from the church of England to worship God after a different manner, provided they do not assemble in a greater number than is limited by the statute, which limit, I suppose, was sent on the single consideration of preserving the public peace. If public peace then may be preserved with it, it is not unlawful to remove that pale so far as may to the work of the present design, of retaining those Dissenters who are among us, and attracting others from abroad."

Archbishop Sheldon differed in opinion from Ashley, and contended that the Dissenters were few in number, and composed chiefly of the lowest classes in the community.

In 1669 Sheldon ordered the clergy to institute inquiry into the character, number, and condition of Nonconformists in every diocese. The statistical returns show a marvellous growth of voluntary churches. The reports of the several districts are often curious. For example:—

Inquiry instituted by Sheldon

"In the town of Knutsford," it is stated, "there are public conventicles held every Sunday at the time of divine service. There is one meeting of Anabaptists to the number of four hundred and upward, to whom one, Captain Spencer, is the preacher: another there is of Quakers, to a great number, to whom Captain Crooke is preacher. He was justice of peace under Cromwell, is of dangerous principles, a subtle fellow, and one who hath much influence upon the people of that town and the country about. Each of these have their public places fitted for their meetings as if they were allowed by authority. There be two parsons of the two churches there; who are judged to be *not so well qualified as were to be wished* for that place: the one of them, Austin by name, is reported to be of scandalous life, and it is published abroad that some tanners and other tradesmen of that town made him drunk on the way from London thither, and one of the tanners did set Austin upon his horse, which horse threw him off, and ran home to the tanner's house, whereupon the tanner's wife supposing her husband had been robbed, raised the town, and there went forth a great number to seek for the tanner, and about two miles from the town, the company that went forth met the tanner carrying Austin the parson back, and so they marched with him, as it were in triumph. And this is made the talk of all the country round about. 'Tis desired inquiry may be made, whether the said Austin be as is reported. 'Tis said also, that he lives from his wife, and is of ill-fame on that account. 'Tis wished there were other clergymen of better fame, and better qualified to deal with that factious people."

Knutsford.

Of Stepney it is reported:—

"Those meetings of Independents and Anabaptists, order the matter so to have a meeting every day in the week, at one or other of their meeting-houses they baptize many of our children. Stepney.

"All these meetings are fixed. There are many others at private houses, sometimes at one house, sometimes at another. The several meetings of the same persuasion consist for the most part of the same persons.

"They are much increased by stragglers that walk on Sundays for recreation, and go out of curiosity.

"The generality of these meetings consist of women and persons of mean rank.

"Those meetings have increased since the rigour of the Oxford Act was suspended; whilst the magistrates were active, they were rarely heard of, except Quakers, and those not a quarter the number they are.

"Many of these meeting-people, especially Presbyterians and Independents did, till of late frequent Church, and will easily be reconciled again if they see government resolute.

"Since the death of Sir William Ryder and Major Manly, who kept his parish in good order, there is no justice of peace in the parish."

Of Streatham the return made is :—

"None but of late by stealth—about thirty or forty, mean and of ill-fame—meet in the night. Teachers uncertain, and pitiful fellows."

Scurrilous comments of this kind accompany the statistical returns from every part of the country.

The Conventical Act was renewed in 1670 with heavier penalties. Sheldon addressed a circular letter to all the bishops of his province, commanding them to take notice of all Nonconformists, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors of conventicles, especially of preachers or teachers in them; and of the places where they are held: ever keeping a more watchful Circular letter of Sheldon.

eye over the cities and great towns, from whence the mischief is for the most part derived unto the lesser villages and hamlets, etc. And wheresoever they find such wilful offenders, that then with a hearty affection to the worship of God, the honour of the King and his laws, and the peace of the Church and kingdom, they do address themselves to the civil magistrates, justices, and others concerned, imploring their help and assistance for preventing and suppressing the same, according to the late act in that behalf made and set forth. What the success will be we must leave to Almighty God. Yet I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts seriously, by God's help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provision the Act contains for our advantage, we shall, in a few months, see a great alteration in the distractions of these times."

Savage treatment of Covenanters in Scotland.

The Presbyterians of Scotland were savagely treated. The Royal Warrant Book, in twelve thick folio volumes, containing the letters of Charles II. and James II. to the secret council, and the instructions given to the bishops and military commanders, exhibit their ferocity in the strongest light. Presbyterianism was abolished at a stroke. The Solemn League and Covenant was burnt by the common hangman: the Episcopal Service Book enforced under the severest penalties. The "Outed" ministers were forbidden to come within twenty miles of their former cures. The people were prohibited from giving to them food or shelter. And it was at their peril that they suffered them to baptize their children, or to cele-

brate the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. The King gave explicit command in certain cases to compel the people by torture to disclose all they knew concerning the fugitives pursued by the officers sent to destroy them.

Hooke writes to Davenport, "25, 6 month, '62:"—

"Thousands of people in the west of Scotland go out every day into the fields, where their ministers preach to them, that were formerly turned out. A Scotch bishop hath said that either the King must give them liberty or else make a law to burn them. There is, and has been a very great spirit of faith and prayer abroad in these nations, especially in this nation."

The details of the atrocities committed are too voluminous and too sad for recital.

The troops acting in concert.

The following documents indicate the spirit of the clergy. The Bishop and Synod met at Wigtown, 25th October, 1664, and on the following day passed an Act "anent *such as separate* from public ordinances:"—

Act of the Bishops at Wigtown.

"The which day it was represented to the bishops and Synod, by divers ministers present, that many of their parishioners did wilfully absent themselves from the preaching of the Word and other divine ordinances, and refuse to bring their children to the church to be baptized by them, but either keep them unbaptized, or took them to *outed ministers of their own principles* to be baptized privately by them. Therefore, the bishop and Synod ordains all the ministers within this diocese of Galloway, to take notice of such persons as have absented themselves hitherto from their churches and other divine ordinances, and conform not to the Act of Council made for remand hereof, and to admonish such persons in their several parishes to keep the church, and that upon three several Lord's days in time of divine service, and in case after the said admoni-

tion, they shall continue obstinate, to delate and present their names to the bishop, that letters may be raised to cite them before the High Commission, to be punished for their contempt of the ordinances, and of the laws of Church and State, made for observing of the same. As also, because it was thought neither possible nor necessary that all the common people of a parish who willingly absent themselves from church, should be cited to the High Commission, or that honourable Judicatory should be troubled with such a multitude of *common people* as might be brought before them upon that account; the bishops and Synod *considering seriously* what course were left to be taken for *curing* of the obstinate spirits of such persons, and finding that the lenity that hitherto hath been used towards them hath rather encouraged them to go on in contempt of divine ordinances than been a means to amend them; therefore, the bishop and Synod think it fit that their obstinacy should be represented to the Lords of his Majesty's Secret Council, and that their Lordships humbly desired *to lead in a party of soldiers to quarter upon such obstinate persons in every parish, as shall be nominated to them by the minister* thereof, until they pay *twenty shillings* Scots for *every day's absence* from the church, conformable to the Act of Council made thereanent."

At a later period another expedient was devised to reduce the people to conformity. The obstinate were bound firmly to stakes driven in the sands at the rising of the tide, and, if not frightened into submission at the sight of the rolling flood, were left to perish under its deadly force

The temper of the soldiers pressed into the service of the Church we may infer from the following communication:—

"Holyrood House, 6th Dec., 1666.

"My Lord,—Ther being nothing new to give his Matie notice of that requyres great haist, I only make usse of the ordinarie pacquet. Bot if anything of concernment occures, I shall then despatch expresses. To adde to what I informed you in my last, I being to take journey with the forces the morrow to the west; the Councell

Ferocity of the soldiers.

hes sent a commissioun to many noblemen and gentlemen ther to try and punish such of the rebells as are or can be apprehended upon the place, which I hope will proceed verrie brisklie. Bot the number being great, and the prisoners inconsiderable, I shall intreat to know his Ma^tie^ pleasure, if I shall put them all to ther tryal, and so hang them, or if they shall be banished the kingdome, and sent to Barbados. This I am pressed to say by severall of the Counsell—*not that I am wearie of causing hang* for such rebellious traitors. Colonel Wallace, who was ther cheife commander, is reported, imediatlie after ther defeat, to have pressed ane fisher boatt upon the west coast, and so is fled to Ireland; but this is only a report, but nothing of certaintie, yet verye probable; and if I find it trew when I go to the west, I will despatch an express to my Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in hope we may catch him ther. We find by the furdest we can learn concerning him that was called Goodman, that it was one Mr. Andrew Mackonall, ane Irish minister, who was active upon the plot in Ireland with blood; but, alas! we cannot find him out as yet. Ther unconforme ministers were chief commanders amongst them, and the gallantest among them, whose name was Crukeshanck, received the just reward for rebellion upon the field, which is death and damnation. If many of the prisoners had been so used, it had been much better, and *my trouble would have been much lesse;* yet it was no great wonder many of them had quarter, *it being their constant practice to kneel down, and cry 'Mercie for Chryst's sake.'* This accompt is all at present your L^p^ shall receave from your Lor^p^ humble servant, ROTHES." *

"This day in Councell there is nyne more of the rebells that we have ordained imediatlie to go to tryall, so that next weeke they go to pot. The Councell has likewayes *this day ordered ther heads who are to be executed the morrow to be sent to Landricke, and there to be put up upon the gates and markett-place, that being the place wher they did often swear the League and Covenant.* Ther are some prisoners daylee comming in, so that ther are now in this prison-house above one hundred and twentie, all of them being only mean beggarlie fellows, bot stubborn in their wicked and rebellious way; *the most of them declaring their willingnes to dye for the Covenant, which renders them, in my opinion incapable of mercie.*"

* Additional MSS., 23, 116.

It is not within our present design to follow the course of the Covenanters in Scotland. The purpose of the King to exterminate them completely is evident from the instructions sent to the secret Council. The following Decrees, it will be seen, were issued on the same day:—

"Forasmuch as by our proclamation of the 29th June last past, we did, from our tender desire to reclaim such of our subjects as have been misled by ignorance or blind zeal, suspend the execution of all laws against such as frequent house-conventicles within the bounds and upon the limitations therein expressed; ordaining all such as should be licensed to preach by our indulgence to find surety unto you for their peaceable behaviour, by which uparalleled clemency and tenderness (after a total suppression of the late rebellion we might reasonably have expected that, their minds being eased, they should have been brought to a meek and quiet submission to our government and humble obedience to our laws; yet, notwithstanding all their insolences, murders and treasons, and our gracious indemnities and indulgences, such is the perverseness of that schismatical and rebellious generation that they, in contempt of our greatest condescension and favours, continue to run out to field-conventicles in several parts of that kingdom—which as our laws have declared—so in experience have they been found to be rendevouses of rebellions, their insurrections against us and our authority in 1666 and 1679 having been nothing less save so many roving and continued field-conventicles, and by force and violence to oppose the legal settlement of regular ministers, beating, stoning, and wounding them in a most savage and barbarous manner, and to invade the pulpits of orthodox ministers, preaching and baptizing in avowed conventicles in our capital city of Edinburgh. By all which insupportable and unnecessary provocations they have notoriously forfeited our favour and indulgence, none could judge it severity to maintain our authority and laws by such effectual courses as should ruin that unsatiable tribe and faction. Yet, being willing to evidence unto all the world our earnest desire to reduce them to quiet and obedience by milder and gentler

methods, and to render them utterly inexcusable we do resolve for some time to continue that our indulgence unto them during our royal pleasure; if peradventure we may yet find any good effects produced thereby upon them, only for your better dispensing and regulating thereof (lest the gangrene spread too far) we have thought fit to send you the enclosed instructions (of the date of these presents) to which we do expect your ready and exact compliance. "LAUDERDALE."

"14 May, 1680."

"CHARLES R. Instructions to our Privy Council of our ancient Kingdom of Scotland, for regulating the Indulgence. May, 1680.

"I. You are not to suffer any Nonconformist to preach who is banished out of any parish or corporation in England, nor any who, since the last indemnity, hath preached in places or cities which are excepted in our Proclamation of the 29th June last past; as you are to suffer none to preach who are not licensed by you, or do not appear at your bar to receive your licence; so you must licence none to preach in any of the shires on the north side of the river Tay, but are strictly to put our laws in execution against all such delinquents; and, further, you are careful to cause all such meeting-houses as are or have been erected without your warrant for preachers unlicensed by you to serve therein, to be pulled down.

"II. You are to allow no house-conventicles nor meeting-houses to be set up for any Nonconforme preacher at any nearer distance than of a mile to any parish church where a regular incumbent serves, and if any such be already erected within a lesser distance, as particularly at Newbottle, you are to cause to pull them down immediately.

"III. You are to grant licence to none of the Nonconforme preachers to be settled or exercise any part of the ministry in that parish whereof he was formerly minister, lest upon the pretence of an indissoluble relation of that people to their old minister they totally abandon their orthodox pastor settled by law amongst them.

"IV. You are to take care to restrain such Nonconformist preachers as you licence from preaching in any other parish than that to which they are indulged, and from baptizing the

children of any save those of the congregations for which they are licensed; and seeing, by our laws, the jurisdiction of the church is to be managed by our bishops and those commissionated by them, you are to restrain those Nonconformists from exercising of church discipline; and for avoiding of confusion in the records of marriages, we do require you to inhibit and restrain them from marrying any person, being resolved to leave the discipline and marrying of people entirely to the respective regular ministers to whose parishes the persons concerned do belong; and you are to esteem the breach of any part of this fourth article an unpeaceable behaviour by which their sureties are to forfeit their bonds, if they continue after intimation.

"V. You are to take special care not to license any Nonconforme preacher in any parish where the generality, the chief and intelligent persons are regular and orderly, since we do not intend to break or divide orderly parishes to gratify a few inconsiderable, ignorant, and factious people.

"VI. You are most exemplarily to punish such indulged or Nonconforme preachers as shall be found to keep classical meetings in pretended presbyteries or synods, these being the grand nurseries of schism and sedition, wherein usually they usurp the power of discipline, and privately, try, licence and ordain schismatical preachers, and keep ill-correspondences to the endangering of our government.

"VII. You are carefully to put in execution your Acts for removing the families of irregular outed ministers out of the cities of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Glasgow—these being usually the resorts of disaffected persons, and the secret nurseries of schism and trouble.

"VIII. And in regard to your proclamation of the 29th day of June last past, we have declared our firm resolution not to suffer the chief seat of our government to be pestered with irregularities, and, therefore, would not allow any Nonconforme preacher to be licensed to preach in our city of Edinburgh, or within two miles round about it; and now, having found by experience that this distance is not sufficient to preserve that our city from the danger of infection, by reason that the citizens and others flock out in multitudes to these irregular meetings, when they are kept at nearer distances, whereby the city is still in hazard to be corrupted in its influence and loyalty. We do,

therefore, require you to license none of those Nonconforme preachers to preach in our said city, nor within twelve miles' distance therefrom, and, if any shall be already licensed by you in any parish nearer than twelve miles to Edinburgh, you are immediately to withdraw your licence and to cause to shut up the meeting-houses and to order the preacher so licensed to preach no more within the distance aforesaid.

"IX. And seeing we are informed that the regular ministers in Galloway and in some other places are exposed to great danger from the fury of some blind zealots, among whom they serve, and that even the necessaries for life, and the help of servants and mechanics are denied unto them for their money, you are, in a most particular manner to consider their present case, and to consult the protection and the security of their persons in the best manner, and to see that the sheriffs, justices, and other magistrates be careful to have them defended and secured in their persons and goods, and the necessaries for living furnished and supplied unto them at the usual, ordinary rates of the country, to the end that they may be effectually relieved, and that our ancient kingdom may be vindicated from any just imputation of so great and barbarous inhumanity.—Given at our court at Windsor Castle, the 14th of May, 1680, and of our reign the 32nd year,

"By his Ma^ty's command,

"LAUDERDALE."

Covenanter's Communion.

The "outed" ministers held "field-conventicles," notwithstanding the royal prohibition, and, when threatened with an attack, prepared for their defence, whilst celebrating the Communion Service. John Blackader, a leading minister, describes the scene at East Nisbet in the Merse :—

"The Communion elements had been prepared, and the people in Teviotdale advertised. Mr. Welsh and Mr. Riddell had reached the place on Saturday. When Mr. Blackader arrived, he found a great assembly, and still gathering from all airts. It was rumoured that the Earl of Hume, as ramp a youth as any in the country,

intended to assault the meeting with his men and militia, and that parties of the regulars were coming to assist him. Upon this we drew hastily together about seven or eight score horse on the Saturday, equipped with such furniture as they had. Pickets of twelve or sixteen men were appointed to reconnoitre and ride towards the suspected parts. Single horsemen were dispatched to greater distances, to view the ground, and give warning in case of attack. The remainder of the horse were drawn round, to be a defence, at such distance as they might hear a sermon, and be ready to act, if need be. Every means was taken to compose the multitude from needless alarms, and prevent, in a harmless way, any affront that might be offered to so solemn and sacred a work. Though many, of their own accord, had provided for their safety—and this was the more necessary when they had to stay three days together sojourning by the *lions' dens and the mountains of leopards*—yet none had come armed with hostile intentions.

"We entered on the administration of the holy ordinance, committing it and ourselves to the invisible protection of the Lord of hosts, in whose name we were met together. Our trust was in the arm of Jehovah, which was better than weapons of war or the strength of the hills. The place where we convened was every way commodious, and seemed to have been formed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the water side (the Whittader). On either hand there was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. Above us was the clear blue sky, for it was a sweet and calm Sabbath morning, promising, indeed, one of the days of the Son of Man. There was a solemnity in the place befitting the occasion, and elevating the whole soul to a pure and holy frame. The communion-tables were spread on the green by the water, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae face, which was crowded from top to bottom—full as pleasant a sight as ever was seen of that sort. Each day at the congregation's dismissing, the ministers with their guards, and as many of the people as could, retired to their quarters in three several country towns, where they might be provided with necessaries. The horsemen drew up in a body till the people left the place, and then marched in goodly array

behind at a little distance, until all were safely lodged in their quarters. In the morning, when the people returned to the meeting, the horsemen accompanied them. All the three parties met a mile from the spot, and marched in a full body to the consecrated ground. The congregation being all fairly settled in their places, the guardsmen took their several stations, as formerly. These accidental volunteers seemed to have been the gift of Providence; and they secured the peace and quiet of the audience. From Saturday morning when the work began, until Monday afternoon, we suffered not the least affront or molestation from our enemies, which appeared wonderful. At first there was some apprehension, but the people sat undisturbed, and the whole was closed in as orderly a way as it had been in the time of Scotland's brightest noon.

"The ordinance of the Last Supper, that memorial of his dying love till his second coming, was signally countenanced and backed with power and refreshing influence from above. Blessed be God, for He hath visited and confirmed his heritage when it was weary. In that day Zion put on the beauty of Sharon and Carmel; the mountains broke forth into singing, and the desert place was made to bud and blossom as the rose. Few such days were seen in the desolate Church of Scotland; and few will ever witness the like. There was a rich effusion of the Spirit shed abroad, in many hearts; their souls filled with heavenly transports, seemed to breathe in a diviner element, and to burn upwards, as with the fire of a pure and holy devotion. The ministers were visibly assisted to speak home to the conscience of the hearers. It seemed as if God had touched their lips with a live coal from off his altar; for they who witnessed declared they carried more like ambassadors from the court of heaven than men cast in earthly mould.

"The tables were served by some gentlemen and persons of the gravest deportment. None were admitted without tokens, as usual, which were distributed on Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers, or persons of trust, to be free of public scandals. All the regular forms were gone through. The communicants entered at one end, and retired at the other, a way being kept clear to take their seats again on the hill-side. Mr. Welsh preached the action sermon, and served the first two tables, as he was ordinarily put to do, on such occa-

sions. The other four ministers, Mr. Blackader, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Riddell, and Mr. Rae, exhorted the rest in their turn; the table services were closed with solemn thanksgiving; and solemn it was, and sweet and edifying to see the gravity and composure of all present, as well as of all parts of the service.

"The communion was peaceably concluded, all the people heartily offering up their gratitude, and singing with a joyful voice to the rock of their salvation. It was pleasant at the nightfall to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hill, the whole congregation joining with one accord, and praising God with the voice of psalms.

"There were two long tables and one short across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat at every table. There were sixteen tables in all, so that about three thousand two hundred communicated that day."

It was made high treason to sign the Covenant,* and a petition of ministers to hold a Synod was treated as an offence, to be visited with the forfeiture of their livings.

Ultimately in self-defence, and fired with the ardour and courage of their race, a considerable body of the Covenanters turned round upon their oppressors, declared war, and sternly rejected the Stuarts as perfidious, tyrannical, and past hope of amendment.

All classes of the people were imprisoned, tortured, or put to death by Claverhouse, and the marauders who shared with him the booty of confiscated property, but nothing could damp the courage or shake the faith of the heroic Cameronians.

* An oath disclaiming "The Solemn League and Covenant" was required to be taken in England by all persons in official position, as in the following example:—

"I, William Smith, gent., do declare that I hold there lies no obligation upon me or other person from the oath commonly called 'the Solemn League and Covenant,' and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom."—Winchester Corporation Records.

Scotland became as a wall of fire against the foreign invaders, who would have combined with the treacherous monarch to reduce the people to the spiritual serfdom of Rome.

A memoir addressed to Louis XIV., June 7, 1672, says :—

Memoir of Colbert.

"The King of England, who foresees clearly that trouble may arise for him from the conduct he is pursuing, and who displays every day more firmness and zeal in maintaining the close alliance he has made with your Majesty, as he perceives the cabals of his Court and of the town bent on destroying it, took me two days ago into his study to relate to me his thoughts on this subject, and, after having spoken to me for some time on his declaration of being a Roman Catholic in the same way as Lord Arlington, and, after having expressed his perfect satisfaction with all that your Majesty has done for him up to the present moment, he told me that nothing in the world would detach him from your Majesty's alliance and interests; and that, if you are satisfied with the exertions which he has made this year to strengthen his fleet beyond what he had promised, he could assure me you would not be less satisfied with what he could do next year at sea to co-operate with you for destroying the power of the United Provinces, provided he can incline his Parliament to grant the aids he requires for continuing the war. It is necessary to know soon the sentiments of your Majesty on two questions, in order to prepare the King of England in time. 1. If it suits your Majesty that Parliament should meet next October, or if it is desirable to procure a further adjournment; and, 2, if we should strengthen the inclination which the King of England may have to declare himself a Catholic at the end of this year, and that pressing entreaties of the Duke of York that he should do so, or if, on the contrary, we should support the reasons which may lead the King to postpone the declaration to next year, when, according to all appearance, the Dutch will be sufficiently humbled to be unable to raise any difficulty.

"I think that if your Majesty judge it to be for your glory to be the restorer and protector of the Roman Catholic religion

in England, it will be even for the interest of your cause that it should be soon established there by reason of the need which the King of England will have for more than ten years of the support of your Majesty to remedy the troubles which this change will excite from time to time in his dominions."*

Relations of Charles II. with Rome.

Charles II. entered at the same time into a correspondence with the Papal See, offering submission, and giving his promise to bring the Anglican Church within the Romish pale, on condition that the cup should be given to the laity. The correspondence on the subject was published a few years ago by Father Boero, a Jesuit in Rome.†

* Christie. Life of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, Vol. ii., App. ii., 13.

† Istoria della conversione alla Chiesa Cattolica de Carlo II. Re d'Inghelterra cavata do Scritture autentiche. Ed. originali per Guiseppe Boero, D.G.

On application to examine the original documents in Rome, I received from Dr. O'Callaghan, Rector of the English College, the following message:—"I am informed that the manuscripts from which Padre Boero's book was compiled *are no longer accessible*." The MSS. in the Vatican are not to be seen by the historical inquirer personally. Mr. Jervoise, who was instructed by Earl Granville to make inquiry on the subject, reports:—"The Cardinal (Antonelli) has stated that in regard to the *Library* students, on making known, through the proper channel, the books they wish to consult, are allowed to examine such books, and extract their own notes."

"The Cardinal observes, however, that the case is different as regards the *archives*, as there are amongst them secret documents which cannot be produced.

"The custom observed in regard to the archives is that the person desirous of making the research should specify the paper of which he wishes to make use. Search is then made; and *if there is no ground for objection, from the nature of the document itself*, a copy can be made, with a certificate appended, as to its correctness, *by the person in whose custody the archives are deposited, but the documents themselves are not exhibited to students.*"

Mr. Stevenson, the agent of the Record Office, having joined the Romish Church, is welcomed at the Vatican; but his reports under these restrictions can scarcely be received with entire confidence. The archives, on the contrary, under the direct control of the Italian Government, are accessible to all; any document published from them, therefore, can be verified.

Pending these negotiations, and to gain breathing time for his ulterior object, the King, in virtue of "the supreme power in ecclesiastical matters inherent" in him, declared an indulgence on the 15th of March, 1671-2. "Allow," he said, "a sufficient number of places, as they shall be desired, in all parts of this, our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England." Among the first granted was that of Bedford, for John Bunyan to be a teacher in the house of Josias Roughed, 9th May, 1672, in the following form :—

Indulgence of 1672.

Licence to John Bunyan and Bedford Congregational Church.

"Charles, etc., to all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other our Officers and Ministers, Civill and Military, whom it may concerne, Greeting,—In pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th March, 1671-2, Wee doe hereby permitt and licence John Bunyan to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by Us in the house of Josias Roughed, Bedford, for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England, who are of the perswasion commonly called Congregationall. With further licence and permission to him, the said John Bunyan, to teach in any other place licensed by Us according to our said Declaration.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 9th of May, in the twenty-fourth yeare of our reigne, 1672.

"By his Majesty's command,

"ARLINGTON."

"Charles, etc., to all Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other our Officers and Ministers, Civill and Military, whom it may concerne, Greeting,—In pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th of March, 1671-2, Wee have allowed, and Wee doe hereby allow, of the house of Josias Roughed, in Bedford, to be a place for the use of such as doe not conforme to the Church of England, who are of the perswasion commonly called Congregationall, to meet and assemble in, in order to their publick worship and

devotion. And all and singular our Officers and Ministers Ecclesiasticall, Civill, and Military, whom it may concerne, are to take due notice hereof. And they and every of them are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any tumult or disturbance, and to protect them in their said meetings and assemblies.

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 9th day of May, in the twenty-fourth yeare of our reigne, 1672.

"By his Majesty's command,

"ARLINGTON."

Though Bunyan had been twelve years in prison for conscience' sake, he had to wait six months longer, after the licence was granted, before he came out, bringing with him as the divine recompense for all he had suffered, the record of his glorious "dream" in the "Pilgrim's Progress."

Some hesitated to receive the indulgence because of the unconstitutional manner in which it was granted, but by the down-trodden Nonconformists in general it was welcomed with delight; the news of the happy change spread rapidly through the country. "King's messengers were dispatched with copies to the Lords-Lieutenant of Counties, and to the mayors of the principal cities; but they were outstripped by unofficial messengers of various kinds. Scotch pedlars, mounted on swift Galloway nags, carried the indulgence into the country in their packs amongst their lace and linen. Carriers in charge of country waggons spread the intelligence in every little village through which they passed. Guards of fast coaches caused the declaration to be read aloud by the landlords of inns at which they stopped to bait or change their horses. Itinerant

preachers carried the declaration in their Bibles, and read it to the congregations to which they preached. And whether the news was told in barn or kitchen, in cellar or wainscoted chamber, everywhere it awakened a thrill of gladness. The fact of the indulgence added point to many a sermon, inspired the devotion of many a prayer, and gave volume to the singing of many a psalm. The tin-streamers, as they laboured amongst the gorse on the hill-sides of Cornwall, spoke to each other joyfully of the great concessions made by the King. The weavers of Lancashire, as they bent over their looms, stopped the shuttle to sing with gladness, no longer afraid of the spy lurking at the door. The armourers of Warwickshire, the blacksmiths of Northumberland, the coal-winners of Wales, partook of the general joy. Artisans in towns, and fishermen on the coasts, manifested a similar amount of enthusiasm; while poor hinds, as they drove their awkward ploughs through the rich soil, chanted psalms with glad hearts because of the King's indulgence. An office was opened at Whitehall for the purpose of receiving applications and granting the necessary licences.

There were three forms drawn up for a meeting-place, for an itinerant preacher, and for a preacher to an assigned place. The applications quickly began to pour in. There is reason to believe that the London Dissenters organized a plan to facilitate the wishes of their brethren in the country. Several of the leading ministers signed receipts for large numbers of licences, which they dispatched by carriers into the country. After they were dealt with, the

original applications were carefully preserved, and are still in existence. In their haste to obtain the proffered privilege, applications were written upon the first scrap of paper that lay near. There are hundreds of pieces no bigger than the palm of a man's hand, containing the name and address of the writer; many of the papers bear signs of having been torn out of some book; others are large sheets, with as many as thirty addresses upon each."*

The following are specimens:—

"For Mr. Matthew Shepherd, in Clement's Lane, London.

"SIR,—You promised your endeavours to get me a licence. *I desire you would do it with all expedition you can, that we may lose no time* in improving the advantage for the good of souls, by his Majesty's declaration. The person to be allowed, I need not tell you. The house belongs to John Beamish, in Mortlake, and it is much desired the licence may be for the use of such who are of the persuasion *both Presbyterian and Congregational; for the meeting consists of both, as you know, and both are at the charge*, and to appropriate it to either will be accounted a prejudice to the others. I depend upon you, Sir,

"Your affectionate friend,

"DAVID CLARKSON."

"The person to be allowed, David Clarkson; place belongs to John Beamish, near Mortlake, Surrey."

"May 24, 1672.

"Received the two licences for Mr. STEPHEN MORE, Independent, for his meeting at the house of Barnabas Bloxam, in Winchester Yard, in Southwark. I say received by this day above written. "S. PRICE."

"CHRISTOPHER FOWLER prays to have his Majesty's gracious licence for his house in the village of Kennington, in the parish of Lambeth, in the county of Surrey; and a licence for to allow him to preach in any licensed place.—May 25, 1672."

"I, Katherine Floyde, widow, dwelling in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, do desire that a room or rooms in my

* "Congregationalist."

proper dwelling-house in the Strand may be allowed for a meeting-house.—In witness whereof I have subscribed my name,

"KATHERINE FLOYDE, widow."

"EDWARD TERRY, M.A.; Widow ANNE FLEETWOOD'S, Chalfont, Giles Congregational."

Within ten months about three thousand five hundred of these licences were granted.

Throughout the land the humble Christian societies met in the houses of friends, in small rooms hired or built for the occasion, and things were set in order by the appointment of Church officers: their progress was marvellous. "These licensed persons increased strangely," said one of the bishops, September, 1672. The orthodox poor clergy are out of heart. Shall nothing be done to support them against the Presbyterians, who grow and multiply faster than the other."* The King was advised to recall the indulgence. The licences were accordingly declared void by a Proclamation in 1674. Many of the ministers were removed at this time by death.

Hooke, in a letter to Goffe, Dec. 4, 1674, writes:—

"God hath of late years taken away many of our able ministers from us, as Mr. Greenhill, Mr. Mallory, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Loder, Mr. Elmes, Mr. Wood, Mr. Carter, Mr. Blake, and of late Mr. Venning, and Mr. Janeway, and some others. Dr. Owen succeedeth Mr. Caryl, his former fellowship joining with Mr. Caryl's. Dr. Goodwin is yet living, but hath not gone out of his house for these years, nor hath your old friend, from whom your mother is now departing, gone out of his doors about these six months. Ireland is yet quiet, in which the Papists had expectation of the Low Countries. Mr. Nathanael Mather succeedeth his brother (now dead) in being pastor to the Church at Dublin, the professing party in their land had their liberty all along during this want thereof in England."

* S. P. Dom.

Negotiations with France and Rome were continued with persevering activity. The Duke of York (James II.), the next heir to the throne, became a decided Roman Catholic. His tendencies being well known, suspicions were roused by the communications with the Roman Catholic powers that an invasion was intended. Parliament expressed alarm, and the Duke of York retired to Brussels for a time; but when the excitement was abated, he was permitted to return, and to take up his quarters in Edinburgh. A bill was proposed for his exclusion from the throne, in the event of his declaring himself opposed to the Protestant religion. During the discussion of these questions, the friends of the Duke of York urged him to attend the services of the English Church, to allay the fears of the people. Every proposal of the kind he rejected in the most peremptory manner. In a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, he writes:—"I hope, by God's grace, never to do so damnable a thing; and let my friends take their measures accordingly, and not deceive themselves and me: and let them think of other ways than these of saving monarchy, and not deceive themselves and me."

Active correspondence with Rome.

Decided course of the Duke of York.

Scotland was in commotion, as we learn from Nathanael Mather, who writes from Dublin, Aug. 25, 1679, to Increase Mather:—

"There hath lately been a rising in Scotland by Covenanters. Two of them, ministers, that were taken, have been tortured with the boot, which is a hoop of iron put on the leg, and wedges driven in till the bone cracks, and the marrow starts out; but they could get no more from them than they had said before. Let us have your prayers.

"The Boot."

I could heartily beg that the whole country of New England would set themselves in an extraordinary manner with respect to the approaching Parliament, which is to meet in the latter end of October next."

Parliament met, but the "Exclusion Bill" was lost, and the members were sent home. "All things," said the Duke of York (Edinburgh, $\frac{14}{24}$ Dec., 1680), "are quiet here, and like to continue so. The Phanatick party here, as they call them, are much dejected by the dissolution of Parliament."

The Killing time.

Persecution was renewed with unwonted vigour in 1682. In Scotland it was called the "killing time." The magistrates in England, at the Sessions, issued orders to the constables to search out all Nonconformists, and to bring before them any found attending meetings. Printed notices were sent out by the justices to warn the people of the consequences of absenting themselves from the parish church. Publicans were informed, that if they refused to take the Sacrament, they would forfeit their licences. Churchwardens who gave relief to Nonconformists would not be allowed their accounts. The justices at the Middlesex Sessions, appealed for the help of the Church in the matter:—

Methods for the promotion of Unity and Charity.

"It is by this Court desired, that the Lord Bishop of London will, by such methods as in his wisdom he shall conceive most conducible to the end, to direct those officers which are under his Lordship's jurisdiction to use their utmost diligence that all such persons may be excommunicated who shall commit crimes deserving that ecclesiastical censure. And to the intent all his Majesty's subjects may know what inconveniences do attend that punishment, this Court thinks fit to publish, that

no excommunicated person may be a witness, or returned upon juries, or sue for any debts; but that the debtor may plead excommunication in abatement to the action: and this Court desires that the Lord Bishop will please to direct that such excommunications may be published in the parish church where the persons excommunicated live, that so the people may take notice of it: and for the further *promoting of the union of his Majesty's Protestant subjects*, it is ordered by this Court, that the justices of the peace, in their several divisions, take care that the Statutes of 1° Eliz. and 3° Jac., be put in due execution, for levying one shilling upon those persons who shall not repair to their parish, or some other church or chapel, according to the said statutes, to hear divine service and sermons, which shilling is to be applied to the relief of the poor, which are very numerous in this country. It is therefore hoped by this Court, *that this pious and charitable work* will not be neglected by those who, according to their duties, ought to have a care of it, and that the justices will frequently meet in their several divisions to that end."

Judge Jeffries passed like a fiend through the several counties, sending men to prison or to the gallows, on the mere imputation of treason by spies of the worst character, who made a pecuniary profit on each conviction.

Remonstrance of Moderate Churchmen.

Moderate Churchmen, not entirely devoid of humanity, or lost to a sense of Christian honour, had the courage to denounce the infamous practices of these men. Samuel Bolde, Vicar of Shapwicke, in Dorsetshire, in a sermon, preached against persecution, March 26, 1682, describes persecutors in general as the "pest of society," "dangerous to live amongst as the wild and savage beasts of the desert;" "men of a superstitious, blind, and ignorant zeal," "broken in fortune," who "take up informing, swearing, and persecuting

Denunciation of Spies.

as a trade to live by, and extremely profligate and scandalous in their lives."

Then turning to the spies and informers who were hired for the prosecution of Dissenting Protestants, he dealt in the most trenchant manner with the pleas offered for their vindication:—

"You say you do not more than the law alloweth." "You do not understand the law." "The law condemns *seditious* preaching." "You prosecute men only for preaching."

"You say that those you prosecute are dangerous, seditious, and rebellious people;" but you cannot prove anything of this nature against them. "You pretend to be serving God; but you are serving the devil and your lusts in a tavern or brothel." "Many of those you prosecute have given great demonstrations of their loyalty. Those who never did more for the King than make themselves drunk with drinking his health, are not to be compared in point of loyalty with them that lost their estates, and hazarded their lives for him." "You pretend that all you do is out of love to, and zeal for, the Church." "You are not qualified to do the Church any service. The Church suffers more by the ungodliness and debauchedness of your lives than by any one thing whatsoever. All the Dissenters in the nation cannot prejudice the Church half so much as you, drunken, swearing, profane informers and persecutors." "Indeed, the Church would be much better without you than with you." "You do the Church an unspeakable injury; you prejudice her almost beyond repair, by pretending either love for or alliance unto her."

"If you have such love to the Church, why are you so mild, and favourable, and gentle towards the Papists, who are as great *enemies to the State* as to the Church? Why are you not for getting those laws executed which are yet in force, against field and street-walkers, and those that haunt ale-houses and taverns, and who are playing at cards or dice when they should be at church?"

"The methods you use are no way becoming the Church. They will never do the Church any service. Force and violence will never satisfy men's judgments. They will not extirpate those unjust prejudices people have sucked in against our Church, but will rather confirm them. These courses will not fairly remove men's scruples.

"Suppose you should force many to come within the door of our churches by harsh and severe proceedings, what is the Church the better for this? Can you, together with outward compulsion, infuse into their minds an affectionate love to and unfeigned approbation of our service and worship? If not, you make our Church fuller of hypocrites than she was before, but not fuller of real and cordial proselytes. *You may turn the places of our public worship into prisons, if you please, but you cannot by these means make the Dissenters a willing people in the day of your power. The members of the Church must be volunteers, not pressed men.*"

Certain members of the laity of the Church of England published the following circular in 1681:—

"We find now that the Presbyterians, because they cannot enjoy tithes, are fain to be content with the contributions of

their church members, and so they and the Independents are become one fraternity.

Declaration of "some of the Laity."

"We find the Anabaptists to be the same also in their divine service as the Presbyterians and Independents are; but only in this difference; the one baptize infants, and the other baptize none but such people as are at years of discretion, and profess Christianity.

"We find that divers and several of those people called Quakers are also very good Christians, and preach true doctrine according to Holy Scripture: and therefore we declare *that it is our opinion that such a voluntary ministry to preach on free cost, as aforesaid, is of excellent use*, and exceeding necessary to be allowed of in the Church of England; *not only for preaching to poor people, in poor tabernacles, who cannot pay anything sufficiently to maintain a ministry, nor get pews in their parish churches; but also it makes the learned clergy to be the more sober and studious in their places: and therefore we can think no other but that such a free voluntary ministry are sent of God, for we remember the Apostles were working men of several trades, as these are; yet we do not believe that God sent these to hinder the clergy of maintenance, but only to season them, as salt seasons meat.*

"In great parishes there is need to be at least two congregations, the parish church for the orthodox minister and the rich, and a tabernacle for the lay prophets and poor."

John Richardson writes to Increase Mather, Dec. 12, 1682:—

"'It is a sorrowful time' with Dissenters; their ministers are much persecuted with much violence on the Act of £40 per month, and other Acts. Mr. Baxter's house is broken open, and his person and goods seized (he was afterwards released). Mr. Mead's goods seized, but he escaped. Mr. Cockaine, Mr. Partridge, their goods seized, and Mr. James imprisoned and Mr. Wise. Others sought after fain to conceal themselves, and convey their very household stuff out of the way. Yet many continue to preach on the Lord's day, and some lecture. How far they will proceed is to be feared."

"A sorrowful time."

In a letter dated Jan. 30, 1682-3, Mr. Richards writes :—

"The meetings are suppressed in Norwich and Bristol. Dr. Owen is very ill, and it is feared will not recover. Mr. Vincent, a London minister, convicted on the 35th Eliz., lies a prisoner these three months. Many must leave the King's dominions, or suffer death."

"London, April 27th, 1683.

"The meetings of the Dissenters are prevented as much as may be. Constables and other watchmen attending at the doors of the wonted meeting-places generally keep them out, that they meet not, which is intended as a kindness, rather than to suffer them to meet, and then apprehend and prosecute them. The King pressing it upon the Lord Mayor and authority in the City impartially to execute the laws against them. Many are excommunicated for not attending their parish churches, and taking the Sacrament according to laws, in that case provided, and capias is out against some, and will come out against many, it is thought, which will be very hard, and put them to their wit's end what to do. But, notwithstanding all, they still continue their meetings, Lord's-days and Lecture-days, mostly in private houses, shifting places and the time of day, that they may be less observed. Dr. Owen hath been very sickly since I came hither, and seldom preacheth.

"It is a time of patience. The Lord give grace suitable to our daily circumstances, and fit his people for mercy; then should I hope the time would not be long. However, as it was very seasonably urged this morning at eight o'clock by Mr. How, a very able man, it hath been said, 'We know that all things work together for good to them that love God.'"

Thomas Bailey, Limerick, in a letter to Cotton Mather, June 6, 1683, writes :—

"How many fall off and fall away. How blind and mad, deceived and deluded are *our conforming clergy : all for the Duke of York and against Dissenters.* Scotland has suffered sore and long, many suffering death there; no assembly meetings. They are broken to pieces. But oh, their prudence, patience, and

courage, the good heart and hopes they seem to have and retain, and poor we in Ireland are quiet and in peace, enjoying our liberties as formerly, and truly, in this we are most to be pitied. Our neighbouring nations are suffering greatly, but we are sinning greatly. We are but young, weak, and inexperienced, not yet accustomed to such yokes. We are beholden to the Papists for our liberties, for they have public and open masses, and they cannot for shame meddle with us, otherwise they would."

Owen wrote some of his most powerful treatises at this time, to counteract the influence of Rome. In a remarkable paper on the "State and Fate of the Protestant Religion," he sketched with a master's hand the course of its decline as the result of despotic government, moral corruption, arbitrary force, and the means employed to effect a reconciliation with the Church of Rome. He then adds :—

State and Fate of the Protestant Religion.

"There is no small prevalency in the world of an atheistical principle lately advanced; namely, of resolving all respect unto the public profession of religion into the wills and laws of men in supreme power. It is supposed herein that men may be in their own minds of what religion they please, and be as religious as they will; but for the preservation of society it is meet that the wills of lawgivers in all nations should be the sole rule of the outward profession of religion. Now, although this atheistical opinion be destructive of Christian religion, condemning all the professors of it, from its first entrance into the world, of the highest folly imaginable, yet being suited to accommodate all the lust and interest of men, profane and ungodly, it is incredible what a progress in a short time it hath made in the world: and those who have imbibed it are ready for all such compositions in religion as may be supposed any way commodious unto their inclinations and interests.

"I shall only mention that which, of all other things, is of the worst abode; namely, the loss of the power of religion in all sorts of persons. The Protestant religion will not any-

where long maintain its station, any otherwise than by an experience of its power and efficacy on the souls of men. Where this is lost through the power of prevalent religious habits of the minds of men, the whole of that religion will be parted withal at an easy rate. For there is another continually proposed unto them, with those entertainments for men's fancies and carnal affections, with those accommodations for their lusts, living and dying, with outward secular advantages that this religion is not capable of, nor accompanied withal.

"Moreover, unless it be diligently watched against, weariness is apt to grow on many of the clergy of that spiritual rule and conduct of the people which, according to the principles of the Protestant religion, is committed unto them: for there hath, by virtue thereof, so much light and knowledge been diffused among the people, and such a valuation of their spiritual liberty thereon, which formerly they knew nothing of, that there is an excellent virtue and piety, with continual care and watchfulness required unto the rule of them. And yet, when the best of men have done their utmost herein also, they will meet with that which shall exercise their wisdom and patience all their days. Neither hath Christ granted any rule or office in his church on any other terms; nor will the state of his subjects, who are all volunteers, permit it to be otherwise. No wonder, then, if some do, like those engines of an easy rule, namely, ignorance and blind devotion in the people; and so are ready to return unto them again: for it is a monstrous, wearisome thing for men of heroic, governing spirit, to be obliged to give conviction from the Scripture unto such persons as they judge impertinent of what they do: much more to order their conversation with strictness, that no offence be taken at them. This posture of things men seem to be weary of, and therefore do daily relinquish them, so far as they can pretend any consistency between what they do, and the religion which they profess. But the utter shaking off of those bonds and manacles, unworthy of men of generous spirits, must needs seem more eligible unto them: and if hereon such terms of reconciliation be offered, as shall not only secure unto them their present possessions and dignities, but give them also a prospect of further advancement, it is to be feared that many of this sort will judge it better to embrace things so desirable than to die in a prison or at a stake."

Turning to the bright side of the picture, Owen says:—

"Notwithstanding all that profaneness and wickedness of life, wherein multitudes are immersed who outwardly profess the Protestant religion, there is a remnant in the nations where it is professed who manifest the power of it in their lives, and glorify Christ by their profession and obedience unto all his commands. Nor are this sort confined to any one party or peculiar way among them, but are found in the whole body or communion of the Protestant profession. What influence these have on many accounts, unto the preservation of the light of the Gospel in the places, times, and nations wherein their lot and portion is cast by Divine Providence, is not here to be declared. The Scripture will give a sufficient account of it.

"*There is evidently at present a spirit of courage and Christian magnanimity come upon many*, whose other circumstances render them considerable in the world, to do and suffer whatever they shall be lawfully called unto for the defence of this Protestant religion. This also is from God: and if his purpose were utterly to ruin that interest, it is more suited unto former dispensations of his Providence in like cases to send weakness, faintness, cowardice, and despondency into the breasts of those concerned, than to give them a spirit of courage and resolution for their duty. And hereunto, also, belongs that *revival of zeal for their religion and the concernments of it, which hath of late been stirred up, even in the body of the people*, taking occasion from the opposition made unto it, and the dangers whereunto it hath been reduced. If these things are from God, as they seem to be, they will not be so easily run down, as some imagine: for whatever means He will make use of, be they in themselves never so weak and contemptible, they shall be effectual unto the end whereunto they are designed. And, therefore, there is no small indication in them that it is in the counsels of the divine will as yet to preserve the profession of the Protestant religion, though it may be sorely shaken.

"If shaken, the things that cannot be shaken will remain."

In this confidence, Owen closes his discourse:—

"If we may suppose what we may justly fear, namely, that

the holy God, to punish the horrible sins and ingratitude of the nations professing the Protestant religion, should suffer the profession of it by any of these means, or any other that He shall think meet to use in his holy permission, to be extinguished for a season, and remove the light of the Gospel from these nations, we may yet conclude two things:

1. "That it shall issue at last in the advantage of the Church. Antichrist shall not be a final gainer in this contest; his success herein will be the forerunner of his utter destruction. The healing of his deadly wound will preserve his life but for a little while. Religion shall be again restored in a more refined profession. There shall ensue herein no new revelations, no new doctrines, no new Scriptures, no new ordinances of worship: the substance of the Protestant doctrine, religion, and worship shall be preserved, restored, beautified in themselves, and in their power, in them by whom they shall be professed.

2. "In the meantime to suffer for it, even unto death, is the most glorious cause wherein we can be engaged, and wherein we shall be undoubtedly victorious. It is no less glorious in the sight of God, no less acceptable with Him to suffer in giving testimony against the abominations of the apostate Antichristian Church and State; than to suffer for the Gospel itself, in opposition to idolatrous Paganism."

To counteract Popery, Milton counselled mutual forbearance and charity one towards the other, though differing in some opinions:—

"It is written that the coat of our Saviour was without seam; whence some would infer that there should be no division in the Church of Christ. It should be so, indeed; yet seams in the same cloth neither hurt the garment nor misbecome it: and not only seams, but schisms, will be while men are fallible. But if they who dissent in matters not essential to belief, while the common adversary is in the field, shall stand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be soon routed and subdued. The Papist with open mouth makes much advantage of our several opinions, not that he is able to confute the worst of them, but that we, by our continual jangles among ourselves, make them worse than they are, indeed. *To save ourselves, therefore, and resist the common*

enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within ourselves that with joint forces we may not only hold our own, but get ground, and why should we not? The Gospel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various opinions, and hath promised a good and happy event thereof. Phil. iii. 15, "Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect be thus minded: and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you.' And we are bid, 1 Thess. v. 21, 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.' St. Paul judged that not only to tolerate, but to examine and prove all things, was no danger to our holding fast that which is good.' How shall we prove all things, which includes all opinions, at least founded on Scripture, unless we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and seriously read them? If he who thinks himself in the truth professes to have learnt, not by implicit faith, but by attentive study of the Scriptures, and full persuasion of heart, with what equity can he refuse to hear or read him, who demonstrates to have gained his knowledge by the same way? Is it a fair course to assert truth by arrogating to himself the only freedom of speech, and stopping the mouths of others equally gifted. This is the direct way to bring in that Papistical implicit faith which we all disclaim."

Last days of John Owen.

Owen was near his end. In the closing years of life, when incapacitated for much physical exertion and suffering from a complication of maladies, he wrote a series of important theological works, doctrinal and practical, and then withdrew for a time to quiet seclusion in the country. "Weakness, weariness, and near approaches of death," he says, "do call me off from any further labour in this kind." But he was not too far sunk in debility to give to the flock he had served so faithfully his parting counsels:—

"BELOVED IN THE LORD:—Mercy, grace, and peace be multiplied to you from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ by the communication of the Holy Ghost. I thought and hoped that by this time I might have been present with you, according to my desire and resolution; but it has pleased our

holy, gracious Father otherwise to dispose of me, at least, for a season. The continuance of my painful infirmities, and the increase of my weaknesses, will not allow me, at present, to hope that I should be able to bear the journey. How great an exercise this is to me, considering the season, He knows to whose will I would in all things cheerfully submit myself. But although I am absent from you in body, I am in mind, affection, and spirit present with you, and in your assemblies ; for I hope you will be found my crown and rejoicing in the day of the Lord: and my prayer for you night and day is, that you may stand fast in the whole will of God, and maintain the beginning of your confidence without wavering firm unto the end. I know it is needless for me, at this distance, to write to you about what concerns you in point of duty at this season, that work being well supplied by my brother in the ministry: you will give me leave, out of my abundant affections towards you, to bring some few things to your remembrance, as my weakness will permit.

" In the first place, I pray God it may be rooted and fixed in our minds that the shame and loss we may undergo for the sake of Christ and the profession of the Gospel, is the greatest honour in this life we can be made partakers of. So it was esteemed by the Apostles : they rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer for his name's sake. It is a privilege superadded to the grace of faith which all are not made partakers of. Hence it is reckoned to the Philippians in a peculiar manner that it was given to them, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for Him : that it is far more honourable to suffer with Christ than to reign with the greatest of his enemies. If this be fixed by faith in our minds, it will tend greatly to our encouragement. I mention these things only, as knowing that they are more at large pressed on you.

" The next thing I would recommend to you at this season is the increase of mutual love among yourselves ; for every trial of our faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ is also a trial of our love towards the brethren. This is that which the Lord Christ expects from us—namely, that when the hatred of the world doth openly manifest and act itself against us all, we should evidence an active love among ourselves. If there have been any decays, any coldness herein, if they are not recovered and healed in such a season, it can never be expected. I pray God, therefore, that your mutual love may abound more and more in

all the effects and fruits of it towards the whole society, and every member thereof. You may justly measure the fruit of your present trial by the increase of this grace amongst you; in particular, have a due regard to the weak and tempted, that that which is lame may not be turned out of the way, but rather let it be healed.

"Furthermore, brethren, I beseech you hear a word of advice in case the persecution increases, which it is likely to do for a season. I could wish that because you have no ruling elders, and your teachers cannot walk about publicly with safety, that you would appoint some among yourselves who may continually, as their occasions will admit, go up and down from house to house, and apply themselves peculiarly to the weak, the tempted, the fearful, those who are ready to despond, or to halt, and to encourage them in the Lord. Choose out those to this end who are endued with a spirit of courage and fortitude; and let them know that they are happy whom Christ will honour with this blessed work. And I desire the persons may be of this number who are faithful men and know the state of the Church. By this you will know what is the frame of the members of the Church, which will be a great direction to you, even in your prayers. Watch now, brethren, that if it be the will of God, not one soul may be lost from under your care: let no one be overlooked or neglected: consider all their conditions, and apply yourselves to all their circumstances.

"Finally, brethren, that I be not at present further troublesome to you, examine yourselves as to your spiritual benefit which you have received, or do receive, by your present fears and dangers, which will alone give you the true measure of your condition: for if this tends to the exercise of your faith, and love and holiness, if this increases your valuation of the privileges of the Gospel, it will be an undoubted token of the blessed issue which the Lord will give unto your troubles. Pray for me as you do, and do it the rather that if it be the will of God I may be restored to you; and if not, that a blessed entrance may be given to me into the kingdom of God and glory. Salute all the Church in my name. I take the boldness in the Lord to subscribe myself,

"Your unworthy pastor, etc.,

"J. Owen."

The venerable pastor recovering a little strength, returned to London, and soon after retired, first to Kensington, then to Ealing.

On the day before his death, he sent his last message to his friend, Charles Fleetwood :—

"DEAR SIR,—Although I am not able to write one word myself, yet I am very desirous to speak one word more to you in this world, and do it by the hand of my wife. The continuance of your entire kindness knowing what it is accompanied withal, is not only greatly valued by me, but will be a refreshment to me, and as it is, even in my dying hour. I am going to Him whom my soul has loved, or rather who has loved me with an everlasting love, which is the whole ground of all my consolation. The passage is very irksome and wearisome, through strong pains of various sorts, which are all issued in intermitting fever. All things were provided to carry me to London to-day according to the advice of my physicians; but we are all disappointed by my utter disability to undertake the journey. I am leaving the ship of the church in a storm; but while the great Pilot is in it, the loss of a poor under-rower will be inconsiderable. Live and pray and hope, wait patiently, and do not despond, the promise stands invincible, that He will never leave us nor forsake us. I am greatly afflicted at the distempers of your dear lady: the good Lord stand by her, and support and deliver her. My affectionate respects to her, and the rest of your relations, who are so dear to me in the Lord. Remember your dying friend with all fervency. I rest upon it that you do so, and am, yours entirely,

"J. OWEN."

William Payne, minister at Saffron Walden in Essex, to whom he had committed the charge of his "Meditations on the Glory of Christ," called on the morning of the day he died, to tell him that the first sheet was printed. "I am glad to hear it," he replied, with uplifted hands and eyes looking upward; "but oh, brother Payne! the long-wished-for day is come at last, in which I shall see that

glory in another manner than I have ever done, or was capable of doing in this world." On the 23rd of August, 1683, aged 67, he passed away. Sixty noblemen, in carriages drawn by six horses each, and a large concourse in mourning coaches and on horseback, followed his mortal remains to the grave in Bunhill Fields.

Notwithstanding perils to which they were exposed, Evangelists were raised up who preached the gospel throughout the country. Francis Holcroft, son of Sir H. Holcroft, and Joseph Oddy, gathered little companies of Christian believers in the Eastern Counties, and often suffered imprisonment. Holcroft was sentenced to death, and was only saved by the interposition of the Earl of Anglesea.

Holcroft and Oddy.

From a simple record of one of the members of his church, we learn something of the inner life of these Christian confessors :—

"My father," said Mrs. Churchman, "was then High Constable, and had an order from the justices to return all the names of them who frequented the meetings. This made it a hard thing for his own daughter to be a fanatic, which was what he could not bear. And this also increased my difficulty in getting out on the Lord's day, which, notwithstanding I sometimes did, and have walked eight, ten, yea, twelve miles to a meeting. If my father at any time understood where I was gone, he spent the day in nothing but oaths and curses and resolves to murder me. My mother, though an enemy to fanatics, would frequently send a servant to meet me before I would reach home, to tell me not to appear till my father was gone to bed : and I often hid myself in a wood stack, where I have seen him pass by with a naked knife in his hand, declaring he would kill me before he slept."

Mrs. Churchman.

After a further recital of domestic troubles, Mrs. Churchman continues :

"Persecution now came on apace, the Dissenters could have no meetings but in woods and corners. I myself, have seen our companies often alarmed with drums and soldiers. Every-one was fined five pounds a month for being in their company. . . . . The great trial now came on, they found and seized my beloved pastor, and carried him to Cambridge Castle, but even *there* God appeared wonderfully for him: he preached, and many souls were converted in that place. Now God was with us much. He was indeed as a pillar of fire by night, and a cloud by day. And, oh, how do I remember his loving-kindness to me, the least of all his saints. He not only delivered me from fears, but even death itself: nay, the very flames with which we were threatened were made familiar to me. I was enabled to say: 'O death, where is thy sting?' the Lord was a covert from that storm and tempest and a strong tower in that day of trouble."

The persecuted daughter was driven from home, and entered the service of a Christian family, who invited her to accompany them in their voyage to Holland. In a letter to my parents, she says:—

"*I told them I should be all obedient to them, saving in matters relating to my God,* and though I had not been permitted to see them *seven years past*, yet could assure them, my affections for them were the same as ever. I begged they would consider of it, and let me know in eight days' time, for all things were ready to embark in a fortnight.

"Not hearing from them in the time I set, I took their silence for a consent, and so prepared all things ready for my journey, and set out with kind friends. Just before we reached Harwich, where we were to take shipping, a messenger from my father overtook me with a letter, the contents of which were to the following effect: *that if I would come home, I should have my liberty to worship God in my own way;* but as to my leaving the land, this was what they could not bear; therefore, without fail, I must come back with the messenger, which I did. Great was the sorrow of parting with my friends, but love to my parents surmounted all.

"I no sooner entered my father's house, but my mother in receiving me, fainted away. My father also, though a man of great spirit, offered to fall on his knees, to ask my pardon for his former

cruelty. Oh, amazing worth of sovereign grace! when our ways please the Lord. He makes even our enemies to be at peace with us. My father immediately told me *I should have my liberty in matters relating to my God.* I then humbly offered my obedience to them both on my knees. At supper there was not a mouthful eaten but with tears. I well knew my God had appeared to my father on my behalf, as He did to Laban of old, and applied Jacob's promise to myself, Gen. xxxii, 12, *Thou saidst I will surely do thee good.*' The next Sabbath, my father came into my chamber by break of day, and told me I should have a horse and man to wait on me to the meeting, which was at a place called Taft. Mr. Oddy (co-pastor of Mr Holcroft) preached from Psa. cx. 3. 'Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power.'"

Mrs. Churchman adds:

"There was a great reformation in the whole family. I had not only the pleasure of seeing the conversion of my three brothers, but of seeing them also eminently useful. I found my God reserved his greatest mercies for my greatest trials, for at the death of my dearest sister, I had the comfort of seeing my dear father and mother also converted to the faith of Jesus, though at the eleventh hour."

Lawrence Spooner.

Lawrence Spooner a native of Curbarrow, near Lichfield, left a similar record of his experience in manuscript. He was converted by a visit to some imprisoned Nonconformists:—

"I no sooner entered the prison," he says, "but I was much affected with seeing these servants of the Lord; insomuch that I could not refrain from tears, though I would fain have concealed them. The conversation of one of them especially made a deep impression upon my mind. On taking leave of these good men I desired a share in their earnest prayers; and when I came home, began to pray for myself, which till now, alas! I had seldom done for several years."

After giving proof of the reality and decisiveness of the spiritual change he was admitted as a member of the church, and willingly shared the trials endured by his brethren in the cause of Christ.

"In the year 1683," he tells us, "on the first day of October, we had a considerable meeting at my house, not only of our friends, but also several from other societies near us, who were assembled together to hear a very worthy minister that came many miles to preach the gospel among us. When he was engaged in prayer, two informers came in, unknown to us all, and after being absent awhile, one of them began to speak aloud and to disturb the assembly. A little before he began to speak, I had a sudden strong impression on my mind that some informer was there, and that, in case he gave us any disturbance, I should go to him and endeavour to prevent him: accordingly, I went and called them both aside, desired them not to interrupt us in our worship, adding, that if aught was done contrary to law, they knew what advantage they had against house or hearers. They told me they wondered I would keep such unlawful assemblies at my house. I replied, I was not careful to answer in that matter, having rules for our practice long before these laws of the realm were made, wishing them again not to interrupt the meeting. They then desired to know the preacher's name, and said they would depart: this I refused, yet they withdrew without any further interruption.

"A few days after they went in great triumph to the meeting of justices to inform against us; and, calling on one of our society by the way, told him, with an air of contempt, that they were going about *our* business. But the justices only gave them for answer, that they would consult with their fellows and appoint them a time to come again.

"Perceiving the enemy now likely to come in like a flood, we concluded to set a day apart for solemn humiliation, fasting, and prayer. At the close of the meeting two questions were debated: the one, whether we should continue our meetings at the usual place, and keep them openly as before? the other, whether we should dispose of our goods privately or, if God, in his providence should permit, suffer them to be seized? With regard to the former question, it was determined to keep our meetings as usual, not only as the place was most commodious, but lest our seeking more privacy should embolden our enemies. And that word was brought to my mind, Isa. li. 12, '*Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man, which shall be made as grass?*' As to our

goods, we determined nothing, only these queries were proposed to consideration, whether those great and precious promises made to such as suffer for Christ and his gospel are not beyond any of God's creatures here below? Whether those practices which most use in a time of persecution are not plainly forbidden in the Word? And whether any affliction that befals the people of God is not for the trial of their faith, and for their profit? and, if so, whether Christians may not take joyfully the spoiling of their goods?

"Having thus, by prayer and supplication, made our request known unto God, and committed the keeping of our souls, our bodies, and our substance to Him, as to a faithful Creator, we agreed to wait upon the Lord, to keep in the path of duty, and to strengthen the feeble-minded, to support the weak, and to show ourselves patient towards our enemies.

"The next Lord's day the informers went to break up another meeting, but, missing their aim, they came to ours about the conclusion of the same while we were commemorating the death and sufferings of our blessed Saviour: they began to speak very confidently what they pleased, but perceiving the minister make no pause, nor any of the people rise from their seats, it gave a check to their boldness. After they had sat for some considerable time, and, one of them especially, appearing to be under convictions, they withdrew; and our meeting ended in comfort and peace."

In the same equable and artless manner, he relates the manner in which warrants were served for seizing his household furniture, the agitation of his wife and family, the sympathy of his neighbours, and the difficulty officers had in effecting a sale of his effects from the indisposition of the people to purchase, even at the lowest price. Disappointed in obtaining their object by fines, the authorities were resolved to bring the unflinching Nonconformist into prison; but under all circumstances he bears grateful testimony to the loving-kindness of God in affording inward supports, and

granting ultimate deliverance. It was not the least of the mercies he experienced that, in the midst of tumults and annoying persecution, he was enabled to possess his soul in patience.

"Amidst the hurry and confusion of my mind, under these circumstances, I constantly sought the Lord for wisdom and prudence to direct my affairs, desiring I might take especial heed of hasty proceedings, knowing that he that believeth must not, in these cases, make haste."

Death of Charles II.

Charles II. closed his chequered and inglorious career in 1635. Bishops, Romish priests, and courtesans came together in strange confusion to be near his dying chamber, and to wait for the event of his dissolution. Various accounts have been given of his last moments, as related by the Anglican prelates and the Duke of York; but the "relation" given in an Italian pamphlet is one of the most circumstantial:—

"On the 12th of February, 1685, the King rose early in the morning. He said that he had not slept well during the night. Towards three o'clock, on going out of his cabinet in which he had made his usual devotions, he was seized with apoplexy and became insensible for four hours, without giving any sign of life; but, after drawing sixteen ounces of blood, and other remedies, there seemed to be some hope of his recovery, until about one o'clock on Thursday, when the medical attendants intimated to the Privy Council that his Majesty was in the greatest danger in fact, he died on Friday before mid-day: may God have mercy on his soul. Then P. M. F. C., having understood from the doctors the condition of his Majesty, went to find the Duke, and said to him that it was time to look to the soul of his brother. After this monition the Duke hastened to the King who, after a private conversation, said, 'Oh, my brother, what a long time it is since I desired it, but now help me quickly,' and intimated that he wished to speak to Mons. Hudleston, hoping that as he had saved his body he might

now save his soul. M. Hudleston was sent for, and told to bring with him the requisites for the administration of the office for the dying. Not having the most holy sacrifice of the altar ready, he said to one of the chaplains of the Queen that it should be prepared at the foot of the stairs of the royal chamber. It was then intimated that M. Hudleston was waiting at the door, and the King told the bystanders that he wished to be alone. The bishops and gentlemen withdrew. My Lords P. V. were about to follow them, but the Duke, who carefully shut the door, desired them to remain. Mr. H. was called in, and, as he entered the room, the King exclaimed, 'Almighty God! I am, indeed, born under a happy constellation! All my life has been nothing but a series of marvels and miracles! Oh, God! when I consider my infancy, my exile, the dangers I passed through at Worcester, the narrow escape I had in the last conspiracy of the Presbyterians, oh, God! when I think that *this good father*, having saved my life under an oak, has now come to save my soul, I entirely believe that for my good Thou hast sent him into the world.' The Duke beckoned the two 'milords' to retire into the next room, and returning after the absence of half an hour, Father Hood asked his Majesty if he wished to receive the most holy sacrament? Please God,' replied the King, 'please God, that I might be worthy of it.' The father prayed with the King and consoled him. 'My father,' said his Majesty, 'if you think me worthy, grant that I may receive it.' The father replied that it should be brought immediately, and asked permission to give him extreme unction. 'With all my heart,' said the King. Leaving the two 'milords' to watch, Father Hood went to receive the most holy sacrament at the door of the chamber. On requesting the King to dispose himself for the holy communion, his Majesty wished to take it rising from his bed, and being dissuaded from this, he said, 'I pray you suffer me *to go before my heavenly Father in a more reverend posture than that in which I am in this bed.*' But, yielding to their dissuasion, he repeated the Act of Contrition, following the words of the father with all the devotion imaginable. After this they continued the 'Prayers for the Commending of Souls,' which being ended, his Majesty repeated the 'Act of Contrition,' concluding with the words, 'Oh, my Lord and my God! when I can no more repeat

these words with the mouth, enable me to say them continually in my heart.' By this time the bishops and lords were returning to the chamber."

It may be observed that this "relation" differs materially from the account given by the Duke of York. According to his version, the Duchess of York suggested that a priest should be sent for. When the King refused to receive the communion from the Archbishop of Canterbury, his brother came to the bedside and said, "Sir, you have declined to take the Protestant communion, will you receive that of the Catholics?" "Ah!" said the dying King, "I would give the world to have a priest."

It was difficult to find an English priest. The priests in the house of the Queen were Portuguese, and those of the Duchess of York, Italians; but the Duke of York went in quest of one, and found a "simple man" who was only too glad to have such an opportunity "to help the great prince to make a good death."

This story of the "reverent posture," the "good father," who "saved the body and the soul," and of the "Presbyterian conspiracy," was adapted to the meridian of Popery, translated into French and Latin for general circulation, to stir up the "faithful" for a grand effort for the conversion of England. The methods to be used for this purpose, of course, were those of brute force.

"The Nonconformists were once more made to pass the furnace of persecution, made seven times hotter than it was wont to be. They held their meetings nevertheless, but more secretly, and assem-

bled in small numbers. They frequently shifted their places of worship, and met together late in the evenings, or early in the mornings. There were friends without doors always on the watch to give notice of approaching danger. Where their dwellings joined, they made windows, or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houses. They had sometimes private passages from one house to another, and trap-doors for the escape of the minister, who always went in disguise, except when he was discharging his office. In country towns and villages they were admitted through back-yards and gardens into the house, to avoid the observation of neighbours and passengers. For the same reason, they never sang psalms, and the minister was placed in such an interior part of the house, that his voice might not be heard in the streets. The doors were always locked, and a sentinel placed near them to give the alarm, that the preacher might escape by some private passage."*

Fiercer Persecution.

Oliver Heywood writes, Dec. 29, 1684:—

"At this time, I am under the heaviest circumstances as to my liberty of doing God service and good to souls, that ever I was in all my life. They have broken in upon us, and scattered our meetings, indicted me for a riot at the Sessions. I am bound in £100 to traverse, and be of good behaviour. My adversaries are watching narrowly to find me forfeiting my bond. They have catched W. N., and charged him to be a witness against me; and that which is heaviest of all, it is an occasion of some difference betwixt me and my dear wife: for she, being naturally timorous, when we are at any time above the number of four, she is perplexed ex-

Case of Oliver Heywood.

* Neal.

ceedingly, though it be not purposely, but providentially: and when I am to go and preach abroad, she is under great affrightments, particularly last night, when I went to N. H., lest we should be too many, and be discovered. And truly my zeal for God's glory, and love for souls, and desire to do my Master's work on one side, and endeared love for my wife, fears of being censured for rashness and indiscretion by prudent men, and making myself a prey to knaves on the other side, do rack and torture my spirit, that it almost makes me weary of my life: and I am hard put to it, that I know not what to do; but am forced to contradict my wife's mind to perform my promise. Sometimes God helps me, by prayer, to roll myself on God, and then I am easy. But, oh! how often am I at a loss!"

The case of Heywood was by no means singular. Many were kept in the same fear and suspense, and found it in some respects a relief to be shut up in prison, except that there a charge of treason might be invented to put their lives in jeopardy.

The wounds of Scotland were opened afresh. Printed missives like the following were sent out from time to time:—

"An Act anent the Covenant. May the 8th, 1685.

"Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament do hereby declare, that the giving or taking of the National Covenant, as explained in the year 1638, or the League and Covenant, so commonly called, or writing in defence thereof, or owning of them as lawful or obligatory on themselves or others, shall incur the crime and pains of treason.

"Edinburgh, May 8, 1685.

"Our Sovereign Lord, considering the obstinacy of the fanatical party who, notwithstanding all the laws formerly made against them, yet they persevere to keep their house and field conventicles, which are the nurseries and rendezvouses of rebellion: therefore his Majesty, with consent of his Estates and Parliament, doth statute and ordain that all such as shall hereafter preach at such fanatical or field conventicles, as also such

as shall be present as hearers at field conventicles, shall be punished by death and confiscation of goods."

"12th of March, 1686-7. — In case *any resistance shall be made* by those present at the said field conventicles, or afterwards in any other place, in your attempt to disperse, seize, and apprehend them, or any of them; you are hereby also authorized and required to fight, *kill, and destroy those who shall make any such resistance by force, as enemies to us and our Government.*"

Claverhouse, with his troopers, was let loose upon the defenceless people, sparing neither women nor children, compelling them, on pain of death, to disclose the hiding-places of their nearest friends, and enriching himself with the spoil of confiscated estates. He was the man the King most delighted to honour.

Suddenly, in 1687, James II. reversed his policy towards the Nonconformists, and, on April 4, proclaimed an indulgence, entitled his "Gracious Declaration to all his loving Subjects, for Liberty of Conscience." "It is," he said, "and hath been of long time our constant sense and opinion, which upon divers occasions we have declared, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of religion: it has ever been directly contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of Government, which it destroys by spoiling trades, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers: and, finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed. And in this we are the more confirmed by the reflections we have made upon the conduct of the last four reigns: for, after all, the frequent and pressing endeavours that were used in each of them to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in

Indulgence of 1687.

religion, it is visible the success has not answered the design, and the difficulty is invincible.

"We, therefore, *out of our princely care and affection unto all our loving subjects, that they live at ease and quiet*, and for the increase of trade, and encouragement of strangers; have thought fit by virtue of our royal prerogative, to issue forth this our Declaration of Indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of Parliament, *when we shall think it convenient for them to meet.*"

Distrust of the King.

The King was thoroughly distrusted by all parties, with few exceptions. Penn and Barclay enjoyed his favour, and urged him to concede toleration; but it was too well known that he had sinister designs.

Richard Lobb, in a letter from London dated 7th March, 1686, says:—

Letter of Richard Lobb.

"Our Nonconformist ministers are very backward to make use of the liberty granted them, pretending fears of ill-consequences. But I suppose the good of the conversion but of one soul will greatly overbalance all the ill-consequences that can be imagined, and the same God that inclined his Majesty to grant us the liberty is able to protect us from all consequences. Our greatest safety is to be found in the way of our duty. They do not say 'tis unlawful to preach publicly, but very inexpedient, for that the liberty is not granted us but to carry on some evil design. But God may grant it out of good will to promote the effectual call of some of his elect by his Word and Spirit, and the design of God shall be accomplished, let men design what they may.

"There is Mr. Faldo, of the Congregational persuasion, that preaches at Mr. Slater's Meeting House in Ropemaker's Alley, and hath almost two thousand people attending on him every Sabbath, and I hope with good success, the hearers giving him very great attention: but his brethren are greatly displeased with him for it: but, indeed, all their arguments against public

preaching savour of nothing but of flesh and blood. When we offer to put the hopes and probabilities of the conversion of souls into the scales with their arguments, they are silent. Thus you see how things stand with us. Pray wrestle with God to give us hearts to improve the opportunity that God hath put into our hands. Our Conformist ministers fret exceedingly at our liberty."

Into the subject of the political changes that compelled James II. to flee from the country and to spend his days in exile, we do not enter. Lord Russell made an attempt, somewhat prematurely, to avert the perils that threatened the country and fell a sacrifice to his patriotism. His death was greatly lamented. Howe wrote a letter of condolence to Lady Rachael on her sad bereavement, which led to a close friendship between him and the house of Bedford, which had an influence, no doubt, in winning the regard of its most distinguished member at a later period to the Nonconformists, and the cause of religious liberty.

Downfall of James II.

Nothing could avert the downfall of the King. His pitiable appeals to the city corporations on the expected landing of the Prince of Orange, were treated with silent indifference. Orders were given for the muster of troops, but there was no practical response.

Lord Danby, writing to S. J. Hanmer, Colonel-Commandant of Hull, says :—

"Were there any visible hopes under heaven of serving the Protestant religion in England but by this opportunity, that God hath given us, I think you know me well enough to believe that I am the last man in the kingdom that would attempt to have it rescued by force; but it has been made so plain to us what we are to expect from a power in the Papists' hands that,

whatever any may pretend, no man in his heart can believe that any man shall be able to find protection that will persist in the Protestant religion: and I take the greater confidence in writing this to you, because I know your principles to be truly Protestant. I have reason to hope upon the strongest grounds, by the last letters which are come to us, that there will not be a blow struck by the armies; but that the matter will be decided by a Parliament, his Majesty having put off all his Roman Catholic Privy Counsellors, and advised with most of those bishops and lords who did first petition for a Parliament: and in truth it is so plain that our army will desert him, that he will be under a necessity of complying with the just requests of his subjects."

Landing of the Prince of Orange.

The case was utterly hopeless. The Prince of Orange, 1688, landed at Torbay, and advanced to London without resistance The King fled, and William III. and Mary began to reign. The Dissenters hailed their accession with unbounded delight. INCREASE MATHER, sent as a commissioner to England to obtain the restoration of the charter for Massachusetts, had an interview with the King and Queen. A few words that passed between the Queen and the divine are interesting:—

QUEEN. "I doubt there have been differences in New England, as well as here, about church government?"

MATHER. "In New England they are generally those that are called Nonconformists; but they carry it with all due respect unto others. We judge some of them to be better than ourselves. This nation has cause to bless God for the King and for your Majesty, in regard of that Act of Indulgence, and the Liberty of Conscience, which, through your Majesty's favour, we enjoy."

QUEEN. "'Tis what I am for. It is not in the power of men to believe what they please: and, therefore, I think they should not be forced in matters of religion contrary to their persuasions

and their consciences. I wish all good men were of one mind; however, in the meantime, I would have them live peaceably and love one another." *

In acknowledgment of a book, brought to him by Increase Mather from his son, Baxter sent the following note :—

"DEAR BROTHER :—I thought I had been near dying at twelve o'clock in bed: but your book revived me. I lay reading it until between one and two. I knew much of Mr. Eliot's opinions by many letters I had from him. There was no man on earth whom I honoured above him. It is his evangelical work that is the apostolical succession which I now plead for. I am now dying, I hope as he did. It pleased me to read from him my case, 'My understanding faileth, my memory faileth, and my hand and pen fail, but my charity faileth not.' That word much comforted me. I am as zealous a lover of the New England churches as any man, according to Mr. Noyes', Mr. Norton's, and Mr. Mitchell's, and the synod's model. I love your father (Increase) upon the letters I received from him. I love *you* better for your learning, labours, and peaceable moderation. I love your son (? Richard) better than either of you, for the excellent temper that appeareth in his writings. Oh, that godliness and wisdom may thus *increase* in all families. He hath honoured himself half as much as Mr. Eliot, I say half as much, for deeds excel words. God preserve you and New England. Pray for your fainting, languishing friend, "RD. BAXTER."

"August 3, 1691."

"I went," Dr. Bates says, "to Baxter with a very worthy friend, Mr. Mather, of New England, the day before he died; and speaking some comforting words to him, he replied, 'I have pain, there is no arguing against sense; but I have peace, I have peace.' I told him, 'You are now approaching to your long-desired home.' He answered, 'I believe, I believe.' He said to Mr. Mather, 'I bless God that you

* Mass. Hist., Coll., vol. ix. 251.

have accomplished your business; the Lord prolong your life.'"

He expired on Tuesday morning, about four o'clock, Dec. 8, 1691, aged 76.

The exiled King (James II.), as a forlorn hope, appealed to the Parliament of Scotland:—

"JAMES R. My Lords and Gentlemen:—Whereas we have been informed that you, the peirs and representatives of shires and borrows of that our ancient kingdome, wer to meit together at our good town of Edinborrough some time in this instant, March, by the usurped authority of the Prince of Orange; we think fitt to let you kno, that as we hav at all tymes relyed vpon the faithfulness and affectione of you our ancient people, so much that in our greatest misfortunes heartofore we had recourse to your assistance, and that with good success to our affairs. So now againe we require of you to support our royall interest, expecting from you what becomes loyall and faithfull subjects, generous and honest men, that you will naither suffer yourselves to be cajolled nor frightened into any actione misbecoming true-hearted Scotsmen. And that to suport the honour of your natione you will contemn the base example of disloyall men, and eternise your names by a loyalty suteable to the many professions you hav made to us. In doeing whereof you will choose the safest part, since thereby you will everte the danger you must neids undergo, the infamy and disgrace you must bring upon yourselves in this world, and the condemnation due to the rebellious in the next: and you will likeways hav the oportunity to secure to yourselves and your posterity the gracious promises we hav so often made of securing your religious laws, propertys, libertys, and rights, which we are still resolved to performe, as soon as it is possible for us to meet you safely in a Parliament of that our ancient kingdome. In the meantime, fear not to declare for us your lawfull Soveraigne, who will not feal on our part to giv you such speedye and powerful assistance as shal not only inable you to defend yourselves from any forraigne attempt; but put you in a conditione to assert our right against our ennamys, who have depressed the same by the blackest of usurpations, the most unjust as well as most unnaturall of attempts,

which the Almighty God may for a time permitt, and let the wicked prosper, yet the end must bring confusione upon such workers of iniquity. We further let you kno that we will pardone all such as shal return to ther deuty befor the last day of this month, inclusive, and that we will punish with the rigor of the laws all such as shal stand out in rebellion against us or our authority. So not doubting that you will declar for us, and suppress what ever may opose our interest, and that you will send some of your number to us with ane accompt of your diligence and the posture of our affairs ther. We bid you heartily farewell.

"Given on board the *St. Michael*, first of March, 1689, and of our reigne the 5th year, by his Majestie's command.

"MELFORT.

"To the Lords Spirituall and Temporall the Commissioners of Shires and Boroughs of our Ancient Kingdome of Scotland, met, or to meet, at our good Town of Edinburgh."

This letter from the King, being given in by one Mr. Crane, upon the 16th March, 1689, was read before the Meeting of Estates. Action was taken in the following manner:—

"Act of the Meeting of the Estates against a Dissolution, A.D. 1689.

"Edinburgh, the sixteenth day of March, xvj eightie-nyne yeeres.

"Forasmuch as there is a letter from King James the Seventh presented to the Meeting of the Estates, they, *before opening thereof*, declare and enact that, notwithstanding of anything that may be contained in that letter for dissolving them or impeding their procedure, yet that they are a free and lawfull Meeting of the Estates, and will continue vndissolved vntil they settle and secure the Protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom."*

An attempt was made to raise a force to restore the King, but the Cameronians decided his fate. In

* S. P. Dom.

Ireland alone the last of the Stuart kings found sympathy.

"If, Sire," Tyrconnel wrote to James II., 29 Jan.—8 Feb., "you will in person come hither, and bring with you the succours necessary to support the country, which may not exceed the present allowance, which as I hear is 200,000 livres a month, with arms, ammunition, and some officers, a particular list whereof is here enclosed, as well as to my Lord Melford, I will be (responsible) to you that you shall be the master of this kingdom, and of anything in it."

Sympathy in Ireland.

The King arrived in Dublin, March 12, 1689. To raise means, the people were compelled to receive a base coinage of brass money. An Act of Attainder was passed, according to a list framed promiscuously, of more than two thousand names. A day was appointed for the surrender of the attainted parties, and in the event of failing to appear for any cause, the absentee was to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, without trial, and his property confiscated. The trial of others was merely nominal. "Many persons here attainted," said Sir Richard Nagle, at the bar of the House of Lords, "have been proved traitors by such evidence as satisfies. As to the rest, we have followed common fame." To secure the hapless victims, the law declared in their case the royal pardon null and void. Yet these frightful atrocities were preceded by an Act of Toleration!

CHAPTER XVI.

We return to New England. Far more serious persecution arose than that of Clarke and his companions. A company of Quakers, in obedience to what they deemed to be an inspired call, made their way to Massachusetts. In defiance of a law threatening capital punishment for introducing their practices into the colony, they entered the churches and the courts of justice, and addressed the ministers and presiding magistrates in the style of denunciation peculiar to themselves. Four of their number, in consequence, suffered death, not being disposed to accept of pardon on condition of leaving the State.

Persecution of the Quakers.

The case of Mary Dyer, in particular, was a very sad one. She had been once condemned, reprieved, and conducted beyond the boundary of the Massachusetts jurisdiction; but in spite of the entreaties of her husband and the distress of her children, she returned to Boston to brave the authorities once more. She was again condemned to die, but had the opportunity given to her of retracing her steps; but she persisted in her course, and suffered death, April 1, 1660. The law on which she was condemned was successfully resisted when first pro-

posed, and carried ultimately by one vote. Great indignation was felt in consequence of these executions.

Timothy Hatherly and James Cudworth, in the Plymouth jurisdiction, relinquished their magistracy rather than sanction persecuting laws. Isaac Robinson, son of the venerable pastor of the Pilgrims at Leyden, offered a similar protest. "All these carnal and Antichristian ways being not of God's appointment," he said, "effect nothing to the hindering of them (the Quakers) in their course. It is only the Word and the Spirit of the Lord that is able to convince gainsayers. They have many meetings and many adherents: almost the whole town of Sandwich. And give me leave to acquaint you a little with their sufferings, which are grievous, and saddens the hearts of the most precious saints of God. It lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds, when they see poor families deprived of their comforts and brought into penury and want."

Friends of Peace, as the Society of Friends are known to be, the incursion of the Quakers caused great disquietude in New England. The safety of the colonies depended on their order and unity. There was no element so disturbing as that of the Quaker emissaries. Humphrey Norton wrote:— "John Alden, called magistrate" — in Plymouth patent—"withdraw thy body for ever appearing att that beastly bench: where the law of God is cast behind your backes, and from whence God hath withdrawne Himselfe until He have overturned it, and settled such as shall act according to his law,

and contrary to the will of man." "Receive my instruction, and thou wilt see that it is beter to live of thyne owne like a poore wise man, and att peace with God and his people, than like a selfe-conceited fool, puffed up with the prid of his hart because hee hath gotten the name of a magistrate." Even in our own time, contempt of court to this extent would not go without some correction.

In the Church records of Plymouth the following entry occurs :—

"In that time the pernicious sect of those called Quakers arose, who several times came to our town, and had speech with several of us, and endeavoured to broach their opinions amongst us; yet so graciously it pleased our good God to dispose, that although we were destitute of any officially to oppose these gainsayers, yet of his grace so to help us, and by his Holy Spirit to understand and improve his good word, that none of us were leavened with their fictions or fantasies: no, not so much as any of our town, save one family, which I desire may frequently be remembered with humble thanks unto the Lord by ourselves, and others of the saints in our behalf."

The Commissioners of the four united colonies applied, March 13, 1657, to Rhode Island in the name of peace and for the welfare of the whole country, to check the movements of the Quakers, the General Assembly replied :—

"These people and any others that shall come among us, shall be impartially received, and our utmost constrained to perform all civil duties requisite. And in case they refuse it, we resolve to make use of the first opportunity to perform all civil duties requisite."

On a second demand for their concurrence, they again replied, on the 13th October, 1667 :—

"As concerning these Quakers, so called, which are now among us; we have no law among us whereby to punish any

for only declaring by words, etc., their minds and understandings concerning the things and ways of God, as the salvation and an eternal condition. And we find, moreover, that in those places where these people, aforesaid, in this colony, are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse; there they least of all desire to come: and we are informed that they begin to loathe this place, for that they are not opposed by the civil authority, but with all patience and meekness, are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions, nor are they like or able to gain many here to their way, and surely we find, that they delight to be persecuted by the civil powers, and when they are so, they are like to gain more by the conceit of their patient sufferings than by consent to their pernicious sayings."

Discussion of Roger Williams with the Quakers.

Roger Williams sent fourteen propositions to George Fox when at Newport; but the challenge to discuss them arrived too late, and the great Quaker had left for England without seeing them. But Williams had a discussion at Newport and Providence for four days with three of his disciples, and the controversy between the two principals was continued in print. You shall never persuade souls, not bewitched, said Williams, "that the Holy Spirit of God should persuade your women and maidens to appear in public streets and assemblies stark naked." Fox replied: "We do believe *thee in that dark, persecuting, bloody spirit that thou and the New England priests are bewitched in*, that you cannot believe, that you are *naked* from God, and his clothing, and blind. And therefore hath the *Lord in h power moved some of his sons and daughters to go naked*, yea, and did tell them, in Oliver's days, and the Long Parliament, that God would *strip them* of their church profession, and of *their power*, as *naked* as

they were. And so they were *true prophets* and *prophetesses* to the nation, as many sober men have confessed since, though *thou and the old persecuting priests* in New England *remain in your blindness and nakedness.*"

This point Williams brought prominently into notice before his three opponents. One of them repudiated the charge as a foul slander. But Williams cited the books written by the Quakers, admitting the fact and justifying it under the circumstances. Amongst others, he referred them to George Bishop, who says: "One Deborah Wilson, who bearing a great burthen for your hard heartedness and cruelty, being under a deep sense thereof, was constrained, being a young woman of a very modest and retired life, and of sober conversation, as were her parents, to go through your town of Salem naked as a sign."* In his fourteenth proposition, Williams contended that the principle of the Quakers in acting from a personal impulse, without regard to law, order, and the claims of others to respectful consideration, was essentially intolerant, and that their incivility and outrageous scurrility, was the same with that of arbitrary rulers, who exercised their greater power in an arbitrary spirit like their own :—

"As to magistrates," he said, "how full are their books and sermons against persecution and persecutors, and yet how plainly do their principles persecute all others that subject not to their light. When they have attained such *godly magistrates* as they are (as they speak '*in light*'). George Fox brings in John Stalham, saying (and the magistrate is not to level the law with the light in every man's conscience), 'Again, if the magistrate

* Such extraordinary cases were rare and exceptional. The marvel is that eliminating extravagances of every kind, the Society of Friends became so remarkable for the exactest order and strictest propriety.

be in the light and discern the mind of Christ and discern his law, *is he to compel all the nation and Commonwealth* to the practice of his light?' George Fox answers, 'The magistrate of Christ the help of government for him, if he is in the light and power of Christ, he is to subject all under the power of Christ into his light. Else he is not a faithful, magistrate, and his laws are agreeable, and answer to that of God in every man. When men act contrary to it then they do evil; so he is a terror to evil doers; discerns the precious and the just from the vile, he is a praise to them that do well.' I urged from hence that the Quakers and George Fox in his work in many places, *own no magistrates* but such as are godly; that is, in their dark sense, that they be magistrates for their Christ, and be in light and power of Christ, for then say they, their laws are agreeable to that of God in every man.

"Then their magistrates, in the light, ought to subject even the consciences and souls of all that be under them by corporal punishment, to come under the power of Christ unto light."

"Every man," Williams said, "amongst them was a 'pope.'"

The Friends engaged in the disputation were well satisfied with the result. "The propositions," they said, "were all but slanders and accusations against Friends, and were turned back upon himself. We answered all his charges and disproved them."

The demands of the Early Quakers on public attention, it must be admitted, were a little inconvenient. Several years after this time, and when all excitement was allayed, the following missive was sent:—

James Martin and Governor Bradstreet.

"Letter from James Martin, a Quaker, to the Governor, ye 26th, 1 month, '83:—To thee, Siman Bradstreet, Governour: This is to let thee understand y^t^ whereas y^e^ Lord by his mighty power hath raised me up, and made me a messenger of new tidings unto y^e^ in this towne of Boston, of what shall suddainly come to pass: this

is therefore to desire thee, as thou priseth y^e^ well fare of those poore people in this world, and allsoe in y^t^ w^ch^ is to come, y^t^ thou woulde endeavour heareing for me amongst them, then y^t^ soe I may be eased of that burthen y^t^ lyes upon me, having come seaveral hundred miles in love towards you, which I hope I shall manifest to y^e^ understanding of every prudent man serving you, if I may have liberty to speak what is in my minde without interuption, and allsoe in y^e^ fear of God doe promise to behave myselfe inocently among you: and, farther, I am willing to engage to thee and y^e^ rest of y^e^ hearers to be as short as possible I can, and to speake no more then a really necessity from y^e^ Lord is upon me to doe: and, farther, if thou accept of these proposalls, I shall be content to take any time, either before or after your meeting is ended, or what time they and thee together shall seem meet, only w^th^ this promise, y^t^ it may be afore y^e^ people have dispersed themselves, or else after they are fully gathered, for I came not in y^e^ leaste with any intention to disturb or interupt you in y^e^ time of your worship, notwithstanding I have apeared already as sum of you have said after a disorderly manner. Yet, I say nay, it was not so, neither had I any intention of disorder in it, but am able to make it apeare by y^e^ Scriptures it was gospel order in the primitive church. Yet, notwithstanding, if this seem too hard for thee or any of you to bear, I shall be willing to condescend as abovesaid: and this I know, if they and thee can condescend unto it, it will be much more for thy honour and y^e^ reputation of such a people as you are, than it will be to abridg or hinder me of delivering y^t^ message y^t^ y^e^ Lord God hath intrusted me unto you with all; but if thou refuse this reasonable proposall, then I must be constrained to clear myselfe by y^e^ best means I can, and allsoe to signifie to y^e^ people y^e^ reasonableness of my proposall, w^h^ I beleave every moderate man will so judge; but if for this my acting I should come to suffer by any of you, be it known unto thee, y^e^ Lord is on my side, and I beleave He will enable me to undergoe what punishment any of you shall be able to inflict upon me, which will not all be to the prais of a Christian professing people, soe desiring thee if thou so meet soe far as to condescend to give me one line or two in answer, this is from one who is a friend to thee and all mankind.

JAMES MARTIN."

In fairness to all parties, it is necessary to give these details, over which otherwise we would gladly draw the veil. Much of this unhappy antagonism arose from want of a good mutual understanding. Fanatical or intensely excited people were not confined to the Quakers. Examples of wild extravagance might easily be cited from other sects that arose in the time of the Commonwealth, and, unfortunately for the Friends, many of the victims of intolerance, driven almost to insanity by the wrongs they suffered, gravitated to the people whose resistance to ecclesiastical despotism was carried to the greatest extreme.

The Quakers, to the encroachments of spiritual despotism, would not give place for an hour. It availed nothing to them that the aggression assumed the form of law, or that it was maintained by the severest penalties. The point involved might seem to others insignificant, but, in a matter of conscience, they would not yield even a hair's breadth. When these meeting-houses were pulled down, they assembled at the appointed hour upon the ruins. When the penalty of death was inflicted by authorities who regarded themselves as sentinels firing upon the voluntary trespasser, they presented themselves at the first opportunity at the fatal spot to receive the next shot. The magistrates found them to be utterly intractable, and proved to their cost that though placid and self-controlled under ordinary circumstances, when denied the rights of conscience, they were "sharp threshing instruments having teeth." To overawe them was simply impossible. It must not be overlooked, however, that with this perti-

nacious and indomitable opposition to priestly power, they combined a spirit of benevolence equally remarkable and persevering. No religious sect can be compared with them for zeal in the cause of humanity. No distance was too great for them to traverse, no clime too inhospitable, no perils too great for them to brave, and no cost of labour or of sacrifice too heavy for them to bear; so that they might relieve the destitute, clothe the naked, instruct the ignorant, succour the weak, or secure liberty for the oppressed. It is a most characteristic circumstance that, after all they had suffered in Boston, when a famine arose in New England, they chartered a vessel to convey stores of provisions for those who were in want.

Quakers' Appeal to Charles II.

The Quakers liberated from prison at Boston soon after the execution of Mary Dyer, hastened to England, represented their case to Charles II., and returned with a royal mandamus to send all the people called Quakers, who might be condemned or imprisoned, over into their own kingdom of England, "together with their respective crimes or offences laid to their charge; to the end such course may be taken with them here as shall be agreeable to our laws and their demerits."

The representatives of the Friends encouraged themselves in the idea that they had gained liberty of conscience for themselves and others by their influence at Court. It was a mistake. The King wrote to the Governor of Massachusetts, June 28, 1662:—"We cannot be understood hereby to direct or wish that *any indulgence should be granted to*

those persons commonly called Quakers; whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of Government, we have found it necessary, by the advice of our Parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and *are well contented that you should do the same.*"

Changes were at hand affecting seriously the interest of the churches in New England. Soon after the death of Hooker, the surviving minister at Hartford, who had been his colleague, proposed certain changes in relation to the subject of Baptism and the qualifications for church membership. A controversy arose in consequence, extending over several years, causing division and separation, repeated councils and conferences, and culminating in the decision of a select assembly of divines in 1657, and confirmed at a Synod in Boston in 1662, known as the HALF-WAY COVENANT. Of this "crude experiment," Dr. Leonard Bacon says, "It did not merely provide that baptized persons, growing up in the bosom of the Church with blameless characters, and without any overt denial of the faith in which they were nurtured, might offer their children for baptism without being required to demand and obtain at the same time the privilege of full communion. But it also provided that such persons, as a condition preliminary to the baptism of their children, should make a certain public profession of Christian faith and Christian obedience, including a formal covenant with God and with the Church, which at the same time was to be understood as implying no profession of any Christian experience.

Half-way Covenant.

The former, by itself, might have been a comparatively harmless innovation. The latter was a grave theological error, hardening and establishing itself in the form of an ecclesiastical system.

The General Court of Connecticut sanctioned the new principle of Church membership, and subsequently proposals were made in the State Legislature, pointing to another system of Church polity. The order of the first church was changed, and in consequence a section of the members withdrew, with Mr. Whiting, one of the ministers, who, with Mr. Haynes, had succeeded the original pastors, for the sake of practising the Congregational way. A second church was formed, uniting in the declaration "that according to the light we have hitherto received, the forementioned Congregational way (for the substance of it) as formerly settled, professed and practised, under the guidance of the first leaders of this church of Hartford is the way of Christ."

The state of things in Massachusetts that prepared the way for the change in the constitution of the churches is clearly described by Wisner:—

"The provision, that none should have the rights of freemen who were not members of some regularly established church, had a most powerful influence in preparing the way for corruption in doctrine and practice. As it is now easy to see, would be the tendency of such a provision, it operated to the injury of churches and detriment of religion in different ways. In the first place, it must have continually exerted a secularizing influence in regard to religion, on the minds of the truly pious, by causing a religious character and profession to be

habitually viewed as the means of enjoying civil privileges. In the next place, notwithstanding the strictness of examination of candidates for church privileges at that period, there can be no doubt that this regulation brought into the church numbers, continually increasing, who entered it, not from simple regard to the institutions of Christ and the welfare of his spiritual kingdom; but from selfish and mercenary motives, for the sake of secular advantages connected with church membership. Those who did not apply for admission to the churches, or, having applied were refused, and were thus excluded from all civil privileges, became greatly dissatisfied with the existing institutions. This, when their numbers became considerable, produced a long-continued and violent contention. A contest arose, which, of course, affected the preaching, the conversation, the whole conduct of both ministers and people. The religion of the heart was more and more neglected, the means of grace were applied with less and less fidelity, and the influences of the spirit were gradually withdrawn."

The Half-way Covenant, intended to remove dissatisfaction, had a most disastrous influence. The churches consisted of two classes: the "mere" and the "qualified members." Gradually the nominal, or simply political members gained the ascendency: the change in doctrine and in morals was manifest. After long experience of its working, Increase Mather said, "The Congregational Church Discipline is not suited for a worldly interest or a formal generation of professors. It will stand or fall, as godliness, in the power of it, does prevail, or otherwise that there

is a great decay of the power of religion throughout all New England is lamentably true ; if that revive, there will be no fear of departing from the holy discipline of the churches of Christ. If the begun apostacy should proceed as fast the next thirty years as it has done these last; surely it will come to that in New England, except the Gospel itself depart with the order of it, that the most conscientious people therein will think themselves to gather churches out of churches."

Charles II. when fairly established on the throne began to occupy himself with the affairs of New England, chiefly for two objects: the discovery and punishment of the sheltered regicides, and the supplanting of the colonial rulers by governors appointed by his royal authority. Agents were selected and commissioned to institute inquiry in the several colonies, and to report the result of their investigation in order to decisive measures.

Royal Commissioners in New England.

Amongst the secret instructions given to them, they were directed to proceed with caution, and not to divulge the ulterior object of their mission. The following minute was given :—" Inquire into all laws passed during the late usurping government. Be very particular not to give offence to either of the religious sects. Frequent their churches, to be present at their devotions. On the subject of religious controversy be particularly careful not to make any change in the matter of religion." Colonel Nicol, the commissioner for the visitation of Connecticut, was specially instructed to "find out the full difference between them and the Massachusetts people in civil

and ecclesiastical state. We conceive," it was added, "those of Connecticut to continue themselves under the most rigid Presbyterian government, so that you will find their neighbours free enough of their censure of them, of all which you will make no other use than for your own information."

The several States received letters from the King and returned loyal addresses, in which they earnestly deprecated any change in the form of government.

Queries of the Board of Trade.

The Board of Trade issued a series of categorical queries to be answered by the several States. These returns are curious. An address to Charles II. was sent from each colony propitiating his royal favour. The Plymouth Court, with a recital of the early history of their settlement, add:—

"We present unto your Majesty our humble supplication for your Majesty's gracious protection of us, and countenance of our civil privileges and religious liberties in our walking in peaceable and loyal mind in the faith of the gospel, which order, according to the general profession here, is the Congregational way; only differing from our orthodox brethren, but agreeing as to the doctrinal points of religion with other reformed churches, and not infringing the liberties of others who are of orthodox principles and good conversation, though differing from us in point of church order, each doing their parts for the due support and encouragement of an able, godly, orthodox minister in every township and plantation, to preach sound doctrine and further true piety on gospel principles, which is the best means to secure and oblige to true loyalty: and, though they should be of differing persuasions as to church order, the best preservation against degeneracy from the Christian manners and religion of the English into Atheism and brutish Paganism. The free

exercise of which religion without offence, and without the imposition of any ceremonies on them in the public worship of God, together with the enlargement of his Majesty's dominions, was the known end of the first comers hither in the year 1620."

The Royal Commissioners had no fault to find with the Plymouth Colony.

Massachusetts stood in a rather different position. The persecution of the Quakers gave their enemies a case against them, of which they were not slow to take advantage. The governor and general court framed the best apology possible under the circumstances, and engaged to rescind their intolerant enactments; but they well understood that the most precious interests were at stake, and contended earnestly for the right of self-government, and giving the King to understand that to displace them would be to the loss of the nation.

To be "subjected to the arbitrary power of strangers," they said, "would compel the people to seek new dwellings. If the taking of this course should drive this people out of the country (*for to a coalition they will never come*) it will be hard to find another people that will stay long, or stand any common burden in it; seeing it is not a country where men can subsist without hard labour and great frugality. Sir, the all-knowing God, He knows our greatest ambition is to live a poor and a quiet life in a corner of the world without offence to God or man. We came not into this wilderness to seek great things to ourselves, and if any come after us to seek them here, they will be disappointed. We keep ourselves within our line, and meddle not with matters abroad."

The authorities of Connecticut, in answer to the commissioners say :—

"They will not hinder any from enjoying the sacrament and using the Common Prayer Book, provided they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister.

"They will amend anything that hath been done derogatory to his Majesty's honour; if there be any such thing, as soon as they shall come to know it."

The rulers of Rhode Island state that :—

"They admit all to be freemen who desire it. They allow liberty of conscience and worship to all who live in civility. And if any man can inform them of anything in their laws or practices derogatory to his Majesty's honour, they will amend it."

Very slender materials could be found for an indictment against the colonial authorities, for each seemed inclined to put things in order. In Massachusetts a law was passed to the effect, "that English subjects, being freeholders, reliable to a certain value, certified by the ministers of the place to be orthodox, and not vicious in their lives, were allowed to be made freemen, although not members of the church."

Reports of the Commissioners.

The commissioners gave certain items of information. "In this province only of Rhode Island," they say, "they have not any places set apart for the worship of God, there being so many subdivided sects that they cannot agree to meet together in one place; but, according to their several judgments, they sometimes associate in one house and sometimes in another."

Of Massachusetts the commissioners say they did solicit Cromwell, by one Mr. Winslow, to be declared a free State, and many times in their laws

still style themselves "this State," "this Commonwealth," and now believe themselves to be so. "They convert Indians by hiring them to come and hear sermons, by teaching them not to obey their heathen teachers, and by appointing rulers among them over tens, twenties, fifties. The lives, manners, and habits of those who they say are converted cannot be distinguished from those who are not, except it be by being hired to hear sermons which the more generous natives scorn."

"At Cambridge they have a wooden college. It may be feared that this college may afford as many schismatics as their Church, and the Corporation as many rebels to the King."

The problem was to bring this refractory people under the yoke. Baffled with their obstinacy, one of them wrote from Pascattaway River, July 16, 1665, to the Governor and Council:—

"GENTLEMEN:—Remember, we pray you, that you profess to be Christians, and pretend to be of the best sort; pray make it appear that you are so, by obedience to the King's authority, by your peaceableness towards your neighbours, and by your justice among yourselves, which are Christian virtues, that men may see your good works. Other colonies have set you many good examples, even that of Rhode Island, one, whom you have so long derided and disowned, and now lastly derided for their submission to his Majesty."

The King expressed his satisfaction with Connecticut, for their fidelity and affection for him seemed "to set off" with more lustre by the contrary deportment of Massachusetts.

Commissioner Nichols in despair wrote to Lord Arlington: "I dare not presume to find out a way to bring down the pride of Massachusetts. I have

begun to set up a school of better religion and obedience to God and the King, from which small beginning a reformation may proceed, if it shall please God to bless my endeavours."

The Governor and Council reporting their transactions said, October 26 :—

"In case they may not be confirmed in their royal grant, and can have no certainty of their lives, estates, houses and lands, and much less of their liberty, which hitherto they have had in the free passage of the gospel, far dearer to them than all their comforts, natural or civil, they well know that if the wall of civil government be pulled down, the wild boar will soon destroy the Lord's vineyard, and that it is impossible for them to keep the waters of the sanctuary, when the Venice glass which holds them is broken in pieces. There are not wanting many sectaries and profane persons that spring up among themselves, who do long for such an opportunity. His Majesty has no more faithful subjects in all his dominions. The actings of the late commissioners in this place, putting their spurs too hard to the horse's sides before they were got into the saddle; have greatly alarmed the people here, making the name of a commissioner odious."

The commissioners were recalled April 10, 1666.

After this determined and successful resistance to the royal officials who attempted to supplant them, the authorities in Boston resolved, as far as possible, to continue a homogeneous people, compact and undivided.

From mistaken motives they resisted the entrance of the Baptists : they knew that Clarke, subsequently made Governor of Rhode Island, had laboured hard to overthrow them. Persecution of Baptists.

Thomas Cobbet, who remembered his contest with him in the days of the Commonwealth, wrote to Increase Mather, then in England :—

"Ipswich, 13 Dec. 1681.

"And as you will say, concerning toleration of Antipædobaptists in general here in New England, as they are in old, they might soon flock over hither, thereupon so many as would sink our small vessel, whereas in that greater ship of England there is no such danger of those multitudes to founder the same. Their very principle of making infant baptism a nullity, it doth make at once all our churches and our religious, civil State and polity, and all the officers and members thereof to be unbaptized, and to be no Christians, and so our churches to be no churches, and so we have no regular freemen, which, by our laws, are to be members of churches, and so we have no regular power to choose deputies for any general courts, nor to choose magistrates: the hedge is pulled down, and all left to State destroyers."

The report of their intolerance grieved their friends in England exceedingly. Owen, Goodwin, and nine other ministers subscribed their names to a letter, in which they say:—

Remonstrance from England.

"We shall not here undertake in the least to make any apology for the persons, opinions, and practices, of those who are censured among you. You know our judgment and practice to be contrary unto theirs, even as yours; wherein, God assisting, we shall continue to the end. Neither shall we return any answer to the reason of the reverend elders for the justification of your proceedings, not being willing to engage in the management of any the least difference with persons whom we so much love and honour in the Lord. But the sum of all which at present we shall offer to you is, that though the court might apprehend that they had grounds in general warranting their procedures in such cases in the way wherein they have proceeded; yet that they have any rule or command rendering their so proceeding indispensably necessary, under all circumstances of times or places, we are altogether unsatisfied: and we need not represent unto you how the case stands with ourselves, and all your brethren and companions in the service of these latter days in these nations. We are sure you would be unwilling to put an advantage into the hands of some who seek pretences and occasions against our

liberty, and to enforce the former rigour. Now, we cannot deny but this hath already in some measure been done, in that it hath been argued that persons of our way, principles, and spirit, cannot bear with dissenters from them: and this greatly reflects on us, so some of us have observed how already it has turned unto your own disadvantage. We leave it to your wisdom to determine whether, under all these circumstances and sundry others of the like nature that might be added, it be not advisable at present to put an end unto the sufferings and confinements of the persons censured, and restore them to their former liberty. You have the advantage of truth and order. You have the gifts and learning of an able ministry to manage and defend them. You have the care and vigilancy of a very worthy magistracy to countenance and protect them, and to preserve the peace; and, above all, you have a blessed Lord and Master who hath the keys of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, and liveth for ever to take care of his own concernments, among his saints: and assuredly you need not be disquieted, though some few persons from their infirmity and weakness, or through their ignorance and darkness, and prejudices, should to their disadvantage turn out of the way in some lesser matter into bye-paths of their own. We only make it our hearty request to you, that you would trust God within his truth and ways so far as to suspend all rigorous proceeding in corporal restraints or punishments on persons that dissent from you, and practice the principle of their dissent without danger to the civil peace."

"Dated March, 20, 1669."

Earnest and impassioned remonstrances were sent in private letters.

Robert Mascall, writing from "Finsbury, near Morefield, March 25, 1669," says:—

"It much affects us to hear that you, even in New England, persecute your brethren; men sound in the faith, of holy life, agreeing in worship and discipline with you, only differing in point of baptism. Dear brother, *we here* do love and honour them, hold familiarity with them, and take sweet counsel together: they lie in the bosom of Christ, and therefore they ought to be laid in our bosoms. In a word, we freely admit them into churches

—few of our churches—but many of our members are Anabaptists, I mean baptized again: this is love in England: this is moderation: this is a right spirit.

"We are hearty and full for our Presbyterian brethren enjoying equal liberty with ourselves. Oh, that they had the same spirit towards us. But oh, how it grieves and affects us that New England should persecute! Will you not give what you take? Is liberty of conscience your due, and is it not as due unto others that are sound in the faith? Have not these men equal hazards with you for the enjoyment of their liberties; and how do you cast a reproach upon us that are Congregational in England, and furnish our adversaries with weapons against us? We blush and are filled with shame and confusion of face when we hear of these things. Dear brother, we pray that God would open your eyes, and persuade the hearts of your magistrates that they may no more smite their fellow-servants, nor thus greatly injure us their brethren, and that they may not thus injure the name of God, and cause his people to be reproached, nor the holy way of God the Congregational way."

Randolph.

The Baptists established themselves in Boston, but the Puritan rulers remained inflexible. Sir Edward Randolph, in 1676, was sent out to subdue them:—

"I am confidently assured," he writes from Boston, June 17, 1676, "by those that understand the affairs of this country, that three frigates of forty guns, with three ketches well manned, lying a league or two below Boston, with his Majesty's order to seize all shipping, and perform other acts of hostility against these revolters, would bring them all to his Majesty's terms, and do more in one week's time than all orders of the King and Council to them in seven years."

Again he reports, from Boston, May 6, 1677:—

"The earnest desire of the most and best of the inhabitants are wearied out with the arbitrary proceedings of the present governor, and desire to be under his Majesty's Government and laws.

"His Majesty hath an opportunity to settle that country

under his royal authority with little charge. Sir John Berry, being now at Virginia, not far distant from New England, and it lies on his way home, where there are many good harbours free from the worm, convenient towns for quartering of soldiers, and plentiful accommodation for men and shipping."

The contest was continued in the reign of James II.: the charters were recalled; but the Governors and Council of Massachusetts were not overcome. Randolph sent out constables to execute his orders, but the people took their staves out of their hands and broke their heads. The scene at the Council House in 1686, when he took leave of the authorities as nominal president, would make a fine subject for an American painter.

Randolph, in his valedictory speech, in 1686, said:—

"It may be thought the unkindness of this good people, in the many injuries they have done me, may have put me forward to do more in this matter than otherwise I would have done. I will endeavour, I assure you, I will pray God to enable me, to forget all injuries and prejudices. And if I can do anything towards an indulgence in matters of religion, and put forward the good of the place, and represent their grievances, when I shall orderly know them; I shall be glad to serve you as well as ever I have done, and no more. Valedictory Speech.

"The address of this country's Governor and Company," he added, "cannot come to the King's ear, nor obtain the light of his favour, but I will represent your case.

DANFORTH. "*I suppose you expect no reply from the Court.*"

PRESIDENT. "I know no Court here in being till the King's Court be in order and settled."

The Puritan veterans remained invincible. Yet they had soon to give place to a new order of things. "The vine brought out of Egypt" had been enclosed

with an iron frame for protection, but its roots had struck deeply into the soil, and its branches must spread.

The founders of the Bay State little thought of the nation that should extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Good Elder Brewster was inconsolable when church members began to remove from the poor little settlement of Plymouth to other districts. He prognosticated, in consequence, the ruin of the country. So little can we comprehend the extent of the divine plan from the section allotted to us as our day's work. The spirit of freedom moved the people.

Woodbridge, in a long letter to Baxter, describing the ecclesiastical condition of New England, dated Killingworth, March 1671, says :—

Ecclesiastical State of New England.

"Of Plymouth jurisdiction I question not but God knows many sincere hearts and faithful hearts among them. Yet they seem to be oversprinkled with Brownism, and to be woven with some of the finer and more spiritual threads of Anabaptism. The first members of the Church of Plymouth, the head town from which the whole colony is denominated, were (*as it is possible you have heard*) a swarm of Mr. Robinson's church in Holland: *and they have not yet thoroughly grown out of the catachezy that hung about them when they transported themselves into the country.*

"The grand dogma of these strict Independents is, that no council has decisive power unless materially jejunely to propound what is naked truth and error, and that every church species has more formal power than an Œcumenical Council.

"*Many of them hold that the civil magistrate has no power in ecclesiastical matters*, neither are churches to give accounts to Courts, *much less to councils*, for any irregular proceeding; and some of them have said to the excommunicate that have complained of maladministration in the church, that they were wronged very much. 'Tarry to be righted at the day of judgment.'"

Many ministers occupied in the planting of the New England colonies we are compelled to pass over. The name of THOMAS WALLEY, of Barnstaple, is comparatively little known, yet he exerted a most beneficial influence. He went from London to New England, June 24, 1662-3, in the ship *Society*. He befriended the Quakers and the Indians, and was strongly opposed to the severity practised by the Government. "I am greatly afflicted in my spirit," he says, April 17, 1676, in a letter to John Cotton, "to see the danger we are in, and the confusion and sad disorder we are fallen into. New England must prepare itself for what the Lord will lay upon it. We had some hope the Indians with us might have proved faithful, and been a help to us; but they see our weakness and confusion, and take great notice of the severity showed towards the squaws that are sent away—some of them much grieved; others, I fear, provoked. They say we cannot so easily raise armies as send away poor squaws. The country about us is troubled and grieved at this action, accounting it very unreasonable; and what the effect will be, God only knows. I could wish our honoured governor would send for them back, and return them to their friends. It would be very acceptable to this part of the country, for there is much discontent about it. Some fear we have paid dearly for our former acts of severity; and how dear we may yet pay, God knoweth."

Thomas Walley.

"July 18.—I observe, throughout the land where Indians are employed, there hath been the greatest success, if not the only success, which is

a humbling providence of God that we have so much need of them, and cannot do our work without them. It should teach us to be wise in our carriage towards them."

In the records of the Barnstaple church the following notice of this philanthropic minister occurs:—"The Lord was pleased to make him a blessed peacemaker, and improve him in the work of his house here till March 24, 1678, being Lord's-day morning, about forenoon meeting time, and then He called him out of his earthly tabernacle into a house not made with hands."

The following touching notes were written in the dying chamber by his friend John Cotton, of Plymouth:—

"Barnstaple, March 21, 1677-8.

"REV. AND DEAR BROTHER, — I am now in precious Mr. Walley's study, just going to the public worship this fast day. His death is expected before the morrow. A poor bleeding, mourning church. The post goes for his son in great distress.

"I am, your affectionate brother, J. C.

"Our glory is almost gone. Ah, poor Plymouth colony!

"25th.—On Friday morning I took my last leave of that holy man of God, who yesterday, about the time of his usual going to the public worship, entered into his eternal Sabbath. In the whole time of his languishing, he had sweet peace of conscience. The peace of God did rest upon that. He told me he found as much need of Christ as ever. I asked him what counsel from him I should impart to the ministry. His reply was, that he was not worthy to commend anything to them, but said his desire was that the ministry should keep their garments pure, and walk close with God. He added, 'Methinks the magistracy is more decayed than the ministry; yet I doubt not but the best minister in the country sees a need to reform.' He did solemnly encourage me with hope of a blessing upon my ministerial labours, and said we must part; but I leave you with confidence

of meeting again with joy. Many young ones did at several times while I was there flock to his bedside, to whom he did with great seriousness give this counsel, that they should highly esteem and improve the covenant that God made with them."

John Davenport, at the urgent and repeated call of the first church in Boston, reluctantly removed there in his seventieth year. After a short and troubled ministry in that city, he died, 15th of March, 1672, in his seventy-third year, and was buried there, in the tomb of his friend John Cotton, who had passed away nearly twenty years before him (23rd December, 1652), at the age of sixty-eight. Removal of Ministers.

Samuel Eaton returned to England, and gathered a church in Duckenfield, and afterwards removed to Stockport. In his last days he attended the ministry of Mr. Angier, at Denton, and died there, 9th June, 1665, aged sixty-eight. He was buried at Denton Chapel.

John Eliot, after witnessing sad vicissitudes in his interesting mission, closed his course in peace. Mr. Walter coming to see him on his death-bed, he said, "Brother, thou art welcome to my very soul. Pray retire to thy study for me, and give me leave to be gone." Being asked how he was, he said: "Alas! I have lost everything: my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me, but, I thank God, my charity holds out still: I find that rather *grows* than fails." "There is a cloud, a dark cloud, upon the work of the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant that it may live when I am dead." One of his last expressions was,

"Welcome joy!" With his last breath he said, "Pray, pray!" He died on the 29th of May, 1690, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

The year 1700 was a time of ecclesiastical transition. "The early race of colonists had passed away. It *was not a reaction*, as is sometimes thought, either in doctrine or practice, from a too stringent rule, but the inevitable result from the incoming of a population of different character and of looser views, who outnumbered the remnant of old Puritans, and of necessity, though silently, changed the character of the province. One by one the old landmarks had been swept off by the surging of new hosts. The half-way Covenant had early marked the first prominent change. The Charter of William and Mary had destroyed the exclusive right of church-members to the ballot-box. The old Congregational *regime* was trembling before the popular will. The civil authority was replacing the ecclesiastical. It was the time of a transition state, out of which momentous events were soon to come, and in which the elements were restless and turbulent.

Ecclesiastical Transition.

"There had been, perhaps, as great a change in the ministry itself. Once the Puritan minister was the leader of his people in the convictions of a distracted age. To succeed proved unshrinking boldness with calm discretion, an iron will with a warm heart, and a theatre in which these qualities had an opportunity to command success. The Nonconformist divine was the first to feel the weight of oppression—was the leader of his people in their exile to the New England wilderness, joined himself

in the same perils, knew how to use a musket in days of terror, and how, when the strife was over, to soothe the dying and mourn for the dead. Years passed away: these men lay in their graves: the wilderness had become fruitful fields: the forest glades resounded with the blow of the axe: the musket hung untouched upon the wall: the virtues needed in the minister were those of the mild and saintly kind, rather than the qualities of an armed man. There were Indian wars, but the western frontier rolled back the tide: the towns of the Piscataqua experienced a temporary mourning: the sounds of strife died away under the pines of the Norridgewock. The battle, however, had been fought, and the victory had been won. None could wield the influence of the early ministry, for none were trained in the tumults of the reign of Charles the First. If they had the old virtues, they had no field in which to test them. The man is necessary to the hour, but so is the hour to the man.

"But the change going on had still another feature—the theological. The old doctrines were in danger. The strife had already begun for the ascendancy of the two schemes of faith.

"Sirs," said Cotton Mather, in a discourse, in 1700, to the ministers and others—"Sirs, we shall not stop here, believe me: the third plot is to betray the *faith* of the churches, the truths of the gospel, the doctrines of grace. These, these, will shortly be assaulted. We shall shortly be called upon to part with those things which are the very life of the soul." *

* Dr. Quint, Cong. Quarterly, 1859.

The kingdom of God on earth advances not in regular gradations, but with alternations of victory and defeat—reconquering what is lost, in order to a more assured and perfect triumph.

With all the defects of the men who have passed before us, how striking is the change between the landing of the Pilgrims and the combination of the four colonies in the assertion of their claim for the confirmation of their several charters. Even in Boston, with all the intolerance we have seen, churches were firmly planted, Congregational, Episcopalian, Baptist: every man who would regard the peace of his neighbourhood might worship with freedom and safety. Already the people had gained the strength, under Providence, to hold the vast American continent for the great purposes to be unfolded according to the Divine plan for the ages to come.

"In this capital city of Boston," said Cotton Mather, "there are ten assemblies of Christians, of different persuasions, who live so lovingly and peaceably together, doing all the offices of friendship for one another in so neighbourly a manner, as may give a sensible rebuke to all the bigots of Uniformity, and show them how consistent a variety of rites in religion may be with the tranquillity of human society, and may demonstrate to the world that persecution for conscientious dissent in religion is an abomination of desolation—a thing whereof all wise and just men will say, "Cursed be its anger."

We shall not linger on the margin of a new era in the reign of William and Mary in the mother-country. The Nonconformists received only a

maimed and defective freedom, not so complete even as that of New England; but bare toleration with many restrictions and disabilities. They began to build meeting-houses, but in obscure places, and as an inferior caste, still recognized only as Dissenters, expected almost to beg pardon for existence. The bishops and statesmen so much indebted to them for their calm decision, self-denial, and forbearance in the national crisis, postponed the consideration of their just claim to religious equality, recommended a meek and quiet spirit, and talked in a deceptive way of "comprehension" and the necessity of charity; as if the charity of the gospel required, under any circumstances, the concealment or sacrifice of honest conviction. Schism was a grand topic with the beneficed clergy, and some who had suggested the necessity of respectful deportment toward Dissenters, now began to brand them as disaffected to the State—unworthy of public trust, and as occupying a subordinate position in society. There were signs of emasculation in many, and a disposition to indulge in somnolent ease. Nonconformists could no longer be legally fined or imprisoned, but they were still mulcted in various ways and made to suffer violence from which there was no redress. Take as an illustration the following document:— New era in England.

"An abstract of the ryot committed at Ludlow, in the county of Sallop, the 12th, 19th, 20th November, 1693:—

"On Sabbath day, 12th of November, 1693, a meeting for religious worship was held in Ludlow in a house legally licensed—during w^{ch} time an alarme was sounded from the

parish church by *ringing of the bells backward*, whereby great numbers of people gathering together in riotous manner exceedingly disturbed the said meeting by clamorous noise and throwing in vast numbers of stones, batts, etc., many of them of several pounds' weight, to the defacing of the house and breaking the windows, to the great terror and apparent hazard of the persons and lives of them within, and the abrupt breaking up of the religious worship. The people that met peaceably, departing, were many of y^m^ set upon in the streets, abused, stoned, beaten, and pursued through the town.

Ryot at Ludlow.

"*The bayliffs and constables of the town were that day absent, withdrawn to a small ale-house out of town to pass y^e^ Sabbath in; whereby noe relief could be had against the said rioters.*

"On Saturday, the 18th of November, the bayliffs were applyed to and advised of what happened thro' their absence, and their care and assistance desired to prevent the like the next day.

"On Sabbath day, the 19th November, another meeting was designed in the said place, and many persons with the minister there congregated; but, such was y^e^ violence and greater hostilities threatened and apprehended by great numbers of persons gathered together about the s^d^ place, *on y^e^ same alarme from the parish church as the last day, that no religious worship could be perform^d^.* Whereupon the people peaceably departing homeward were set upon and worse treated than the day before, and afterwards the house itself was assaulted, all the windows broken, the door forced open, the signs broken down and carried away, the sign-post, part of the freehold, pull'd down and broken, and the house accidentally escap'd the same fury, and several other houses were defaced. The bayliffs were in town all the while, but appeared not in the least to appease the ryot.

"Monday, 20th November, a gentleman of y^e^ neighbourhood at the desire of the master of the house repaired thither to take view of the damage; whereupon great numbers of people, with the *parson's servant* for their leader, came down to y^e^ s^d^ place, caused a great tumult and ryot, whereby the gentleman ran great hazard of his life going thence homeward. Also the master of the house was assaulted and abused, his house forcibly broke open, entered, and possessed a long time by the s^d^ ryoters

to the great affrightment of his family, damage of his house goods, and it was several hours ere s[d] insurrection was appeased."*

"Notwithstanding local commotions of this kind, chapels were now built. Immediately after the revolution of 1688," Mr. Hunter says, "the whole Nonconforming body was in action. With the energy of people suddenly awakened to the sense of liberty, they set themselves to form congregations, and to erect meeting-houses in every part of England. Between 1689 and 1693 was the chief period of the work. Meeting-houses arose in every city, with the exception of Ely; in all the large towns; in many populous villages; the whole number of congregations with each its own minister, founded in the first twenty years after the liberty granted by the Act of Toleration, by Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, was between 1000 and 1100. In these numbers the Welsh congregations are not included."

Chapels built.

By the efforts of Increase Mather and others, Presbyterians and Independents were brought into friendly relationship. Fourscore ministers in London entered into an association, in which their former distinctions were merged and published in 1691, a pamphlet entitled "Heads of Agreement," assented to by the united ministers in and about London, formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational.

Heads of Agreement.

"All pretence," they say, "to coercive power is as unsuitable to our principles as to our circumstances, excommunication itself, on our respective churches, being no other than a declaring such scandalous members as irreclaimable, to be incapable of

* Harleian, 6854, 21.

communion with us in things peculiar to visible believers, and in all, we expressly determine our purpose to the maintaining of harmony and love among ourselves, and preventing the inconveniences which human weakness may expose us to in our use of liberty."

They agreed: "That particular societies of visible saints, who under Christ their Head, are statedly joined together for ordinary communion one with another, in all the ordinances of Christ, are particular churches, and are to be owned by each other, as instituted churches of Christ, though differing in apprehensions and practice in some lesser things.

"That none shall be admitted as members in order to communion in all the special ordinances of the gospel, but such persons as are knowing and sound in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, without scandal in their lives and to a judgment regulated by the Word of God, are persons of visible godliness and honesty; credibly professing cordial subjection to Jesus Christ.

"A competent number of such visible saints (as before described) do become the capable subjects of stated communion in all the special ordinances of Christ, upon their mutual declared consent and agreement to walk therein according to gospel rule. In which declaration different degrees of explicitness, shall no way hinder each other, as instituted churches.

"That each particular church hath right to choose their own officers; and being furnished with such as are duly qualified and ordained according to the gospel rule, hath authority from Christ for exercising government, and of enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself.

"In the administration of church power, it belongs to the pastors and other elders of every particular church (if such there be), to rule and govern, and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the gospel.

"We agree that particular churches ought not to walk so distinct and separate from each other as not to have care and tenderness towards one another. But their pastors ought to have frequent meetings together, that by mutual advice, support, encouragement, and brotherly intercourse, they may strengthen the hearts and hands of each other in the ways of the Lord.

"That none of our particular churches shall be subordinate to one another; each being endued with equality of power from Jesus Christ. And that none of the said particular churches, their officer or officers, shall exercise any power, or have any superiority over any other church or their officers."

The association was not permanent, but as an indication of the capability of union and of co-operation in those who are of "one faith," the declaration of sentiment is of the highest interest. The change is marvellous in contrast with the violent antagonism in the time of Thomas Edwards and Robert Baillie.

It is also worthy of observation, that after the matured and systematic writings of Barclay and Penn in the state of feeling between the Society of Friends, holding evangelical doctrines and other religious denominations, there was a change for the better.

Their enemies observed that Independents and Presbyterians met together more frequently, and that they associated with "the people called Quakers."

The "United Brethren" were not well "compacted together." It was soon found that there were diversities of opinion that led to disintegration, and greatly to the disappointment of its sanguine promoters, the scheme of agreement was followed by painful and alienating controversies. There is a lesson in the failure. Unity worthy of the name, cannot be secured by management or by external pressure. It must spring from clearer spiritual knowledge and the Christian affections that spring from a growing love to Him who is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," by the frank avowal of

honest conviction, and not from its concealment, there must be a basis for mutual confidence in the common persuasion of unfeigned sincerity. Idle schemes of comprehension for securing the endowments or the prestige of a national Establishment can only amuse men who suppose that gain is godliness, and to whom truth is not of primary importance.

Death of Ministers.

The venerable survivors of the Ejectment of 1662, were now passing away from the cares and conflicts of earth. Of the "two thousand" few remained, and these, full of infirmities, were rapidly sinking. David Clarkson, the worthy co-pastor and successor of John Owen, and the author of the able treatise entitled "No Evidence for Diocesan Churches," died at Mortlake, June 14, 1686. "He was a man of sincere godliness (says Dr. Bates), and true holiness, which is the divine part of a minister. He was well satisfied to serve the church, and illustrate the truth and to remain in his beloved secrecy." John Howe was called to preach funeral sermons in succession for Richard Adams, who died Feb. 7, 1697-8; Dr. Bates, July 14, 1699, and Matthew Mead, Oct. 16, 1699. Of Adams, he said:—

"About fifty years, I remember, his course and our conversation was not casual, or at distance, as that of mere colleagues chosen by others, but as friends inward, and chosen by ourselves. Many a day we have prayed together, conferred and taken sweet counsel together. In the great city he shone a bright and burning light, till many such lights were in one day put under a bushel. I need not tell you what, or how black that day was, and then, though he was constrained to desert his station, he did not desert his work; but still he was with God, and God was

with him. No man," he said, "knows how to speak of the excellences of Dr. Bates, that hath not the eloquence of Dr. Bates!

"Be it far from us to say, let us die with him, as despairing of our cause. If our cause be not that of any self-distinguished party, but truly that common Christian cause, of which you have heard, while it is the divine pleasure to continue us here, let us be content, and submit to live and own it, to live and serve it, to our uttermost. If ever God design good days to this Christian church on earth, this is the cause that must prevail, and triumph in a glorious conquest over death. But I must freely tell you my apprehensions—which I have often hinted—that I fear it must die first: I mean a temporary death. I fear it, for it hath been long gradually dying already, and spiritual diseases which have this tendency, are both sinful and penal.

"While such men as we have lost, lived, they did, and such do, as instruments, keep somewhat of serious religion alive, under our several forms, but as ready to expire. But though it should seem generally to have expired, let us believe it shall revive. The same power that makes us return into a state of life, will bring us into a state of unity on divine light and love."

Of Matthew Mead, he said:—

"I well remember, that about three or four years ago, being desired to give some help, on a Lord's day, to that eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Greenhill, whose praise is still in all the churches, I then heard him preach; and (if my memory fail not) he had about that time in hand, some part of that excellent discourse of the 'Almost Christian.' He was long languishing, and even dying daily; but amidst surrounding death, as a relation told me, there was no appearance of any the least cloud upon his spirit, that obscured the evidence to a blessed eternity. Being asked how he did, he said, 'Going home, as every honest man ought, when his work was done.'"

Ministers prepared to follow these eminent Christian confessors, were not distinctly in view. Under many difficulties students for ministerial work were trained in the Academy of Mr. Frank-

land, and other private institutions, but they were not all characterized by the same soundness in the faith or Christian devotedness. Yet there was one whose name will be precious so long as Christian churches in England exist—the young minister who preached for the first time at Girdler's Hall in 1698, as the colleague of Dr. Chauncy, the son of an excellent deacon of the church in Southampton, who was twice imprisoned for Nonconformity. His mother had often told him of her visit to the gaol when she took him in her arms to see his father. He had already written a few hymns that are sung with devotional feeling by the people, millions more will sing them, and bless the name of ISAAC WATTS to their dying hour.

Isaac Watts.

The last of the ejected ministers were not allowed to close their days without reproach and bitter revilings. Schismatics they were called. Opprobrium and scorn they might well for themselves treat with indifference, but for the strengthening of younger brethren, they wrote a valedictory address, part of which will form a fitting close to our present work :—

"DEAR CHRISTIANS, our companions in the kingdom and patience of our Lord Jesus Christ,—

"*Above forty years since we were removed from our public ministrations. You have until now affectionately adhered to us*, as we have truly designed to follow Christ by the light of his Word in a way of worship that is now deserted by some—and everywhere spoken against ; and, no wonder, considering the difficulties which have, and do attend us therein. Most of our ejected brethren, not shaken in mind by any tribulations, have in this life finished their course in peace ; and, because we also must shortly put off this tabernacle, you require our riper thought of the way we continue in. We, therefore, in duty to you, and to the truth we

Valedictory Address of surviving Ejected Ministers.

have pleaded and suffered for, shall once more answer your demand as expecting shortly to answer for our practice to our great Judge. If we erred, it was through fear of erring; and did we now discern such error, we solemnly protest that we would give glory to God by candid confession and retractation. But let others judge of us how they will, we must still profess, *that as conformity appeared to us in* 1662, *our conscience did not allow us to submit to that yoke*, though hereby we left all our worldly interests to hazard. Others see not with our eyes, and we have learnt of our Master not to judge them (Matt. vii. 1; Rom. xiv. 4—10); but we are debtors to you, and to the rising generation, who daily hear us misrepresented by some who never think it seasonable for us to speak for ourselves, and yet fail not to cry, our cause is baffled, when we silently sit down under the clamour. Our care is not to please men, but to approve ourselves to God. These matters of *positive worship*, which have occasioned so much unhappy strife, though they are not the *great things of the law*, are some part of the counsel of God, else how could we walk by rule therein? Exod. xxv. 9—40; Ezek. xliii. 10, 11; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Therefore, in fulfilling our ministry, they must be sometime told you to be remembered after our decease . . . It would be joy to us to forbear all that looks like contention, till by uniting our vigour with all our Protestant brethren, the Atheistical and profane spirit were driven out of our land, and such a benefit we expected from the necessary Act of Indulgence granted for the *ease of scrupulous consciences* in 1689, founded upon great reasons which can never lose their force. But swarms of books written since against us do oblige us to let the impartial see we have not forgot the reasons which we verily think do warrant our practice.

"The great things of the law and gospel most essential to godliness are uncontested between us. We agree with all true Protestants to reverence Holy Scripture as the plain, perfect, only rule of religion in all its parts. By that standard we must try all doctrines and practices, and by that rule we must reform whatever is disordered in the house of God (1 Tim. iii. 15; 2 Tim. iii. 14—16). What the Word of God doth not warrant us to practise in the church, we for conscience' sake do peaceably refuse: and for this we are *Nonconformists* or *Dissenters*, *i.e.*, from such brethren who think they may and ought to observe

divers other things in worship and discipline, not required by the Word, but only prescribed by human laws. These modes or forms of worship they usually call *indifferent things* in their nature; but by *imposing them, and that under penalties* do not leave them so to us, nor leave us free as to the use of them, if we would think them indifferent too. . . ."

After a full and clear statement of their objections to things contained in the Book of Common Prayer, the Book of Homilies, they add:—

"*An imposed ministry* is another grievance, and hinders our parochial communion. The patron and the bishop must impose ministers, often unknown to the people, and without their consent; and too often ignorant, vicious, and unworthy. Whenever this happens, is it not a hard chapter to commit to them the care of our souls and posterity? Do not all men by natural right choose their own lawyers, physicians, and friends, whom they entrust? We claim but the same for our immortal souls, that every church may choose its overseers, as every corporation its magistrates, and every scholar, under parents' direction, chooses his own school and master. As in the Old Testament, *the people of the land took a man, and set him for a watchman* (Ezek. xxxiii. 2). So in the New, the Christian brethren chose two of their company, of whom the Holy Ghost marked one to be the twelfth apostle (Acts i. 15—22, Acts vi. 3—5). Are we not more concerned to choose and call our pastors by the best advice we can have? Some, perhaps, will make an injudicious choice; but are not the people grown so injudicious under imposed pastors? And will the patrons always mend the matter? Let all experience speak. Imposition of ministers is really the highway to destroy mutual affection between them and their people; to make the people careless, and even the serious ministers heartless and uneasy, if not ungrateful and useless to the people.

"Nor is this all: but the imposed minister is bishop's curate or vicarius, so that in receiving the curate so we own the bishop as sole pastor of his diocese (even of hundreds of parishes where perhaps he never comes), and a distinct officer in the church, exercising a lordship over presbyters and people.

Whereas, the bishop, whom Scripture teacheth us to honour in the Lord, is the pastor or resident minister to a particular flock of Christ—watching over them to guide and feed them with the pure word, sacraments, and godly discipline (Acts xx. 17, 28; Phil. i.; 1 Thess. v. 12; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 5, 17). Men of sound doctrine, and of grave and exemplary life, apt and able to teach, who, by so excelling, become amiable to the people, who are to trust and follow them."

With respect to schism, they say :—

"A SEPARATION we own, in word and in deed; but this is so just and necessary to keep a good conscience, that we constantly deny it to be schism. For schism is opposite to church unity and peace, which (as much as in us lies) we strove to preserve by all Christ's methods, wishing our neighbours would do likewise.

"Church unity consists not in things extrinsically or accidental to the being of the church, such *as uniformity of rites and ceremonies*, which the Thirty-nine Articles declare to be variable in sundry times and nations. The Catholic Church is a company of faithful people believing in Christ and subject to Him; who upon his gospel-call, come from among the unclean, and receiving or honouring Christ, by faith, do cleave to Him, and are built upon Him as their foundation (Eph. ii. 18 to 22; 1 Pet. ii. 4, 6). They trust to Him as Captain of their salvation, to bring them to God as their chosen portion. In and under Him they unite to one another in a body of love, which is the bond of perfectness and peace; and it is to that end wrought in the hearts of believers by one spirit (Gal. v. 22). Faith and love are of infinitely greater concern in the church than to meet in one place, or worship God in one mode. These two are the great commandments on which depends Christ's honour in this world, and the edification of his body, the Church (John xiii. 35; 1 John iii. 23, iv. 20). We, by the grace of Christ, receive Christ in all offices, and build on Him alone for salvation; we labour that our *faith work by love* to Him and to all his; we delight to serve any of his disciples for his sake, however differing from us; and, as we have opportunity, we rejoice to hold communion with them, so far as we can to edification

and without sin; therefore we deny the charge of schism. For *schism* in Scripture account seems chiefly to consist in *uncharitable alienation of Christian hearts from each other because of their differing about lesser things in religion* (1 Cor. iii. 34). Whereas agreeing in the essentials of faith and worship, they should *receive one another to the glory of God as Christ received them* (Rom. v. 6, 7), and hold loving communion as a household of faith and family of love (Eph. iv. 5, 6, 15, 16).

I. "There may be *schism*, or a schismatical spirit working *in a church* where there is no local secession or separation of worship (Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. i. 10, 11, iii. 3, 4). Such sects or factions were at Corinth, and are there no feuds and bitter parties now in this prelatical church? They all, indeed, agree in *conformity* rather in promising and swearing to conform to the law, but not in the sense of the said oaths, nor in consequent practice. However, if agreeing in *conformity* preserves from schism, will they be so kind to tell us at last, why our agreeing with them in doctrinal and practical Christianity might not much rather preserve us from that guilt?

II. "There may be a separation from local communion with this or that church without *guilty schism*. So the Protestants at God's call (Rev. xviii. 4) came out from Popery, because of its incurable corruptions and endless impositions. Somewhere they must assemble for God's solemn worship; and in Popery they could not. What remains them, but that they worship in separate communions. Now, this is the very plea of Dissenters, who think the Protestant impositions in this church to be sinful. It matters not who are the imposers, but what is imposed. We confess we cannot conform without sinning; that which is not faith to us is sin (Rom. xiv. 23). Must we then sin, to avoid the charge of schism? Must we transgress or disobey Christ's orders, to promote man's uniformity? We do not choose distinct communions for humour, but are forced thereto by unwarranted impositions; and while we do this humbly, peaceably, and in a tender regard to God's commandment, without a cankered, factious mind, and are still ready to coalesce with all true Christians, upon Christ's terms, we never fear that our Master will charge us with schism. Let it but be granted us (as surely it must) that Christ, the Lord and Head of his church, must judge who shall be members of it, and on what

terms, if we then dispute any terms of his, let us bear the guilt and shame of rending his seamless coat, dividing his body, or whatever they will call it. But imperious men frame terms of communion, wherein we cannot acquiesce, we are only liable to their imperious censure and clamour, and are no schismatics at the bar of Scripture.

"More weak and pitiable are they yet, who *count our assemblies schismatical, because we meet in places not so consecrated as theirs;* and for this, some disgust our worship, who say, *they would like us and our way well enough in the churches.* And indeed, some have scarce any notion of a church, but that great house with the steeple and bells; which edifices have been polluted more than ours, if idolatry, formerly practised therein, could pollute them. And, abating the Popish rites of consecration, ours are as truly dedicated and consecrated as theirs, for we provide the most decent accommodations we can for God's ordinances; and usually separate those houses from all sordid uses, and the Most High disdains not to meet us there. Sometimes by hard necessity we held our assemblies in dwelling-houses, in barns, in deserts, and such tabernacles as could be had: and do not all men know the cause? This was not our choice, and yet our duty at that time. We love not to dwell in cedar and ceiled houses, where God's ark dwells in curtains. Our accusers now see that in our strait circumstances we desire and freely allow houses peculiar to God's worship, call them synagogues, churches, chapels, temples, meeting-houses, or what you please; only we deny that any place or walls are now holy, as once the typical altar and temple were (John iv. 21, 23; 1 Tim. ii. 8; Acts x. 28 to 33). Were we and our accusers personally more holy and wise, and candid, we should be less fond of this or that distinguished place, which can add no sanctity to our actions there. Meanwhile it contents us to find, in Scripture, that Christ, and his apostles, and primitive churches worshipped God in such liberty of places, as we do (John ii. 19) in a house where they shut the doors for fear of the Jews; and there Christ came and blessed them, according to his sweet promise, which limits to no place (Matt. xviii. 20), *Wherever two or three are met in his name.* Let it be in the clefts of the rocks or other retiring places (Canticles ii. 14), in deserts and mountains, in dens and caves of the earth (Heb. xi. 38). So Christ preached in deserts,

in mountains, in ships, in open fields, in houses, in synagogues, or in the temple. So did the Protestants secretly assemble in London in Queen Mary's time."

After enumerating at length the grounds of Nonconformity as ministers, they add :—

"These were the difficulties cast in our way; which being to us insuperable, we could not continue in our parishes, ministering to you, our dear friends, as we desired. Wherefore to pay our ordination vows to God, a necessity lies upon us to preach the gospel, when and where we may; we have counted the cost, and woe to us if we preach not the gospel while hungry souls crave it of us; though some say, woe to us if we do."

In apology for *ministers raised up since the ejectment*, they say :—

"The prophets live not for ever: wherefore, as need required, others have supplied the room of our brethren deceased. These never took the Covenant, nor are obliged now to renounce it. In this, their case differs from ours; but as to other impositions it is the same. These are Dissenters too, and by their practice we judge they have the same persuasion as we, touching the Established Church government, discipline, and ceremonies; so they cannot be received into parochial ministry. What then must they do, but practice as we have done? We know full well, our accusers will see no need of our ministry and meetings; we wish there were not; but the contrary is evident. Our nation is populous enough to fill both their temples and ours; and in *many parishes, if the people had not our ministry, they must have no preaching.* Why then do not the churchmen rather cry, '*Come in and help us against prevailing ignorance, error, and impiety.*' How little of the power of godliness is left? And will they never think of any way to restore it, but by persecuting us? May they not observe some good fruit of our ministry, in preserving the knowledge of God, and soundness of faith, and in catholic love, even to our troublers? . . .

"It offends some, that *we raise a succession of ministers to our distinct congregations*: but will they hear us a little as to this?

I. "We have conscientiously taught our hearers the way of the Lord; and they, as in duty bound, have taught their families his statutes; whereupon some of our posterity, weighing the grounds of our practice, think the Scripture is on our side, and that they are obliged to dissent for the same reasons as we; and must these have no ministry? Our neighbours have not yet learned of the French King, to force our children from us, to be trained up in their way; and we certainly, if we be true to any principles and be honest men, must train them up in our way; not forcing them to follow us, but instructing them in the Bible; and in so doing, some of them do follow us. We hope none will ask us to seek peace with men by profaning our families or suppressing the Bible therein. Wherefore we must be false, cruel, wicked, and fools, if we let our ministry fail. Do not our accusers think themselves bound thus to provide for these people? Besides, many of our hearers are seals to our ministry; God made us spiritual 'fathers in Christ,' to them by the gospel; and must we be unnatural, in taking no care to bring up our own children?

II. "The parochial communion remains still as it was, if our exceptions against it were just as to ourselves, the same will be so as to our posterity; nor do we know yet, that others have repented of their persecuting us into illegal fines, prisons, exile, and beggary. A frenzy which some of the church have ever bewailed (alas, how few!) . . . While persecution and profaneness are not purged out, it is not our coming into the church can make it a communion of saints.

"We then being mortal men, and debtors to posterity, and finding many parishes furnished with very blind guides, some infamous for doctrine and morals, and our posterity unsatisfied and unsafe under them, are obliged to help them the best we can (2 Tim. ii. 2). It is notorious with how great disadvantage we educate any, and under what sore discouragements they enter the ministry, conscious of many unavoidable debilities, which reasonable men will consider; but sense of duty to God and men constrains us to endeavour our best.

III. "Since the continuing of the separation offends, if our brethren had indeed rather have our company and ministerial help in their churches, they may open their doors wider, and once let *Christ's terms of communion* take place, that is a short

and sure way to end the separation or dissent. But for us now to come in, as the case yet stands, is to make ourselves transgressors, by building again what we destroyed. It is to belie our fixed judgment and conscience, to disparage that farther degree of reformation we had attained, and go backwards; yea, to engage against all progress in reformation where both parties confess there is much need of it. But God forbid that we should provoke God against our land, by such backsliding. If a perpetuated separation ensues hereon, the fault is not ours, for the remedy is not in our power."

A sketch is then given of "the history of Dissenting;" at the close of this retrospect they say:—

"Our dissent is plainly against our worldly ease and interest every way. We have laboured to convince our rulers that we do it in obedience to Scripture light, and the dictates of conscience, and in a faithful concern to please God. . . . We see it is but little the times will bear, when all occasions are sought against us. A burden of invidious clamours we contentedly bear, striving to approve our ways to God and man, as the apostle has directed us (2 Cor. vi. 3, 10). And kind providence evidently calls us all, under this gentle government, to unite our vigour against prevailing impiety. In that more necessary service we delight, and therein continue to this day, only at your request we have thus far diverted, to give you a memorial of our case and our plea.

"These things hold us to the way of Nonconformity, wherein we are comfortably finishing our course, though bearing such calumny as you must expect in the same way."

They close with the following practical address:—

"Dearly Beloved in our Lord Jesus,—As dying men, once more we put you in mind of some things unquestionably great and weighty: our pilgrimage has been through various trials in very unsettled times, under which having obtained mercy to be found faithful in some measure, our great care is, that the work of God may outlive us, and prosper more in your hands: hear us, therefore, now, as you love us, your overseers and servants in the gospel; hearken to us now, because shortly you can hear us

no more; or rather hear what the Spirit speaks unto the churches (Rev. ii. 7).

"We shall not further trouble you about the grounds of Nonconformity, nor would have you trouble us. If the reasons aforesaid are of force with you, a necessity lies upon you to walk in *separate communions* ordinarily, yet maintaining *unity of spirit in the bond of peace* with all true Christians who call on the name of the Lord Jesus. Conscience towards them obliges you to associate for his solemn worship.

"1. For his greater honour, and to advance his kingdom of grace in the world.

"2. For mutual edification and comfort. But the same conscience will oblige you to walk in all wisdom, humility, and in charity, not in a spirit of envy or contention. Suffer us, therefore, now, as the apostles, in view of their decease, to put you in mind—

"I. Of some constant duty towards your Redeemer, your Lord and Head.

"II. Of mutual duty among yourselves, and to your ministers.

"III. Of some duty to such Christians as you dissent from.

"IV. Of duty to your families and posterity.

"For by all these you are to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour; but we can offer you only short hints.

"I. Hear our solemn charge and serious advice concerning duty to Christ Jesus, your great Prophet, High Priest of your profession, and your glorious King, the faithful Husband and Guide of his Church, and her honourable Head. Surely very much is always due to Him (Ps. xlv. 2). He is thy Lord, worship thou Him.

"1. Your distinct communions as Nonconformists were primitively grounded in a fuller *testimony to the kingly office of Christ*, and his peculiar dignity in his own house, where He must be Lawgiver alone, and will not share away his glory: wherefore, know Him well in that capacity. As his priestly mediation and intercession is incommunicable to any, so is his royal authority. He will have none to command any doctrine, ordinance, or practice which He in his Word has not taught, nor to set aside any of his orders (Matt. xvii. 5, xxiii. 9, 10). Hear Him.

"Study this great office of Christ in its several branches, as his Word displays it, that you may *never give up his rights to any*

that would invade his throne. There is a *Man of Sin, King of the children of pride*, who magnifies himself at a most strange rate (2 Thess. ii. 3—12), and presumes to *change times and laws*, for he does all in his church like one that is above all law. He enacts new ordinances and ceremonies; yea, new doctrines and sacraments, according to his will. His spirit was early working in the Church (1 John ii. 18, iv. 3). Now that you may disown him, you should and may know him, by what is said of him (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3). *No usurpers are you to receive, but always, and in all things, follow the Lamb of God* (Rev. xiv. 4). The Pope arrogates a universal headship under Christ, but really in opposition to Him, and therein that set of men are the Antichrist. Others claim not so much, yet would be meddling in Christ's house, and teaching Him how to order it. But He is a wise and faithful King, though his kingdom is not of this world; that is, it is not got, nor kept, nor managed like worldly kingdoms, nor to worldly ends. By the sword of his mouth He subdues the rebellious to Himself; and that same word is the sceptre whereby He rules them. But He writes his laws in their hearts, and from his own fulness of life and spirit imparts to them such vital influence (like that of a head to the members of the natural body, or of a vine to its branches) as gives them strength and freedom in the ways of holy obedience, wherefore know Him in his peculiar royalty.

"2. Acknowledge Him heartily as your only King. To Him alone must his own Church submit, by word and deed, as subjects to their own King (Eph. v. 23; Phil. ii. 10, 11; Acts iii. 22). *To us there is but one Lord* and Master in religion, to whom every knee must bow, and He is justly jealous of his own prerogative and honour. Particular saints avouch him as the only Lord of their conscience, who has dominion over their faith and worship: and so must you all do in each of your societies, and in your joint worship; for there also He is Head. Therefore—

"II. Every church must be framed or constituted according to his will and institution. His church is a *chosen generation, a peculiar people.* He, by his word preached, seeks them out, and calls them, so as they come and cleave to Him by faith. His Spirit of grace qualifies them for communion with Him and with each other; He obliges them to unite and walk in particular societies, and his Word describes who are persons meet and

worthy to be admitted members therein, or to enjoy the privileges of his visible household: also how and by whom these are to be so received. The Word sets down what offices shall always be in his Church, what sort of persons shall bear and execute those offices, how and by whom they must be called thereto and vested therein, how they should behave themselves in their offices, and how they should be maintained and supported. Now, *search the Scriptures, that in the structure of your churches none of his orders be overseen, slighted, or transgressed: humbly conform to all the plain dictates of his wisdom and sovereign pleasure, and in the rest you must of necessity exercise modesty and mutual forbearance.*

"1. In your particular fellowships walk carefully and unanimously in all the ordinances of worship, neglecting none. Say not, 'What need is there of them? or, What profit by them? What need of Sabbath? Why so much preaching and praying, and that in solemn assemblies, when we might read as good at home? Or what need of visible covenanting by sacraments?' A most wretched indifference grows upon many as to external worship—we fear it is by their sad formality in it—though God have specially promised his presence therein, and is thereby eminently glorified among men. What worship they pay is made rather an act of liberty than of duty or necessity: this is not to honour Him. Infinite wisdom and love directed all his prescriptions: supreme authority established them: hence his lovers delight in his power (Psa. xxiii. 6, xxvi. 8, xxvii. 4), for that his blessings are assured and dispensed (Exod. xx. 24; Ps. lxxvi. 2, lxxxvii. 2, 3; Isa. lvi. 6, 7, iv. 5, 6). It is an evil heart of unbelief that draws back from them (Heb. iii. 12, 13), and it is bold licentious pride to put a slight on any of them. Wherefore keep them all pure and entire, and duly attend them (Matt. xxviii. 20; 1 Cor. xi. 2). So Zacharias and Elisabeth walked in all the ordinances blameless (Luke i. 6).

"2. *Since in religion you are not servants of men in true fidelity to Christ, you must in your places peaceably oppose and refuse whatever innovations, injunctions, are traditions of men* (Acts iv. 19, v. 19). *Would any change the Lord's-day for another day, or command other feasts to be equally regarded, or forbid you to sanctify the Lord's holy day, or suppress his holy Word, or set up another rule of faith and judge of controversies? Do they devise new modes of worship, or mingle their own fancies with his*

institutions? For conscience' sake, receive them not, but obey Christ above all men (Micah v. 2, 5). *But still preserving the honour due to the persons of superiors, and to their authority in all other matters* (Rom. xiii. 1), *faithful magistrates will ask no more*, and humble bishops dare no more equal their canons to his, than apocryphal stories to divine Scripture. *When corruptions grow general, it is time for them that are on the Lord's side to show themselves for Him* (Ex. xxxii. 26).

"3. Uphold the fame and honour of Christ, and nourish your trust in Him, and love to Him by speaking one to another in his praise (Cant. i. 2, 3; Mal. iii. 16). Tell how great and wise and good He is. What live you for, but to exalt Him that died for your ransom? (Psa. cxlv. 5, 12; Rom. xiv. 8, 9). Mention how great a Saviour He is, how loving and strong a Redeemer, how perfect a Counsellor, how tender, faithful, and constant a Friend, altogether lovely (Ps. lxxxix, 1; Cant. v. 10—16; Isa. ix. 6; vii. 63); thus St. Paul spread his fame in all his epistles, and by all his ministry (2 Cor. ii. 14); and valued his life chiefly for this, that Christ might be magnified in his body (Phil. i. 20, 21). The very children He accepted in singing hosannas to Him (Matt. xxi. 15, 16). The blessed above praise Him without weariness, so must you delight in Him, and be devoted to Him. This is to honour Him as your Lord and Head, or be in subjection to Him in all things, as a people taken out of the world for his name (Acts xv. 14).

"4. We exhort you next, to continue in all mutual duty as church members, and to a due regard to all those ministers of Christ whom the Chief Shepherd sends to you, or sets over you for his service, and your edification. Every member seeking its own salvation, is also to design the edification of the body (1 Cor. ix. 22, x. 33). Every part must be useful to the whole (Eph. iv. 15, 16; 1 Cor. xii. 25, 26, 27); and that must be by mutual communication and company; therefore the Apostle exhorts all to covet the best gifts that they may be fruitful (ver. 31).

"5. As to your ministers, elder or younger, we will offer but this one word: Christ hath honoured them in that He sent them in his name, and on his business. Wherefore kindness or unkindness done to them, He resents as done to Himself. Take heed then how you receive and see his ambassadors, the stars

that He holds in his right hand; great is their work, and their cares weighty (Acts xx. 28, 31; 2 Tim. iv. 2; 1 Pet. v. 2), and all for your souls. Do this then, and esteem for Christ's sake; assist and encourage them in their work for your own sakes (1 Thess. v. 12, 13; 1 Tim. v. 17; Phil. ii. 29, 30). Pray incessantly for them (Heb. xiii. 18). Cheerfully attend the holy ministrations (1 Thess. 2, 13). Free them from worldly cares, by a competent provision for them and their households (Gal. vi. 6), that they may attend their work without distraction, and maintain decent hospitality. Satan and the world will set against them by slanders and wicked arts. Be you always their faithful, zealous friends, especially under reproaches, temptations, and infirmities. (Phil. iv. 10, 15—19).

"III. To your fellow-members, your duty is manifold, as—

"1. Keep in mind Christ's dear command of mutual love, (John xiii. 34), which is everlastingly new and obliging. Manage all your church affairs as loving brethren (Phil. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4). Unite your thoughts and counsels how to uphold the interest and kingdom of Christ, and to preserve truth, holiness, and peace in and amongst all his churches, and to destroy the works and designs of the devil. When you act with united hearts and strength, your Lord's ambassadors will be cheered in their hard warfare, and their sacred work furthered. God promiseth his people *one heart* (Ezek. xi. 19), and commands whatever tends to make their hearts one. When brethren dwell together in unity, He commands the blessing (Ps. cxxxiii. 1—3). Wherefore, by all means cherish this unity, and unfeigned love; as by all humble carriage, and by offices of brotherly kindness (Rom. xvi. 14; Eph. iv. 2, 3, 15, 16, v. 2; Col. iii. 14; 1 Pet. iv. 8, v. 5). Praying with, and for each other (Rom. xv. 30), and assisting each other as ye have means and opportunity (Rom. xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4; Gal. vi. 10). Honouring and esteeming them whom God honoureth to be remarkably useful (1 Cor. xvi. 15, 16, 18, 20). Verily such love as this is fulfilling of the law, and by your love it must be seen that you have felt the power of Christ's love. Ye are of one body, and members one of another. Wherefore, like the members of the natural body, ye must have a mutual care, and be ready to help and serve each other in love.

"2. You are indispensably bound to meet often in Christ's

name, at stated times and places, that you may glorify God in a communion of saints (Acts iv. 32; Heb. x. 23). God demands this to be chiefly on the Lord's days; yet it becomes the Lord's redeemed to bring Him their free-will offerings and spare other times for like use. And when a church hath deliberately chosen such to meet monthly, weekly, or otherwise, for prayer, Christian conference, etc., no member should for small causes neglect to attend; that would be to your own loss, and might cause grief or offence to others, as a forward example of diligence would be to their comfort and strength. Wherefore look upon this as a duty both to Christ and to his church; and take heed of falling back from your first love, and early zeal (Ps. cxxii. 1, 2; Isa. ii. 3, 5).

"3. To sweeten all your meetings, let an humble, peaceable, loving spirit rule you therein (Rom. xii. 9, 10, 16; 1 Pet. ii. 22). Beware of heart alienations, and all occasions thereof; and let no man lift up himself in contempt of others. Strife and discord often happen through small diversities of opinion or practice; wherefore avoid such diversity what you can; and where that cannot be, see that no grudge or disunion grow thereby (1 Cor. i. 10; Phil. i. 27, ii. 1, 2, 3). There are scornful and turbulent spirits, that sow discord by violent zeal for some party or fancy, and by tale-bearing. Beware of all such practices in your assemblies, which would create a mutual strangeness, distances, or jealousy, and destroy all your comforts (Rom. xvi. 17; 2 Thess. iii. 6). You will preserve the peace and presence of God with you by a humble condescending carriage, and great self-denial. Do not therefore willingly give offence to the poorest or weakest, but pay them all due honour (Rev. xv. 1, 2). Undissembled humility is a great ornament, and beautifies a Christian to all beholders, it makes him shine like Christ Himself; wherefore, follow Him and be ready to treat the meanest Christian as Christ was wont to do, or as you would treat Christ Himself. A haughty spirit and behaviour is certainly of the Devil, and expels the gospel of peace and the peace of God, and grieves the Blessed Comforter (James iv. 6, .7; Eph. iv. 30, 31).

"4. Let every one design and aim to be serviceable in his place and relation; every little member of one natural body pleases the whole. The eye is the light of all the body; the

tongue pleads for the whole, or for any part: the hand receives and labours as much for the foot or the head, as for itself. Let none of you be contentedly unfruitful. What temporals or spirituals you have received, gladly communicate (Acts ii. 44—46; Gal. iii. 28, vi. 2, 9, 10). As to spiritual riches, of gifts, grace, or experience, you may be modestly willing at all times to impart thereof to such as need the same (Ps. lxvi. 16). I will show you what God hath done for my soul. I will report my observation of God's conduct towards me and others; to edify my companions, succour the ignorant, weak, fearful or tempted. I will record what I have found of the Lord's gracious, faithful dealings with me. Covet, therefore, a gracious ability to speak a word in season, keeping in your place (1 Cor. xiv. 1; Eph. iv. 29; Col. iii. 16); and be frequent in such useful communion (Mal. iii. 16; Acts xiv. 27); the errors and follies of some vain babblers that may happen under this pretext, must not drive you into barren conversation as to temporals that you possess; be rich in good works; free and forward to spare of your plenty to them that need, though others that abound more than you, perhaps will not (Eph. iv. 28; Heb. xiii. 16); to make all things common, as in Acts iv. 32—35, is not a law or rule to any but in such like circumstances of the church. But you must at all times study to honour the Lord with your substance (Prov. iii. 9; 1 Tim. vi. 17—19). It is always praiseworthy to distribute willingly with prudence, and in proportion to your receivings, and of your own accord when occasion offers (Acts ii. 28, 29). Yea, sometimes beyond your ability (2 Cor. viii. 1—5). Moses declared to Israel that good law of paying the tenths of all their increase to the Lord; but the deep reasons thereof were far older and unalterable (Gen. xiv. 20, xxviii. 22). Indeed, it seems that ordinarily God claims a tenth of our goods as a seventh of our time; which, one thing well considered, would make our distribution much more large and frequent, without grudging, and then many complaints of the needy would effectually cease; the Lord's labourers might with ease be well supplied in greater numbers, and such as He calls to suffer for his name be cheerfully supported (Matt. xxv. 35, 36; Phil. iv. 15—18; 3 John 5, 6, 7); and none would be exposed to temptations of beggary in times of peace; which is a most unhappy way for the destitute to seek relief; and is liable to many mischiefs and abuses.

It seems utterly disallowed in the law of Moses, though when that state declined we find some instances of it; truly ingenuous spirits can hardly have the face to beg. Now because all the needy cannot make noisy complaints, some of the rich should, of their own accord, search into their wants and distresses, as Job did (Job xxix. 12—16), or visit their poor cottages to see what necessaries are lacking to persons or families, and willingly relieve their bodies and grieved spirit (2 Tim. i. 17; Jas. i. 27).

"5. Every member in its place should further the discipline of Christ in his Church, or help on the due administration thereof, though all cannot, and may not, act alike herein. The honour of the Lord is much concerned in this, and his law of generous love obligeth all to be faithful to them that offend, to rescue or recover them from spiritual harms and the error of their way with much long-suffering and prudence (Gal. vi. 12; James v. 19; Jude xxiii.).

"Timely warning, counsels, or reproofs, may prevent much sin (Lev. xix. 17), which therefore should be meekly welcomed (Ps. cxli. 5). We should never let sin grow in our companions if we could help it, being sworn to stand on God's side against sin and Satan, and obliged by that plain rule of Christ to offer our remedial help to them that err (Matt. xviii. 15, 16; Jas. v. 16), which if we neglect, we either want courage, zeal, or dutiful compassion (1 Cor. v. 2; Rev. ii. 20). Cain would not be his brother's keeper, but you must. To that end preserve a good esteem of your fellow-Christians, and defend their good names; nor be hasty to censure their state or actions in doubtful cases (Matt. vii. 1, 2; 1 Cor. xiii. 7). The Devil will slander the brethren; but do not you take up or spread evil reports (Ps. xv. 3, 4; Tit. iii. 2). Resist him, especially in his attempts to defame good ministers (1 Tim. v. 19). Let an angry countenance drive away a backbiting tongue: this is but doing as you would wish others in that case should do to you; but if any in your societies prove really wicked, let no partiality hinder you to see sin in them. If any contemn Christ's holy commands, or dishonour their Christian calling by pernicious corruption in doctrine or practice, and healing methods have not their due effect, those you must not fail openly to disown and cast out.

"What we have said we beseech you to weigh, and warn you not to receive anything because it is our opinion, but to

search the Scripture with humble diligence and prayer. If the way we have led you be warranted by that sure Word of prophecy, you ought to follow the Lord herein, though men call it heresy or faction. If in obeying Christ you meet with sufferings, his grace will be sufficient for you (1 Pet. iv. 12, 13, 14, v. 10). Hope in his word, and do his good commandments, and peace be on you (Ps. cxix. 166, 167; Gal. vi. 16). Now, to Him that is able to keep us and you in all truth and godliness, and preserve us from every evil work, we heartily commit ourselves and you, trusting in his mercy, that if in this world we shall not see peace upon Israel, He will ere long land us safe in a glorious world of purest light and perfect brotherly love. Amen."

THE END.

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